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Abstract	For most of the twentieth century, political science was complicit in the absence of women from public office. This started to change in the 1970s as feminists began to reframe the absence of women not as a 'condition' but as a problem to be addressed by political science as well as political actors. This chapter examines the original assumptions found in political science concerning women's political participation and the way these were challenged by feminist critiques. A male-dominated profession had failed to take account of how the gendered distribution of power contributed to exclusion. The chapter then looks at how feminist political scientists then contributed to the promotion of new norms and strategies through transnational standard-setting institutions, as well as through engaging with laggard political institutions in the English-speaking democracies.

CHAPTER 2

How the Absence of Women Became a Democratic Deficit: The Role of Feminist Political Science

Marian Sawer

One of the major contributions of feminist political science has been to identify the political status of women as a problem rather than a condition. Feminist political scientists, myself included, introduced into the discipline the new cognitive frames, or ways of seeing, that we encountered in the women's movement. In doing so, we challenged the normative and empirical assumptions that informed the way political science had dealt with women's political participation. We earned the title 'outspoken feminists' when we drew the attention of our colleagues to the gender order that underlay both politics and political science.

Until the arrival of second-wave feminism, much political science rested on a quite narrow definition of politics, restricted to formal political institutions such as constitutions, parliaments and political parties. This narrow definition took male politics and male political behaviour as the norm. Because political science restricted its gaze to public arenas,

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20 women as a group were regarded as politically irrelevant. It was not con-
21 cerned with the sources of what second-wave feminists saw as women's
22 subordination. In other words, political science was unable or unwilling
23 to identify the gendered power relations underlying and permeating the
24 political system, or how political power was itself constituted by gender.

25   Feminists challenged this disciplinary blindness and set out to change
26 the analytic and normative frame through which the political world was
27 viewed.[1] In doing so, they contributed a new understanding of the polit-
28 ical system. The absence of women from public decision-making became
29 seen as a consequence of the gendered nature of the political system as
30 a whole. This new understanding of the political system contributed a
31 sharper focus to the discipline.[2] But the new understandings were not
32 only about improving the discipline. The absence of women was now
33 being framed as an injustice and denial of political equality rather than as
34 a natural condition.[3]

35   A normative commitment to a more equal political world was a unify-
36 ing aspect of feminist political science, which in other ways began diver-
37 sifying in approach and methods. One of the identifying characteristics
38 of feminist political science became the willingness to acknowledge such
39 political commitment rather than upholding the value freedom and dis-
40 tance from the research subject associated with behavioural political sci-
41 ence. During the height of behaviourist dominance of political science,
42 there was belief in the innate separability of researcher and research sub-
43 ject and little reflexivity concerning the values and emotions that political
44 scientists might bring to their research.[4]

45   In contrast, a 2004 roundtable at an American Political Science
46 Association meeting was inspired by the belief that:

47   …many of the women and minority scholars, in particular, who entered
48   the field of political science in the past 20 to 30 years did so precisely
49   *because* they wanted to make a difference in the world, and to use the tools
50   of the profession to improve the situation of less empowered members of
51   society, whether in the United States or abroad.[5]

52 Feminist political science began exploring the barriers to women's pres-
53 ence in the institutions of political power, perceiving these as problems
54 of institutional design and of formal and informal rules that were biased
55 against women. The same approach that was applied in equal employment
56 opportunity programmes for women in the workforce was transferred

57 to political institutions, on the ground that women should have equal
58 opportunity to serve as political representatives. Barriers had to be iden-
59 tified and removed. From the 1970s, feminist scholarship was generating
60 new knowledge concerning these barriers, including formal and informal
61 rules within political parties and the effects of electoral systems.[6]

62   Moving on from identification of the barriers to women's entry to
63 parliament, work began on what difference women's presence made to
64 politics and whether becoming a large minority would help change polit-
65 ical agendas and political processes. Feminist political scientists started
66 exploring arguments and evidence around the substantive representation
67 of women, arguments that went well beyond the justice arguments for
68 the presence of women.

69   The concept of critical mass, taken up by international standard-set-
70 ting bodies in the 1990s, was just one way in which feminist political sci-
71 ence underpinned new international norms of women's representation.
72 The concept of 'intersectionality' also began to be widely used to under-
73 pin the claims for representation of those with distinctive combinations
74 of experience, such as women from minority backgrounds or women
75 with disabilities.[7] New norms began to have real impact through democ-
76 racy assistance programmes and other donor pressure in combination
77 with domestic mobilisations, particularly in post-conflict situations where
78 new institutions were being created.

