

THE CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF HISTORY: THE RESIDUAL EFFECTS OF
COLONIALISM ON WOMEN'S PARLIAMENTARY PARTICIPATION*

MELANIE M. HUGHES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Paper presented at the 100th Annual meeting of the American Sociological Association
Philadelphia, PA, August 13-16, 2005

*I thank Pamela Paxton, Kazimierz Slomczynski, and Vincent Roscigno for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. A previous version of this paper was also presented at "The End of Innocent Visions" Interdisciplinary Conference, The Ohio State University on June 4, 2004. To contact author: Melanie Hughes, Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University, 300 Bricker Hall, 190 North Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210; hughes.919@osu.edu.

LIVING HISTORY: THE CONTINUING EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON WOMEN'S LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION CROSS-NATIONALLY

ABSTRACT

Across many parts of the world, colonial domination profoundly altered men and women's relative power. But research has not yet empirically investigated the legacy of colonialism for women's political representation today. In this paper, I use multivariate regression analysis to examine the continuing effect of colonial ties on the degree of gender equality in 103 national legislatures. These countries have histories of domination or control by one of five regimes: Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom. I find that the current levels of women's parliamentary representation vary systematically across the colonies of different regimes. Those countries with the lowest levels of female access to power are the former colonies of the imperial powers with the fewest women in parliament. Likewise, the European powers with the highest levels of gender equality in their national legislatures have translated this success to their former dependencies. While colonialism may now be a part of history, colonial linkages remain important to women's representation in national legislatures today.

KEYWORDS: colonialism, cross-national, gender, women's political representation

LIVING HISTORY: THE CONTINUING EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON WOMEN'S LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION CROSS-NATIONALLY

In 1914, over three-quarters of the globe, including most of Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Caribbean and Pacific Islands, was economically or politically dominated by Western powers (Moane 1999). Across more than 500 years of colonialism, foreign governments imposed foreign political and legal structures, drew arbitrary territorial boundaries, extracted valuable resources, spread disease, and conquered, enslaved, slaughtered, evangelized, and attempted to 'civilize' indigenous populations. The colonial imposition also altered men and women's relative power, undermining women's legal status, control over economic resources, and access to formal political roles (Moane 1999; Mohanty 1991; Rai 1996; Rajan 1993; Smith and Watson 1992; Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995; Stewart 1996; Waylen 1996). By fostering export-oriented economies, encouraging ethnic competition, and institutionalizing gender inequality, colonialism left an indelible mark on the economic, political, and social structures of post-colonial societies (McMichael 2000; Olzak 1992; Etienne and Leacock 1980).

Colonies today remain connected to their former colonial powers in a number of ways. Not only do former colonized peoples often share common language, religion, and legal structures with their colonizers, but states continue to be tied through immigration, trade, military connections, and loose political associations (e.g., British Commonwealth nations). Therefore, in addition to the consequences of colonial domination, present-day linkages between European powers and their former colonies may continue to impact post-colonial states. Gender research emphasizes how power differentials established under colonialism are re-created in contemporary times (Acosta-Belén and Bose 1990; Hunter 2002). But these examinations often focus on women's economic, family, and legal status, rather than their position in the political

realm. In this paper, I consider the impact of colonial linkages on a different measure of women's power and status: women's share of national legislative seats.

Women's representation in politics may have profound effects. Research on parliaments in Western Industrialized countries demonstrates that women focus their efforts on different types of legislation than their male counterparts (Dodson 1991; O'Regan 2000; Swers 2002). If women are underrepresented in politics, issues such as sexual harassment, maternity leave, reproductive rights, and female health care may receive little attention. And in countries where women continue to face significant structural obstacles to equality, women's political incorporation may be especially critical (Tripp 2003). But even in countries where legislatures may have less power or influence, women's formal representation impacts both men's assessment of women's capacities and the aspirations and self-esteem of women (Johnson et al. 2003). Political position carries prestige, and for women and other disadvantaged groups, politics continues to be a major area to gain such status (Paxton 1997).

Despite the importance of women's incorporation, women continue to be underrepresented at the highest levels of political decision-making (Nelson and Chowdhury 1994; United Nations 1996). In fact, by numbers alone, gender inequality appears most pronounced in the political arena. For instance, 40 percent of the world's workers in 2003 were women (ILO 2004), and in almost half of independent nations, women make up a greater share of university enrollment than men (UNDP 2005). But only around 16 percent of national legislators are women (IPU 2005), and women have not yet held a full 50 percent of legislative seats in any national governing body.¹

However, facilitated by international and domestic pressure, women have made significant progress towards political equality in recent decades (Author). For instance, by

January 2000, female parliamentary representation had exceeded thirty percent in all five Scandinavian nations. And success by women in the political realm has not been limited to the developed world. In fact, since 1960, no region experienced a rate of increase in women's political representation higher than sub-Saharan Africa, which jumped from an average of 1% in 1960 to 14.3% in 2003 (Tripp 2003). Further, Rwanda now leads the world in women's representation, electing women to 48.8 percent of the seats in its lower house in 2003.