79   The focus of this chapter will be on how the absence of women
80 from politics was once taken for granted and how feminist political sci-
81 ence helped to change this. It will look at the progression, whereby the
82 absence of women was reframed as a democratic deficit and the presence
83 of women in national parliaments became a key democratic indicator. It
84 will then look at how both political scientists and practitioners, often in
85 consort, are addressing continuing gender deficits in parliamentary poli-
86 tics. It does not try to cover the now burgeoning literature on the access
87 of women to executive office.[8]

88   Most of the evidence will be taken from Australia and comparator
89 countries such as Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom (UK)
90 and the USA, as well as from multilateral bodies. The early achievement
91 of democratic institutions in this group of countries makes them a par-
92 ticularly interesting example of the significance of timing and sequence
93 in institutional trajectories. Unlike the case in many of the developing
94 democracies today, in these countries democratic institutions were cre-
95 ated and entrenched long before the establishment of international and

regional norms linking democracy to the equal participation of women in public decision-making. In these older democracies, democratic political institutions were designed by and for men, sometimes explicitly for white men, a legacy that the first wave of the women's movement was unable to overcome and which remained as a major challenge for the second wave.[9]

ASSUMPTIONS OF THE INEVITABILITY OF WOMEN'S ABSENCE

In the USA, the professionalisation of political science coincided with the height of the international and national women's suffrage campaigns, often described as the first wave of the women's movement. However, political science took little interest in this large-scale political mobilisation of women. The forms taken by the political participation of women and the repertoire and discursive strategies employed by women's movements were not regarded as part of the subject matter of the discipline, any more than was the gendered nature of the political institutions that kept women out of formal politics. Of over 400 articles published in *American Political Science Review* between 1906 and 1924, only three were explicitly concerned with women.[10] The four major textbooks in use in 1916 did mention the question of women's suffrage but three of the four authors were sceptical of its merit.[11]

Once initial fears concerning the 'women's vote' were allayed, there was even less interest in women's political participation. There were occasional exceptions such as the work of Charles Merriam and H. F. Gosnell on non-voting, which suggested that those wishing to explain political behaviour should look first to the politics of family life.[12] But these were exceptions to the general lack of interest in the structures of power that might explain absence of women from formal office-holding. In this way, political science became complicit in the continuing absence of women from formal politics.

Before the renewed mobilisation of women in the 1960s–1970s and the arrival of second-wave feminism, the assumptions built into political science were that the absence of women from public life was largely inevitable. In assuming the naturalness of this absence, political science was simply reflecting more general social attitudes and indeed reinforcing them. Early feminist critique of the complicity of the discipline in male dominance was often trenchant: 'That politics is a man's world is a familiar adage; that political science as a discipline tends to keep it that way is less well accepted'.[13] Even in the 1960s, when one might imagine the

slogan 'a woman's place is in the home' had become out of date, leading political scientists still believed that women's primary roles as wives, mothers and housewives unfitted them for political roles: 'there are inherent limitations in the adult female role, which set an outer boundary to political participation for the great majority of women'.[14]

While women had achieved full political rights in most democracies, it was still expected that their citizenship duties would be fulfilled mainly in the home. And although countries such as Switzerland had still not given women the right to vote, eminent political theorists such as Robert Dahl or Giovanni Sartori did not see this as impairing their claim to be a democracy.[15] Indeed even where women had supposedly obtained political rights, citizenship duties remained highly gendered. For example, there were blanket exemptions for jury service in many countries, on the ground that such service would interfere with women's primary domestic duties.

Such beliefs about the irrelevance of women to democracy or democratic citizenship were reinforced by influential political scientists such as Robert E. Lane, who became President of the American Political Science Association in 1970–1971. Lane had written that women entered politics 'only at the risk of tarnishing, to some extent, their femininity' because the woman who was too active politically seemed 'to some people' to have 'moved from the properly dependent role of her sex and to seek the masterful and dominant role of men'.[16] Note the qualifications through which Lane attempts to distance himself, as the objective observer, from the beliefs of 'some people' that he clearly shares. Further on he questioned the wisdom of the feminist movement in encouraging women's political activity, noting that interest in politics moved women away from what was 'considered by the culture' to be their proper role and sphere of competence. Moreover, such 'extra-curricular interests' meant borrowing time and attention from their children.[17]

In the light of this history, it is perhaps unsurprising that the first international treaty on women's political rights was not adopted until 1953. This was the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Political Rights of Women, an initiative of the UN Commission on the Status of Women. It sought to guarantee the rights of women to be eligible for election and to hold public office, as well as to vote. In conjunction with the Convention, the UN Commission on the Status of Women initiated the first cross-national survey research on women's political participation.

171 This research, led by Maurice Duverger, took women's political partici-
172 pation to be a serious question.

173   It noted, however, that one of the difficulties in undertaking the
174 research was that political scientists asked to provide information often
175 regarded its purpose 'as a secondary one, of no intrinsic importance'.[18]
176 Moreover, it found that the absence of women was often justified by
177 the argument that politics was by its nature a field essentially suited to
178 men.[19] A further problem was that due to their education and training,
179 women tended to accept 'the secondary place to which they are still
180 assigned'.[20]

181   Up until the 1970s, there was little attention to the factors that kept
182 women out of either politics or political science. It was assumed that
183 most women would be excluded from both because of the priority of
184 their family responsibilities. A political science profession in which all the
185 senior roles were filled by men saw nothing odd or undemocratic about
186 parliaments or cabinets that were similarly male dominated. As has been
187 observed elsewhere, the gendering of political science reduced its ability
188 to understand or explain the gendering of political life.[21]

189   A comparison of the 1978 Executive of the International Political
190 Science Association (IPSA) and the 1981 New Zealand Cabinet is per-
191 haps suggestive (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2).