To account for cross-national differences in women's legislative representation, researchers focus on a number of factors that may influence women's incorporation, including a country's electoral system, the dominance of leftist political parties, and favorable cultural attitudes (Caul 1999; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Moore and Shackman 1996; Norris and Inglehart 2001; Paxton 1997; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Reynolds 1999; Rule 1981, 1987, 1994; Siaroff 2000). But recent research also suggests an under-theorization of the factors that may benefit or hinder women's political access in non-Western, lesser-industrialized countries (Hughes 2004; Matland 1998). Women of the global South face unique barriers, and different forces may facilitate their political incorporation than in the Western Industrialized world.

In this paper, I seek to bridge research on gender in post-colonial societies and research on women in politics. Specifically, using a worldwide sample of 186 countries, I investigate the effects of colonial linkages on levels of female parliamentary representation for 103 former dependencies of Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Employing regression analysis, I explore whether colonial ties display any systematic effects on women's national legislative representation in 2000. But first, I provide a brief overview of the literature on colonialism, gender, and politics. I consider not only how colonialism affected

women's status in colonial societies, but also key differences across colonial regimes. Then, situating colonial linkages within an emerging literature on the effects of international influences on women's political incorporation, I discuss how and why colonialism may continue to affect women's parliamentary representation today.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender, Politics, and the Colonial Legacy

Theories of women in politics assert that women's political representation is determined by political, structural, and cultural factors (e.g., Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Paxton 1997; Reynolds 1999). And gender scholars argue that colonialism influenced each of these domains, often undermining women's status.² Contrary to the logic of imperialism, which legitimized colonialism in part because it protected women from barbaric or degrading "traditional" practices, research generally suggests that pre-colonial gender relations were often much more egalitarian and interdependent than the structured inequality imposed by European rule (Agarwal 1992; Etienne and Leacock 1980; Kawamara-Mishambi and Ovonji-Odida 2003; Mohanty 1991; Rai 1996; Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995).

First, the demise of communal political structures under colonialism had negative implications for women's political power (Nzomo and Staudt 1994; Okonjo 1994). During pre-colonial times, male power was tempered by a significant and complementary political role of women. For example, in pre-colonial Ghana, there was a female counterpart to the male "king" called the *omanhema*, or queen mother, who was elected by a council of chiefs (Okonjo 1994). Not only was the conduct and welfare of the girls and women in the state her direct responsibility, but "as the authority on kinship relations, she determined the legitimacy of an aspirant to the royal stoolship, or throne, and had the prerogative of nominating the *omanhene*

(king), subject to the ratification by a council of elders” (Okonjo 1994:288). Furthermore, if the king had to leave his throne to lead his soldiers into battle, the queen mother ruled the state until his return. But when the British took control of the region, authorities instituted political structures that defined governance as a male domain. Formal contact between the indigenous states and the Europeans was between Black and White males, and the evolving colonial government structure reflected prevailing European attitudes that politics had no place for women (Okonjo 1994).

Colonialism also negatively affected women’s political roles indirectly through effects on women’s structural position and status. For instance, many researchers argue that through the introduction of new socioeconomic arrangements, colonization either exacerbated preexisting gender stratification or promoted its emergence (Agarwal 1992; Etienne and Leacock 1980; Kawamara-Mishambi and Ovonji-Odida 2003; Mohanty 1991; Rai 1996; Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995). First, changes in economic markets and trade undermined the autonomy and influence of women. For example, in pre-colonial Ghana, women engaged in trading and in the manufacture of local goods, and the proceeds from women’s economic ventures were theirs to control (Okonjo 1994). Under colonialism, however, men transitioned to wage labor, giving them almost exclusive access to a money economy (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995).

Land privatization also reordered the relations among men, women, and natural resources (Agarwal 1992; Kawamara-Mishambi and Ovonji-Odida 2003). Prior to colonialism, land in Africa was often communally owned, and its use and control were guided by customs that protected women’s land use rights (Kharono 1998). Elders, who were usually male, were the custodians of the land, but they had no powers of sale. Individual men, women, and adult children had equal access and user rights. However, colonial rule and Western influence

transformed “the custodial role of the male elders into an ownership power of male adults,” depriving women and other vulnerable groups from user rights to land (Forti 2005:18; Kawamara-Mishambi and Ovonji-Odida 2003). While much of the literature on land rights focuses on the African context, Mohanty (1991) finds similar patterns in British India, where colonialism resulted in “the reempowering of landholding groups, the granting of property rights to men, [and] the exclusion of women from ownership...” (p. 22).