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192   It was only in 1973 that attention was first drawn to the concept of
193 the 'two-person' career.[22] The concept of the 'two-person' career refers
194 to those occupations in which a wife is expected to participate in her hus-
195 band's occupational performance, in addition to taking care of home and
196 family. In politics, this has usually included constituency work and public
197 functions. Sometimes political parties interviewed wives as well as male
198 candidates for preselection, to see how suitable they were for performing
199 these functions. In any event, male candidates assumed the support of
200 their wives in their political careers and women made their careers possi-
201 ble.[23] As a New Zealand backbencher reported in *Political Science*:

202   At home, I attend to Parliamentary business and letters arranged for me by
203   my wife, who does the bulk of my secretarial work…It is during the time
204   spent in Wellington that my wife continues the duty of a Parliamentary
205   Member. She interviews the women in the electorate who appeal to assist
206   on committees and in the organisation of charity programmes, who want
207   their problems discussed, their meetings attended, and hospital visiting
208   arranged. In addition my wife attends to the routine correspondence on

Fig. 2.1   IPSA Executive Committee meeting, Rio de Janeiro, 1978. Courtesy IPSA–AISP

my behalf, looks after the family and our home, and reads numerous books and publications, marking out the passages which she considers will be of interest to me. Please bear in mind, in this connection, that there are no cash allowances for Members' wives.[24]

Like a politician, a political scientist also needed a wife who contributed to her husband's career in a myriad of ways. At the time that second-wave feminism was at its height, there was a standard acknowledgement that appeared in the preface of political science books along the lines of the following:

Finally, but far from least importantly, I must thank my wife…who, among other things, typed numerous drafts of the manuscript both cheerfully and without pay. My work resulted in demands on her time and energy which it was sometimes easy to overlook, because of the automatic way she accepted the responsibilities and commitments involved.[25]

Robert E. Lane, whose 1972 book *Political Man* did not even have women in the index, apparently failed to notice the irony of his

Fig. 2.2 Queen Elizabeth II and the 1981 New Zealand Cabinet. Courtesy Archives New Zealand

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acknowledgement to Betty Hanson, for 'her invaluable help in preparing the manuscript for publication'.[26] As reflected in such prefaces, the 'two-person career' in academia was taken for granted rather than subjected to critical analysis. This had changed by 2017 when an American scholar, Bruce Holsinger, created a Twitter hashtag (#thanksfortyping) that aggregated screenshots of book acknowledgements that thanked wives (often unnamed) for typing, proof-reading and editing their husband's books.

The taken-for-granted nature of the contribution of wives or secretaries to political science was linked to the failure to notice the nature of politics as a two-person career. Few senior political scientists were immediately receptive to feminist critique of 'two-person careers' or the 'incorporated wife', whether that critique was applied to study of pathways to parliament or their own professional practice. As Susan J. Carroll observed in 1989: 'With the exception of research on childhood socialisation, issues of family influence, household responsibilities and private

sphere activities have been largely ignored in explaining the political behavior of men'.[27]

The Emergence of Feminist Critique

The lack of interest in women's political participation, or outright disapproval of it by those like American Political Science Association President Robert E. Lane, lingered up until the time of the arrival of the second wave of the women's movement. It was the upsurge of women's movement activism that was finally to change this. One example of the way in which the resurgent women's movement drew attention to the 'problem' of the male domination of public decision-making comes from Australia in 1973. That was the year that abortion law reform was first debated in the Australian Parliament. In the absence of any women members of the House of Representatives, a women's embassy was established outside the front of Parliament with a loudspeaker playing 'I am woman, hear me roar'.[28]

Direct action such as a women's embassy outside parliament did help draw attention to the absence of women from the traditional domain of politics, but this was not the first concern of the second wave of the women's movement. Women's Liberation groups were mounting an all-encompassing challenge to traditional concepts of politics and political organisation. Alternative ways of doing politics were being discovered or rediscovered; the aim was to replace masculine forms of leadership and hierarchy with collectives and consensus decision-making.[29] It was thought that hierarchical organisations would always serve to maintain women's subordination—the master's house could not be dismantled with the master's tools.

This collectivism and emphasis on not using the master's tools extended all the way to how feminist scholars presented their publications in the 1970s. For example, academic credentials and sometimes even names were left off publications:

> The names of contributors are not listed on the contents page or linked with the contributions in the body of the book, as it is the ideas themselves rather than who presented them that is crucial. Nor is it relevant to indicate the academic status of individual writers because these have been allocated in terms of a male dominated and defined system of rewards.[30]

276 As we shall see in Chapter 12, collectivist organisational practices also
277 inspired the way feminists organised inside the political science profes-
278 sion from 1969 onwards. Perhaps inevitably, despite the lasting influence
279 of the women's movement origins of feminist political science, there
280 was soon criticism of 'empiricist apolitical conference papers' deriving
281 from an academic rather than an activist feminist perspective and 'closely
282 bound up with the job market'.[31]

283   Meanwhile, feminist critique was mounting of the traditional division
284 between public and private in both politics and political science. The
285 definition of politics as restricted to the public realm had removed issues
286 determining women's lives from the scope of political analysis. As Carole
287 Pateman said, politics was seen as stopping at the garden gate. In her
288 Presidential Address to the Australasian Political Studies Association, she
289 abandoned the safe distance of the third person plural traditionally used
290 to refer to women's political participation, instead declaring, 'That *we* are
291 less than full members in political life is still regarded as unremarkable'.[32]
292 Second-wave feminists, however, were beginning to bring issues such as
293 childcare and reproduction to centre stage as a focus for political atten-
294 tion. In the USA, Canada and Australia in the early 1970s, feminist activ-
295 ists were rating political candidates on their answers to questions on such
296 issues that shaped women's lives. It was claimed that so far, women had
297 little to show for having the vote.