In addition to the changing political, economic, and legal position of women, colonialism also impacted cultural attitudes towards women’s place. In much of the non-Western world during pre-colonial times, egalitarian gender relations or at least mutually respectful relations were a living reality (Etienne and Leacock 1980). But under colonialism, the inculcation of European cultural values and familial patterns was seen as key to restructuring productive relations and attitudes toward colonial domination, and “bringing the Indians from ‘savagery’ to ‘civilization’” (Etienne and Leacock 1980:180). Monitoring sexual practices in colonial societies was an important part of managing and maintaining the racialized social order (McClintock 1995; Tambe 2005). And through religious indoctrination and the teaching of European homemaking skills, missionaries imposed Christian European sexual, conjugal, and nuclear familial norms (Etienne and Leacock 1980; Mohanty 1991). Colonialism therefore fostered the public-private distinction in which men were viewed as breadwinners and public spokespersons and women as domestic helpers (Nzomo and Staudt 1994).

Despite the myriad ways in which colonialism undermined women’s power and status, feminists caution against ignoring the manner in which women successfully resisted or even benefited from colonial and patriarchal domination (Acosta-Belén and Bose 1990; Waylen 1996). For example, in Kenya, given female dominance in farming, space still existed for

women to exercise their considerable economic influence in ways that thwarted official and male goals (Nzomo and Staudt 1994; Presley 1992). And in the early colonial period, young Swazi women used the colonial courts to bring charges of assault and rape against men (Booth 1992). Further, in colonial Sierra Leone, women's authority as lineage heads, founders of towns, and secret society officials prior to colonial times left them well-situated to move into chief positions under British rule. For example, in Baoma, the town founder, war champion, and head of the village's prominent people was Madam Nenge. Recognized as chief by the British, her descendents have claimed the right to rule, and her daughter as well as two of her granddaughters held office after her death (Day 1994:489). Still, the sum of gender research suggests that women's overall position in politics was undermined by the colonial project.

Differences across Colonial Regimes

Although colonialism generally undermined women's position across a range of societies, colonial rule also differed in a number of key ways. For instance, colonial regimes differed in their philosophy and practices of administrative and political control. While the British relied on "indirect rule," the French adopted "direct rule." And while Belgian colonies used an economically focused "paternalism," the Portuguese adopted an oppressive "assimilationist" approach (Conteh-Morgan 1997:39-44; cited from Bernhard et al. 2004). Development of infrastructure, degree of White European settlement and missionary activity, and suppression of indigenous resistance also varied significantly across colonial regimes. These differences impacted how post-colonial societies were formed as well as the political and social structures these societies adopted upon and after independence. And these differences across colonial regimes may have important consequences for women in politics in post-colonial countries, even to this day.

One well-investigated colonial legacy is that of democracy in former British colonies (Bernhard et al. 2004; Bollen and Jackman 1985; Lipset et al. 1993). In the 1980s, political scientist Myron Weiner famously pointed out that every former colony with a continuous history of democracy was a former British colony (Weiner 1987). Cross-national large-N research has also found a positive association between stable democracies and British colonization (e.g., Bollen and Jackman 1985; Lipset et al. 1993). And looking across time from 1951 to 1995, Bernhard et al. (2004) find that time spent as a British colony has a positive effect on democratic survival. Although explanations for the positive effect of British colonialism on democracy vary, this research demonstrates that disparate colonial practices may continue to create differences across colonies of different regimes today.

But the implications of democratic stability for women's political representation are not well understood (Hughes 2004). On one hand, scholars argue that the clear rules and transparency of democratic political structures may benefit women who are entering the political game (Paxton 1997). Other research argues that because women's political equality is often justified on the grounds of democratic justice and the representation of interests, we should expect women to be more adequately represented where democratic processes are more firmly entrenched (Hughes 2004). Alternatively, authoritarian rulers may strive to incorporate women to enhance government legitimacy. Indeed, authoritarian regimes often employ soft quotas or use reserved seats to ensure women's political representation (Ballington 2004). Cross-national research on women in politics has been unable to adjudicate these conflicting ideas, as large-N studies consistently find no effect of level of democracy on women's legislative representation (Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Reynolds 1999). Research on democratizing states more often finds a negative effect of democratization on women's political

incorporation (Matland and Montgomery 2003; Yoon 2001). But in short, the British colonial legacy of stable democracy may have few clear-cut implications for women in politics.

Although British colonialism may have imparted greater democratic stability to its former colonies, other colonial regimes more clearly left political instability and ethnic conflict in their wakes. Because colonial powers often drew boundaries without regard to indigenous populations, the colonial project often fostered high levels of ethnic and religious fractionalization (Diamond 1998). But some regimes exacerbated ethnic tensions further by structuring the distribution of economic resources or political power ethnically. For example, research often traces the animosity between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda to Belgian colonial rule. Influenced by the eugenics movement in Europe, the Belgian colonial government sent scientists to evaluate their colonial subjects in then Ruanda-Urundi. Belgian officials found that Tutsi's were taller, lighter skinned, and had, on average, larger skulls. These observations led Belgians to believe that Tutsis had Caucasian ancestry and were therefore superior to Hutus. Both Tutsis and Hutus were issued racial identification cards, and governing through indirect rule, Belgians imparted the majority of political control of the colony to the Tutsis. A once fluid multi-ethnic society therefore became racially ordered and divided, a formula which later fueled ethnic genocide.

But how does ethnic fractionalization or full-scale ethnic warfare impact women's political representation? Recent scholarship suggests that large, internal wars that displace the regime in power may provide opportunities for women to gain political power (Hughes 2004). Ethnic conflict may politicize women, pulling them into anti-war movements or even military combat. Populations faced with war-torn societies may perceive women as a route to peace and reconciliation. Or, the imbalance of combat deaths and imprisonment may mean that women

simply have better odds of gaining office in a post-conflict society. Again, therefore, the stability of democracy provided by British colonialism may not translate to women's greater political incorporation. Instead, colonial powers which left behind ethnic divisions and conflict may provide contexts in which women's numbers in politics may advance more quickly.

Aside from level of democracy and overall national stability, colonial regimes may also impact the electoral system designs of post-colonial countries. The International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) reports that electoral systems are sometimes, "inherited without significant alteration from colonial or occupying administrations" (Reynolds et al. 2005:15). For example, India's first-past-the-post system is a legacy of British colonialism (Reynolds et al. 2005). Today, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal use party-list proportional representation (PR-PL) electoral systems, while the United Kingdom and France employ plurality-majority electoral rules. And while 100% of Belgian and Portuguese colonies and 94% of Spanish colonies use a PR-PL or mixed system incorporating PR-PL, only 20% of British colonies and 46% of French colonies use these electoral systems. Thus, colonial regimes appear to impact the electoral rules of their former colonies.

Unlike democracy, the relationship between electoral system design and women's numbers in politics is fairly straightforward. Indeed, one of the longest standing findings in research on women in politics is that PR systems benefit women (Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Norris 1985; Paxton 1997; Reynolds 1999; Rule 1981; Rule and Zimmerman 1994). For instance, Paxton (1997:454) finds that holding common control variables constant, countries with PR systems have on average 3.5% more women in their national legislature. So, if colonizing powers influence the adoption of PR systems in their former colonies, colonialism may be impacting women's numbers in politics indirectly through differences in electoral system

design.

International Effects and Mirroring Women's Representation

In addition to considering historical variation across colonial regimes, contemporary differences across former colonizing powers and their colonies may also impact women's political outcomes. Under colonialism, Western powers suggested that a woman's proper place was in the home, outside of the public sphere. But former colonial powers are not uniformly transmitting these same messages today. Indeed, cultural attitudes towards gender roles and female politicians vary significantly across Western countries (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Paxton and Kunovich 2003). And especially since the 1990s, former colonial regimes have also implemented different strategies to ensure women's share of candidacies or placement on political party lists (IDEA 2005). Thus, cultural and political differences have generated varying levels of success in fostering women's political incorporation across former colonial regimes. Figure 1 demonstrates this variation, plotting women's representation in the national legislatures of former European colonizers from 1945 to 2005—the last years of colonialism into the modern period. Although there were few systematic differences between the European regimes until the mid-1980s, today women in the parliaments of Belgium and Spain significantly outnumber women in the French National Assembly, while women's legislative representation in Portugal and the United Kingdom falls somewhat in the middle of the pack.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

But now that colonialism has passed into history, why would women's political successes in some European powers have any relationship to women in politics in other parts of the world? A burgeoning area of research on women's political outcomes recognizes that modern states are not isolated units, unaffected by international and transnational forces (Author; Gray, Kittleson, and

Sandholtz forthcoming; Krook 2003, 2004; Ramirez et al. 1997; Towns 2004). Indeed, normative changes in the global arena influence what levels of women's political incorporation are deemed acceptable across time, and countries respond to external pressure and incentives to institute policies that further draw women into politics (Author). Similarly, changes in women's incorporation into politics in one country may affect the perception of "appropriate levels" of women in legislative office in another country.