298   This challenge to traditional notions of politics soon spilled over
299 into a challenge to the sexist norms of the political science discipline.
300 In Australia, political science departments in Sydney, Melbourne and
301 Adelaide decided their students could gain practical experience by help-
302 ing Women's Electoral Lobby conduct its candidate survey.[33] In addi-
303 tion, the Editor of *Politics*[34] ran a number of pieces on feminist activism
304 in the special issue of the journal on the 1972 federal election. The 1975
305 New Zealand election book likewise included a chapter for the first time
306 on issues such as childcare, mother's wage, sex education and abortion.[35]

307   The new feminist critiques drew attention to sexist practices within
308 politics and the way the traditional public/private division affected the
309 political representation of women. Legislative recruitment was affected
310 both by the exclusive allocation of caring responsibilities to women and
311 by the failure of political parties and parliamentary arrangements to take
312 account of such responsibilities. The first European Consortium for
313 Political Research (ECPR) workshop on women and politics was con-
314 vened by Finnish feminist Elina Haavio-Mannila in Berlin in 1977.[36] The

first IPSA meetings on the subject followed soon after in Essex 1979 and at the Moscow IPSA Congress of that year. The IPSA papers were published as a book edited by Margherita Rendel, the first chair of IPSA's new Research Committee on Sex Roles and Politics.[37]

The ECPR workshop led to a cross-Nordic collaboration on women in politics published by the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1983. It was published in English two years later as *Unfinished Democracy*.[38] Indicative of the progress being made in the Nordic countries, the book's co-author was Torild Skard, who had just finished a term as first woman President of the Norwegian upper house. Thirty years later, she published a monumental analysis of the circumstances confronting the 73 women who had become heads of government in different regions of the world since 1960.[39] Meanwhile, the Nordic Council of Ministers continued on their agenda-setting path, commissioning a handbook on women's political representation from Drude Dahlerup, published under the title *We Have Waited Long Enough* in Danish, Icelandic, Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish.

Feminists were also contributing to agenda setting within other transnational institutions, particularly the UN. Elizabeth Reid, co-author of the *Mindless Matrons or Sexist Scientism* critique of voting studies published in 1975,[40] led drafting work on the World Plan of Action at the preparatory meeting before the First UN World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975. She then led the official Australian delegation to the Conference. In her speech to the plenary session, she introduced the word 'sexism' into the official UN lexicon, and hence into languages around the world.[41] She said it was a word nobody should be afraid to use:

> Sexism is the artificial ascription of roles, behavior and even personalities to people on the basis of their sex alone. This does not simply create *differences* but inequalities. We none of us live in, and it is impossible to imagine living in, a non-sexist society…To attempt to work out strategies for changing this situation must, therefore, be our primary task at this conference…[42]

As can be seen from this kind of evidence, feminist political scientists were playing a significant role in problematising the less than full participation of women in political life. They were reframing the issue as not one of female deficits but of the broader gender order. To take one

example, the first book to emerge from feminist organising within IPSA argued that one of the key omissions of political science was the failure to analyse the family as a political unit. While in accordance with democratic principle the smallest political unit was the individual citizen, in practice the operational political unit was the family and the constraints it placed on women's political activity.[43]

Some of the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action reads remarkably like this kind of early feminist political science:

> Inequality in the public arena can often start with discriminatory attitudes and practices and unequal power relations between women and men within the family…. The unequal division of labour and responsibilities within households based on unequal power relations also limits women's potential to find the time and develop the skills required for participation in decision-making in wider public forums. A more equal sharing of those responsibilities between women and men not only provides a better quality of life for women and their daughters but also enhances their opportunities to shape and design public policy, practice and expenditure so that their interests may be recognized and addressed. Non-formal networks and patterns of decision-making at the local community level that reflect a dominant male ethos restrict women's ability to participate equally in political, economic and social life. (Beijing Platform of Action, para. 181)

Ten years later, feminist political scientists were using bivariate regression models to show that in countries where household tasks were more equally shared, parliaments were likely to include more women.[44] While this had long been known from feminist observation, advanced statistical methods were now used to give such insights added legitimacy within the political science community.

THE IMPACT OF FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP ON DEMOCRATIC NORMS AND STRATEGIES

Between the First UN World Conference and the Fourth World Conference in Beijing 20 years later, a remarkable global shift was taking place in democratic norms, reflecting the agenda setting of Nordic political scientists and political actors and their concept of 'Unfinished Democracy'. The UN was not the only major player involved in this normative shift. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), which today

represents 173 national parliaments, also played a central role. Women parliamentarians organised within the IPU to ensure the collection of statistical data on the distribution of seats between men and women. They drew attention to the significant drop in the number of women in parliament globally following the break-up of the Soviet bloc.