But the norms, policies and practices of one country are not likely to impact how all other countries operate. In general, states are more likely to follow policies developed or adopted by countries in their neighborhood (Knoke 1982; Land et al. 1991; Simmons 2000). Yet country norms and practices may also be influenced by models outside a country's region. If two countries share common peoples, culture, or history, those countries may be more likely to look to each other for appropriate action (or in some cases, to justify inaction). Therefore, colonial linkages may constitute another route through which diffusion or mimicry may occur. Former colonized peoples often share important commonalities with former colonizers such as language and religion, similarities that increase the likelihood that citizens in these countries may feel connected to one another. So although the initial cultural impact of colonialism on women's status may be largely negative, gains made by women in Europe may translate to altered perceptions or other important changes in former dependencies. Former colonizing and colonial governments also share ties such as trade, military connections, and formal political associations (e.g., British Commonwealth nations). Thus, when legislators make changes to the electoral system or rules, they are likely to be influenced by colonial linkages.

It is important to recognize that colonial linkage effects may go both ways. Former European powers often legitimized their domination of colonies in terms of cultural superiority.

And gender roles, including control over female sexuality, were a key area to demonstrate a ‘civilizing’ effect. But given that the international women’s movement has sought to establish women’s legislative representation as not only desirable, but as an important component of effective governance and “modernity,” (Towns 2004), greater progress in former colonies may be embarrassing for a once dominant imperial power. The countries once seeking to bring civilization to “backward” peoples may now themselves be perceived as backward. Given these dynamics, I hypothesize a mirror effect between countries linked through their colonial past. I suggest that countries sharing colonial linkages may also share trajectories of women’s political incorporation. And as differences grow between former colonizers over time, similar differences may also be apparent across former colonies.

DATA AND METHODS

Analytic Strategy

To determine if colonial linkages affect women’s representation, I assess women’s representation in national legislatures across former colonies using both descriptive and multivariate techniques. First, I compare women’s political representation in former colonizers and former colonies from 1945 to 2005, looking for evidence of a mirroring effect. But even if parallel developments are present between former colonizers and their colonies, these effects may be realized through other known influences such as regional similarities, religion, or gender quotas. Therefore, I also use multivariate regression analysis to determine whether colonial ties add new understanding to women’s political incorporation, controlling for factors such as gender quotas. I analyze a worldwide sample of 186 independent countries which had elected a national legislature prior to or during the year 2000. And from this set, I identify 103 former colonies with clear linkages to one of the five largest European colonial regimes: Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain, and the

United Kingdom (see below for details regarding coding colonial history).³ Each set of colonies is assigned a dummy variable, and this set of variables is included in an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression model. To examine the effects of each colonial regime relative to the others, I rotate the omitted category in order. Further, I use one of the two best approaches to handling missing data, multiple imputation with deletion (Allison 2002; von Hippel 2004).⁴

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this analysis is the percentage of female members elected to the lower or single house of a nation's parliament as of December 31, 2000.⁵ Elections took place as early as September 1992, and data were obtained from the Inter-Parliamentary web Page (2003).⁶ The percentages range between 0 and 42.7 percent with a mean of 11.5 percent. Of the 186 countries selected, six had no convening legislature in 2000 (Afghanistan, Burma, Comoros, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Libya, and Somalia). Data is used to inform the imputation model, but these cases are dropped from the analysis.⁷

Coding Colonial History

Because I am attempting to measure ongoing linkages, I only credit colonial ties to countries that achieved independence from one of five colonial powers. For example, even though the Dominican Republic was colonized by the Spanish, it was controlled by Haiti before achieving independence and is thus excluded from the analysis. Following this rule, I exclude Bangladesh, Bhutan, Panama, Singapore, the Sudan, and Uruguay. Because I am testing for differences across colonial regimes, I also exclude the United Republic of Tanzania and Cameroon, which were merged from separate colonies with unique histories.⁸ Finally, I exclude countries that were simultaneously dependents of multiple imperial powers. For example, Vanuatu was under

joint British and French administration from 1906 to 1980 (CIA 2004). All countries not explicitly linked to a single colonial regime remain in the analysis, but are incorporated into an “Other” category.

While these selection rules attempt to identify a range of colonies that have a clear and evident link to a single European power, a great many of the countries in the sample still have muddled colonial pasts. Often, many European powers operated in a region for trade or to pilfer slave labor before a colony was formally incorporated. Rule of colonies also changed due to negotiations between European powers or due to outright war. For example, Saint Lucia fell alternately under the control of France and Britain fourteen different times in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; however, France permanently ceded St. Lucia to the British in 1815, and the country was administered as a British colony for more than 150 years. Further, countries do not necessarily have the strongest relationships with the colonizer that ruled them. For example, although Oman reached independence in 1650 when it expelled the Portuguese, its legal system is based on English and Islamic law, and English, rather than Portuguese, is a common secondary language. Thus, despite my efforts to identify colonies that are most clearly linked, colonial history and continuing colonial ties are quite complex.

The selected former dependencies span across Asia, Africa, and the Americas. I incorporate multiple manifestations of imperial possession, including former settlement colonies such as the United States and Algeria, former exploitation colonies such as Nigeria and the Republic of the Congo, and pre-existing empires such as India. Colonies also range by their date of founding, their length of rule, and their period of decolonization. While in some cases independence was granted peacefully, in others it only followed after years of armed resistance. All countries included in the analysis are listed by colonizing power in Appendix A, along with

the year in which countries achieved independence and the percentage female members in parliaments in 2000.

Independent Variables

I incorporate several structural, political, and cultural variables often used in prior research. First, I include three structural variables: (1) the percentage of tertiary students that are women, (2) the percentage of the economically active population that are women, and (3) as a measure of industrialization, the log of commercial energy use per capita in 1995 (UNDP 2000; World Bank 1999).

Next, I employ a number of political variables commonly used in cross-national research on women's political representation, including a dummy variable for whether a country has a proportional representation party-list (PR-PL) system (IDEA 2003) and a dummy for whether one of a country's leading political parties has a leftist ideology (Derbyshire and Derbyshire 1996). I also include the nation's 1995 score on Bollen's political democracy index, the number of years since the country granted suffrage to women, and a Marxist-Leninist dummy measured in 1995, where Cuba, Laos, and Viet Nam are coded as 1, and all other nations are coded as 0.

The last political control variable I include is a dummy for gender quotas (Carr 2005; IDEA 2005; Krook 2003). Quotas vary widely in how they are adopted and implemented, and here I attempt to capture quotas that are likely increase the number of women elected. Therefore, I only credit countries for gender quotas if a national- or party-level quota mandating at least 10% women was adopted prior to the election used in the analysis, and for party-level quotas, the parties with quotas must hold at least 10% of seats in the national legislature.⁹ This excludes countries such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, and the Sudan which reserved only 4-9% of seats for women. Selection rules also exclude China, which does not specify a quota threshold, and

countries such as Armenia, where the two political parties that adopted gender quotas were not elected to parliament. I do assign a gender quota to the Philippines, which incorporates a 20% quota for disadvantaged groups including women.

I also follow the practice employed by past researchers and incorporate controls for region and dominant religion. I utilize 7 regional categories, including Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East (e.g. Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Moore and Shackman 1996; Paxton 1997). Western Industrialized nations are the omitted category. I use four dummy variables for a country's dominant religion, including Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim, and Other (CIA 2004; Derbyshire and Derbyshire 1996). The Other category includes Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Indigenous, and mixed-religion countries.

RESULTS

Figures 2 through 6 compare the percent women in the national legislature of each former colonizing power alongside the average percent women in the corresponding former colonies from 1945 to 2005. These figures display some rather interesting patterns. Perhaps the most striking evidence for a mirror effect is in Figure 2, where Belgium and its former colonies follow a very similar pattern of female political representation over time. But other regimes also show evidence of convergence. Figure 3 shows generally low performance for both France and its former colonies. And Figure 4 suggests that while former Portuguese colonies were early forerunners in women's parliamentary representation, the 1990s was a period of significant convergence between the former colonizer and its colonies. Figure 6 demonstrates that while British colonies were outperforming the United Kingdom during the late 1970s and 1980s, the UK increased its representation to match its colonies by the mid-1990s. After the UK surpassed

its former colonies, however, the rate of increase in women's political representation in the former colonies began a steeper incline, and today, Great Britain performs very similarly to its former colonies, on average.

The British case demonstrates that European powers do not always lead but sometimes follow their former colonies. But France makes this point even more clearly (see Figure 3). Interestingly, women's representation in France tends to remain very steady over time, but when its colonies start to get out of reach, France elects more women to close the gap. For instance, in 1996, former French colonies had elected an average of 11.5% women to their national legislatures, 5.1% more women than were elected in France. In the next election, however, France elected almost 11% women, reducing the gap to less than 1%.

Alternatively, perhaps the largest divergence between a colonial power and its former colonies is in the case of Spain (see Figure 5). Spain and its former colonies remained closely linked throughout the 1980s, and with the exception of Belgian colonies, former Spanish colonies have reached higher levels than all other former colonial regimes. But Spanish colonies, on average, have been unable to match the steep increases in female parliamentary representation accomplished by Spain since the 1990s. Indeed, of Spain's 16 former colonies, only Argentina and Costa Rica have closely followed Spain's trajectory.