In 1992, the IPU Council held that 'the concept of democracy would only come into its own when major policy objectives and national legislation were decided upon jointly by men and women with equal regard for the specific interests and aptitudes of each half of the population'.[45] A Plan of Action was adopted to 'correct present imbalances', and soon, the IPU was declaring that equal partnership by men and women in the conduct of the affairs of society was the fourth principle of democracy.[46]

For the first time in history, widespread agreement emerged in the 1990s that the under-representation of women in national parliaments was itself a sign of democratic deficit. This was a far cry from the beliefs of democratic theorists just 30 years before that not only was the absence of women from parliament to be expected, but even their absence as voters might be compatible with democratic credentials. Now the presence or absence of women from public decision-making became a measure of the quality of democracy and a vital tool in democracy assessment.[47] Such assessment became a new industry in this decade as many countries transitioned to democracy from communist or authoritarian regimes. Where once it had been argued that women's suffrage was necessary to complete democracy, the new democratic norms disseminated by transnational institutions suggested that gender balance in parliaments was a further requirement.

Under the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action ratified by 189 countries, special measures were now recommended to increase women's participation in public decision-making, including electoral quotas where necessary. The IPU organised a meeting of some 500 parliamentarians at Beijing, who adopted a pledge to ensure that governments and political parties took steps to implement both the Beijing Platform for Action provisions and the IPU's own Plan of Action. In the same year, the UN Development Programme adopted new indices for measuring gender equality that included representation of women in national parliaments. Parliamentary representation of women also became a measure of gender equality in the UN's Millennium Development Goals adopted in 2000 and in the new Gender Inequality Index (GII) adopted in 2010.

Two recent collections honouring the work of feminist political scientists Drude Dahlerup and Joni Lovenduski[48] have highlighted the interaction between their gender and politics research and the practice of politics, whether within the political science profession or in the broader political field. Both Dahlerup and Lovenduski became extensively involved in consultancy work for governments and transnational agencies advising on reforms to advance gender equality and improve the political representation of women.

Dahlerup's exploration of whether the concept of critical mass could be applied to parliamentary institutions in itself had an enormous impact.[49] International norm-setting institutions like the UN Economic and Social Council promoted the idea that women's representation in public decision-making must be increased to the critical mass level of about 30% to make a real difference. The Committee on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW Committee), the treaty body for the UN Women's Convention, also took up the theme in 1997 in its General Recommendation on Article 7 of the Convention. Such recommendations play a very important role in the interpretation of treaties. The Recommendation on Article 7 encouraged the use of temporary special measures to realise women's right to equal participation in political and public life and read in part:

> Research demonstrates that if women's participation reaches 30 to 35 per cent (generally termed a 'critical mass'), there is a real impact on the political style and content of decisions, and political life is revitalized.[50]

While this might not have been exactly what feminist political science was finding—Dahlerup had emphasised more the role of critical actors than the mechanical effects of numbers[51]—it indicates the influence of concepts introduced by feminist political scientists on international norm development.

Feminist academics, together with feminist officials in transnational institutions and women's international advocacy networks, have in fact played a remarkable role in the international diffusion both of new norms regarding the political representation of women and of strategic research suggesting how these norms might be achieved in practice. The role of feminist scholars in the international diffusion of gender equality norms has been analysed by Jacqui True in her important contributions

461   to the understanding of institutional transfer and norm diffusion (see
462   Chapter 6).

463   On the mechanics of how to increase women's parliamentary pres-
464   ence, one pioneer was American Wilma Rule, who from the 1980s was
465   publishing analysis showing which type of electoral system was most
466   favourable to election of women. Her work was continued by Canadian
467   political scientist Manon Tremblay (see Chapter 4 of this volume).
468   Others who took up the cause of electoral system research and electoral
469   system reform included Pippa Norris, who promoted women-friendly
470   electoral reform in transitional democracies through her work for the
471   UN and other international organisations, as well as producing magis-
472   terial volumes of quantitative political science. Norris was a co-winner
473   of the Johan Skytte Prize, the political science equivalent of the Nobel
474   Prize, amongst many other prizes and honours. She was able to bring
475   her stellar reputation to bear on applied issues such as both quota and
476   non-quota means of increasing women's parliamentary representation—
477   for example through earmarked or conditional funding of political par-
478   ties.[52] Alice Brown in Scotland drew on her comparative knowledge of
479   electoral system design to successfully advocate for the 'twinning' system
480   introduced by the Scottish Labour Party, whereby constituencies were
481   twinned and the woman with the highest number of preselection votes
482   became the candidate for one constituency, while the man with the high-
483   est number of votes became the candidate for the other.[53]

484   The subject of electoral gender quotas has been one that has given
485   rise to a wealth of feminist scholarship, which in turn has contributed
486   to policy diffusion through international organisations and women's
487   movement mobilisations. Of particular practical importance has been
488   research on the intersection of quotas, electoral systems and party struc-
489   tures. Danish political scientist Drude Dahlerup was not only respon-
490   sible for the concept of critical mass taking wing, but also contributed
491   much of the early work on gender electoral quotas. In addition, together
492   with others (including Julie Ballington, Lenita Freidenvall and Mona
493   Lena Krook), she oversaw the development of the quota database of the
494   International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)
495   in Stockholm. This database provided invaluable evidence about the
496   spread of electoral gender quotas around the world and the different
497   types of quota system being adopted in different countries and regions.

498   Ballington, Dahlerup and Freidenvall all did very extensive
499   applied work on quotas not only for International IDEA but for the

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European Parliament, the IPU, the United Nations Development Programme, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Dahlerup and Freidenvall's successive reviews of the implementation of quotas in European Union (EU) countries were originally commissioned by the European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality and published in multiple languages. As mentioned above, this combination of cutting-edge research and effective international advocacy has recently been celebrated in a Festschrift for Dahlerup.[54] It illustrates the effective networking of feminist political scientists with a range of political actors—whether in parliaments, political parties, government institutions or non-government organisations and whether domestically or internationally. This kind of policy network, linking feminist politicians and femocrats with feminist political scientists and women's movement organisations, has been described by Belgian political scientist Alison Woodward as a 'velvet triangle'.[55]

The new social media were facilitating such networking. For example, in addition to her own research on electoral gender quotas,[56] Mona Lena Krook was helping create an epistemic community of quota scholars through a Facebook group with some 500 members. She was also one of the scholars opening up the new research field of gendered political violence. The type and extent of violence against women candidates differ from that directed against men, something not picked up in previous literature on violence and electoral integrity. Gendered political violence and intimidation are directed against women's intrusion in the public realm and takes many forms including online misogyny and sexual slander as well as sexual harassment.[57] The online misogyny directed against Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard was found to discourage young women from thinking of political careers.[58]

Another important issue being opened up by feminist political scientists like Freidenvall, who worked as a staff member for the Speaker's Reference Group on Gender Equality in the Swedish Parliament, concerns parliament as a workplace and how parliamentary work and family life can be reconciled.[59] Because women have held over 40% of the seats in the Swedish parliament for over 20 years, it makes a good site for testing whether presence brings equal opportunity for women legislators to perform their roles, or whether gendered norms and practices are persistent.[60]

538 　　In the past, parliament as a workplace has often failed to accommo-
539 date caring responsibilities. Parliamentary schedules are now more likely
540 to be aligned with school terms, but the struggle for adequate childcare
541 in parliaments has been a long one. And only in the first decade of the
542 twenty-first century were changes made to standing orders or practices in
543 Australia, so that babies were no longer removed as 'strangers' from the
544 part of the chamber reserved for members of parliament.[61] Such changes
545 are an indication that the focus on achieving gender balance is moving
546 beyond fixing women to fixing institutions. But meanwhile it is no sur-
547 prise that women in parliament are more likely than men in parliament
548 to be childless, or, if they have children, for them to be of an older age.[62]

549 　　Attempts to address the complex issues of reconciling parliamen-
550 tary work and family life are described more fully by Sonia Palmieri in
551 Chapter 9 of this book. Such efforts are the contribution of feminist
552 political scientists like Palmieri who have worked for standard-setting
553 transnational institutions. Feminist practitioners have also produced
554 influential normative guides like the IDEA handbook, *Women in
555 Parliament: Beyond Numbers* first published in 1998 and subsequently
556 translated into Spanish, French and Indonesian.[63] A different kind of
557 contribution is the IPU's global rankings of the representation of women
558 in national parliaments and as ministers, collated by the IPU and UN
559 Women in the *Map of Women in Politics.* Such rankings have become an
560 essential part of the soft regulation promoted by transnational institu-
561 tions and donor agencies. Soft regulation means the agreement of mem-
562 ber states to open themselves up to scrutiny by providing data, which
563 in turn contributes both to rankings and to the dissemination of best
564 practice.

565 　　The rankings are used by national women's movements and their
566 allies in their campaigns for quotas or other measures to increase wom-
567 en's political representation. Since 2006, the IPU has also collected data
568 on specialised parliamentary bodies for the promotion of gender equal-
569 ity, which again contributes to comparisons of the way parliaments are
570 becoming 'gender sensitive'.[64] IPU and UN forums on strategies to pro-
571 mote women's participation and the role of parliaments in gender main-
572 streaming have brought together feminist political scientists and women
573 politicians from older and newer democracies.

574   CONTINUING DEFICITS

575   To what extent does the work of feminist political scientists continue
576   to contribute to political change? Feminist political science still makes
577   explicit its normative commitment to gender equality, as in the follow-
578   ing 2017 statement: 'The authors subscribe to the understanding of
579   feminist political science that scientific research should foster gender
580   equality, or, more general, social equality'.[65] And, as we have seen, fem-
581   inist political science has contributed strongly to the new norms relating
582   to women's participation and gender sensitivity adopted by international
583   organisations.