FIGURES 2-6 ABOUT HERE

I next attempt to determine whether there is evidence of mirroring at one point in time, controlling for variables common in cross-national research on women in parliaments. Table 1 presents these results along with descriptive statistics for the former colonizers and colonies. First, looking at the descriptive statistics (the left and center sections of the table), we again see the patterns evident in the longitudinal figures. Belgium and its colonies have the highest levels

of representation, while France and its colonies have the lowest levels of representation. The UK, Portugal, and their former colonies fall in the middle. Spain is again least representative of the mirror effect, such that their former colonies fall behind.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

The right section of Table 1 presents the results of the OLS regression analyses. OLS models control for region, religion, democracy, party-list proportional representation electoral systems, gender quotas, leftist political parties, Marxist-Leninist ideology, industrialization, and the percentages of women in the labor force and in tertiary education. Coefficients and significance levels for these controls are reported in Appendix B. All variables perform similarly to effects reported in prior research predicting women's representation. The omitted category, or reference group, is rotated across columns. So, in the first column of OLS results, Belgium is the omitted category. On average, British colonies have more than 10 percent fewer women in their parliament than Belgian colonies, and French colonies are even lower, at almost 12 percent fewer women. Although the general pattern of coefficients remains even after controls are incorporated, only Belgium is significantly different from the other colonial regimes.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Historically, social scientists paid little attention to the transformation of gender relations that resulted from colonization (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995). But recent feminist scholarship has established that colonialism negatively affected the status of women in many indigenous societies. Research also highlights that colonialism is not just a part of history, and continuing connections between colonizers and the colonized may continue to have important implications for women's power.

Over the last few decades, differences in women's political representation have emerged

across European powers and their former colonies. And in this paper, I have argued that continuing colonial linkages can contribute to our understanding of these patterns. The descriptive statistics and figures provide preliminary evidence to support the theory of “mirroring.” Compared to other former imperial powers, Belgium has high levels of parliamentary representation. Similarly, former Belgian colonies have more women in their parliaments than the former colonies of other regimes. On the other hand, France and her colonies have relatively low levels of women participating in their national legislatures. Portugal, the United Kingdom, and their former colonies fall somewhat in the middle of these extremes.

Interestingly, this research also provides evidence that Western powers are not necessarily global leaders in women’s political incorporation. Indeed, France lags behind its colonies over time. And despite Spain’s impressive gains, the increases in women’s representation must be attributed, at least in part, to the adoption of a 40% gender quota in 1996 by the country’s dominant political party. Yet this improvement followed the remarkable success of Argentina’s quota in 1993 and 1995, success that gained international attention. Thus, while Spain appears not to fit the mirror pattern hypothesized here because its *average* colony could not keep up, a single country’s success may be enough to ratchet up the pressure for change.

Despite the descriptive patterns supporting a mirror effect, it appears that for the most part, differences across former colonies are explained by the structural, political, and cultural factors that are known to impact women’s representation in national legislatures. Indeed, region and religion alone capture many of the cultural ties of colonialism. Further, one of the strongest findings in women in politics research is that Party-List Proportional Representation (PR-PL)

systems provide incentives to include women. And former colonies are more likely to follow the electoral system design of their former colonizer. Beyond electoral system design, if states feel pressure to mirror the gains found in their former colonizer or colonies, gender quotas are an increasingly common strategy to boost women's numbers. Therefore, incorporating a control for gender quotas may capture some of the variation originating from colonial linkages.

The statistical analyses presented here are indeed preliminary. Modeling the effects of 500 years of colonial history across 103 former colonies of 5 distinct European powers across all regions of the world is a complex task. And because the effects of colonial linkages may affect both former colonizer and its colonies, demonstrating causality over time is a challenge. Yet these results do encourage new theorization about the effects of colonialism on women, and more generally, on the continuing effects of history on present-day political processes.

ENDNOTES

¹ Women have held 50% or more of the seats in legislative bodies that represent traditionally disadvantaged groups. For example, in the Norwegian Sametinget, a body that represents the interests of the Sami minority, women hold 51% of the seats.

² Because the system of colonialism and its effects are exceedingly complex, it is important not to over-generalize its uniform effects on women's power and status. Pre-colonial societal relations across Asia, Africa, and the Americas exhibited incredible diversity, some more egalitarian than others. Further, colonial rule differed in a number of ways, resulting in complicated and sometimes contradictory effects.

³ Swedish, Danish, German, Italian, and Dutch former colonies are not considered. Swedish activity on the Gold coast was usurped by the Danes in the 17th Century, and formal Swedish colonialism ended by 1878. Danish Gold Coast settlements (Danish Guinea) were ceded to Britain in 1850 and are treated as British colonies. I do not include German colonies because during WWI, the Allies captured German East Africa, and after the war, the territory was split into League of Nations mandates. Most of the area was granted to the United Kingdom as what is now Tanzania, while Belgium received Rwanda and Burundi, and Kionga, a village, was ceded to Portugal. Since Belgium administered Rwanda and Burundi almost three times as long as Germany, the former colonies are treated as Belgian in this analysis. Of the three former Italian colonies (Eritrea, Libya, and Somalia), only Eritrea had a parliament in 2000. Finally, I identified only two Dutch colonies, Suriname and Indonesia.