584   However, some political configurations may present more challenges
585   to feminist political scientists than others. Long-established majoritar-
586   ian political institutions can make the implementation of new norms of
587   women's representation more difficult than where there are consensual
588   political institutions, whether long-standing or newly created.[66] There is
589   also the problem of the 'nesting' of new consensual institutions which
590   feminists have helped design within wider majoritarian frameworks, as
591   with the devolved Scottish Parliament.[67]

592   Feminist political scientists in the English-speaking democracies[68]
593   have continued to count the number of women in parliaments and pub-
594   lic decision-making, reminding the public that the problem of women's
595   political under-representation has yet to be solved.[69] The Center for
596   American Women and Politics at Rutgers University provides helpful
597   infographics ranking US state legislatures in this regard. In addition to
598   counting, feminist political scientists have worked on identifying sources
599   of gender bias within legislative recruitment, the practices of politi-
600   cal parties, parliamentary and executive institutions, media framing and
601   public opinion. Their research provides the evidence base for strategies
602   to address this democratic deficit and may well encompass such strate-
603   gies. The work on strategies for change by Pippa Norris and Mona Lena
604   Krook has already been mentioned but there are many other examples—
605   like Sylvia Bashevkin's 'What to do' chapter in her book on the 'hidden
606   story of Canada's unfinished democracy'.[70] Often the work of feminist
607   political scientists feeds into campaigns by civil society organisations such
608   as Equal Voice in Canada.

609   One of the issues confronted by feminist political scientists is that at
610   the national level, most of the English-speaking democracies still have
611   lower-house electoral systems based on single-member electorates.[71]

612 Such systems are generally found to be less favourable to women's rep-
613 resentation than proportional representation and also make the introduc-
614 tion of candidate quotas more difficult. In general, the English-speaking
615 countries have been overtaken by countries that have introduced
616 stronger positive measures such as legislative quotas and/or earmarked
617 or conditional public funding of political parties.

618   Of the English-speaking democracies, only Ireland has introduced
619 a legislative quota, and this is very recent. The quota came into effect
620 in the 2016 Irish election and resulted in a 40% increase in the num-
621 ber of women parliamentarians elected (although from a low base). In
622 the absence of a legislative quota, labour parties in the UK, Australia
623 and New Zealand have adopted party quotas. The New Zealand Labour
624 Party and Australian Labor Party (ALP) both have party quotas aim-
625 ing at 50% representation of women in their parliamentary parties—by
626 2017 in New Zealand and by 2025 in Australia. The UK Labour Party's
627 approach has been to use all-women shortlists to boost the number of
628 women in winnable seats. In Canada, the New Democratic Party and the
629 Liberal Party have long-standing 'targets' of 50 and 25%, respectively.
630 But party quotas in these countries have boosted women's representation
631 on one side of politics, not across the board.

632   The effects of party quotas in widening partisan gaps in women's
633 parliamentary representation rather than leading to the 'contagion of
634 women candidates' are well illustrated by the Australian case.[72] As can
635 be seen in Fig. 2.3, the adoption of an effective party quota has led to
636 a wide gap between the presence of women in the Parliamentary Labor
637 Party and in the conservative Coalition parties. In the USA, there was a
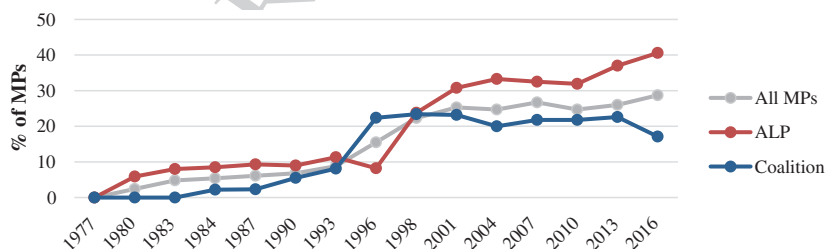
Fig. 2.3 Women as a percentage of Coalition and Labor MPs in the Australian House of Representatives, 1977–2016 (*Source* Data collected by the Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia)

similar gap in 2017, with women making up 8.7% of Republicans in the House of Representatives but 32% of Democrats.[73]

Other areas in which the performance of the English-speaking democracies has been patchy is the role of parliament in gender mainstreaming. In 2016, 22 member countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) were reported as having parliamentary gender equality committees. Most had been established more than a decade previously but the UK had only established its committee in 2015.[74] There was also an Irish Sub-Committee on Human Rights Relative to Justice and Equality Matters established in 2014. Australia and New Zealand had no dedicated gender equality committees according to the OECD but in response to the IPU had reported 'multifunctional' bodies with some relevant responsibilities. New Zealand had a Government Administration Committee with oversight of the Ministry for Women as well as many other portfolios. Australia had a Joint Committee on Human Rights with responsibility for ensuring legislation complied with obligations under international treaties including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The USA reported no specialised body to either the OECD or IPU, although it has had a Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues since 1977.

Usually, parliamentary gender equality bodies have been initiated by feminist political actors, often in conjunction with feminist political scientists looking to their potential role in gender mainstreaming and providing access to the legislative process for women in the community.[75] Amongst the English-speaking democracies, it is the Canadian House of Commons that has the longest experience with a single-portfolio Standing Committee on the Status of Women, and feminist political scientist Joan Grace has conducted substantial analysis of its advocacy and scrutiny role.[76]

The UK's move to establish a dedicated Women and Equality Committee in its House of Commons illustrates very well the 'useful' work performed by feminist political scientists. Sarah Childs was approached by the Chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group on **AQ4** Women in Parliament to advise on their report, *Improving Parliament.* A key recommendation was the establishment of a Women and Equality Committee. Childs was then able to take up a secondment resulting in another report *The Good Parliament*, providing a blueprint for a 'diversity-sensitive' House of Commons. Its recommendations such as making

677 the Women and Equality Committee permanent were accepted by the
678 government and the Speaker created a Commons Reference Group on
679 Representation and Inclusion to take forward its agenda.[77]

Conclusion

681 Feminists have made a significant contribution to changing the absence
682 of women from public decision-making from a 'condition' into a prob-
683 lem to be addressed by political science together with political actors.
684 This has meant the conduct of both basic and applied research to iden-
685 tify the causes contributing to the problem. Some of the critical actors
686 in this project of creating a gender-inclusive discipline have already been
687 identified, along with the triple roles they have played. These roles have
688 included path-breaking scholarship and disciplinary innovation; feminist
689 institution-building in the profession; and promotion of new norms and
690 strategies to increase the parliamentary presence of women. More will
691 be said about the feminist institution-building aspect of their activity in
692 Chapter 11. However, I think we can say at this point that feminist polit-
693 ical science has ensured that political science is no longer complicit in the
694 absence of women from public office.

695 As well as establishing that the absence of women from political life is
696 a problem, feminist political science has also contributed to new norms
697 at the international and regional levels of governance. These norms
698 have expanded to encompass an emphasis on diversity as well as gender
699 in political representation and the operationalising of the analytic con-
700 struct of intersectionality. However, as seen from the English-speaking
701 democracies, long-established majoritarian political institutions can pose
702 significant obstacles to the realisation of such evolving norms of rep-
703 resentation. Feminist political science continues to contribute to knowl-
704 edge-building on the nature of such obstacles and on the strategies that
705 may overcome them.

Notes

707 1. For example, Nancy McWilliams (1974) 'Contemporary Feminism,
708   Consciousness-Raising, and Changing Views of the Political', in Jane S.
709   Jacquette (ed.) *Women in Politics*, New York: Wiley, pp. 157–170.

2. Drude Dahlerup (2010) 'The Development of Gender and Politics as a New Research Field Within the Framework of ECPR', *European Political Science* 9: 87.

3. For the difference between a condition and a problem, see John W. Kingdon (2003) *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*, 2nd edn, New York: Longman, pp. 109–110.

4. Anonymous (2014) 'No Short-Cuts to Gender Equality: The Structures of Women's Exclusion in Political Science', *Politics & Gender* 10(3): 441.

5. Martha Ackelsberg (2005) 'Introduction: Contributions of Women Political Scientists to a More Just World', *Politics & Gender* 1(2): 320.

6. For a classic feminist work on the role of political parties in legislative recruitment, see Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski (1995) *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

7. The concept of intersectionality was introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–167.

8. See, for example, the thematic issue on gender and the executive branch edited by Claire Annesley and Susan Franceschet (2015) *Politics & Gender* 11(4): 613–745.

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10. Mary L. Shanley and Victoria Schuck (1974) 'In Search of Political Woman', *Social Science Quarterly* 55(3): 633.

11. Shanley and Schuck, 'In Search of Political Woman', pp. 634–665; Barbara J. Nelson (1989) 'Women and Knowledge in Political Science: Texts, Histories and Epistemologies', *Women & Politics* 9(2): 5–9; Sue Tolleson-Rinehart and Susan J. Carroll (2006) '"Far from Ideal": The Gender Politics of Political Science', *American Political Science Review* 100(4): 507–513.

12. Shanley and Schuck, 'In Search of Political Woman', pp. 637–638.

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14. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963) *The Civic Culture*, quoted in Bourque and Grossholtz, p. 257.

15. Murray Goot and Elizabeth Reid (1975) *Women and Voting Studies: Mindless Matrons or Sexist Scientism?* London: Sage, p. 6.

16. Robert E. Lane (1959) *Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics*, Glencoe: Free Press, p. 213.

17. Lane, *Political Life*, p. 355.

18. Duverger, *The Political Role of Women*, p. 8; Goot and Reid, *Women and Voting Studies*, p. 5.

19. Maurice Duverger (1955) *The Political Role of Women*, Paris: UNESCO, p. 125.

20. Duverger, *The Political Role of Women*, p. 150.

21. Tolleson-Rinehart and Carroll, 'Far from Ideal', p. 507.

22. Hannah Papanek (1973) 'Men, Women, and Work: Reflections on the Two-Person Career', *American Journal of Sociology* 78(4): 852–872.

23. Susan J. Carroll (1985) *Women as Candidates in American Politics*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press; Vicky Randall (1991) 'Feminism and Political Analysis', *Political Studies* 39: 513–532.

24. H. J. Walker (1963) 'A Government Back-Bencher', *Political Science* 15(2): 43. See also Nicholl and Cousins, 'Brief Encounter?' pp. 45–46.

25. Malcolm C. Brown (1983) *National Health Insurance in Canada and Australia: A Comparative Political Economy Analysis*, Canberra: Australian National University, p. vii.

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28. Marian Sawer (2008) *Making Women Count: A History of the Women's Electoral Lobby*, Sydney: NSW Press, p. 33. The women's embassy followed the precedent of an Aboriginal tent embassy established the previous year.

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43. Rendel, *Women, Power and Political Systems*, pp. 15, 18–21.

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68. Canada is included here amongst the English-speaking democracies, despite its bilingual language policy, as is New Zealand—where the majority of the population are English speakers but Te reo Maori is also an official language.

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