⁴ Using available data, the imputation procedure generates estimates for each of the missing values, but improving upon deterministic imputation methods, multiple imputation allows a random component to be introduced. However, treating imputed cases like real data would

produce artificially low standard errors. To adjust for this problem, the random imputation is carried out several times, producing multiple complete datasets. The variability across imputations is then used to adjust the standard errors upward (Allison 2002).

⁵ The practice of using only lower houses is common throughout literature on women in parliaments because in bicameral legislatures, lower houses consistently have more legislative power than upper houses.

⁶ For a small number of countries, elections occurred prior to the measurement of independent variables. These countries were dropped from the analysis in auxiliary runs, but no substantive changes to the results were identified.

⁷ Because imputing data for the dependent variable is problematic, von Hippel (2004) argues such cases should be included during imputation to maximize information, but dropped prior to modeling. I follow this practice.

⁸ In 1964 the colonies of Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania, but the two colonies have distinct colonial histories. Tanganyika was formed from the colony of German East Africa, was captured by the British during World War I, became a trust territory of the United Nations in 1946 (still under British rule), and achieved independence in 1961. Zanzibar, on the other hand, was ruled by the Portuguese for two centuries, followed by a period of rule by the Omanis, before the British gained control of much of the island in the Nineteenth Century. Thus, although both colonies achieved their independence from British rule, the Republic of Tanzania is comprised of two distinct colonial histories subsumed under a single country. Similarly, Cameroon was united at independence from separate English- and French-administered colonies.

⁹ Equatorial Guinea is coded as missing in all analyses because although one political party has adopted a quota, information could not be obtained for the year of adoption, quota threshold, or the party's share of votes. For 19 countries, the exact date of quota adoption could not be identified, so I was unable to verify that the country or party had adopted the quota prior to the election. These countries were re-coded as missing in auxiliary analysis but produced no substantive changes to the findings reported.

REFERENCES

- Acosta-Belén, Edna and Christine E. Bose. 1990. From Structural Subordination to Empowerment: Women and Development in Third World Contexts. *Gender & Society* 4(3):299-320.
- Agarwal, Bina. 1992. The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India. *Feminist Studies* 18(1):119-157.
- Allison, Paul. 2002. *Missing Data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Ballington, Julie, Ed. 2004. *The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences*. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival. *International Studies Quarterly* 48:225-250.
- Bollen, Kenneth A. and R.W.Jackman. 1985. Economic and Noneconomic Determinants of Political Democracy in the 1960s. *Research in Political Sociology*. 1:27-48.
- Booth, Alan R. 1992. "European Courts Protect Women and Witches: Colonial Law Courts as Redistributors of Power in Swaziland 1920-1950." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(2): 253-275.
- Carr, Adam. 2005. *Psephos Adam Carr's Election Archive*. Retrieved December 10, 2005.
<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>
- Caul, Miki. 1999. Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties. *Party Politics* 5(1): 79-98.
- Central Intelligence Agency. 2004. *The World Factbook 2004*. Retrieved April 15, 2004.
<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>

- Conteh-Morgan, E. 1997. *Democratization in Africa*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Day, Lynda R. 1994. The Evolution of Female Chiefship During the Late Nineteenth-Century Wars of the Mende. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27(3):481-503.
- Derbyshire, J. D. and Ian Derbyshire. 1996. *Political Systems of the World*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Dodson, Debra L. 1991. *Gender and Policymaking: Studies of Women in Office*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for the American Woman and Politics.
- Etienne, Mona and Eleanor Leacock. 1980. "Introduction." *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Praeger, 1-24.
- Gray, Mark, Miki Caul Kittleson, and Wayne Sandholtz. Forthcoming. Women and Globalization: A Study of 180 Countries, 1975-2000. *International Organization*.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2004. "Another Road to Power? Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations." Master's Thesis. Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University.
- Hunter, Margaret L. 2002. 'If You're Light You're Alright': Light Skin Color as Social Capital for Women of Color. *Gender & Society* 16(2):175-193.
- Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). 2005b. *Global Database of Quotas for Women*, Stockholm University. Retrieved December 4, 2005. <http://www.idea.int/quota>
- Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). 2003. *Electoral Systems Worldwide*. Retrieved September 2, 2003. <http://www.idea.int/esd/world.cfm>
- International Labor Organization (ILO). 2004. *Global Employment Trends for Women 2004*. Retrieved April 11, 2005. [26](http://www-ilo-</p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

- mirror.cornell.edu/public/english/employment/strat/download/trendsw.pdf.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Inequality and Cultural Change around the World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2005. *Parline Database*. Retrieved April 1, 2005.
<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm>.
- Johnson, Deb, Hope Kabuchu, and Santa Vusiya. 2003. Women in Ugandan local government: The impact of affirmative action. *Gender and Development* 11 (3): 8–18.
- Jones, Mark P. 1996. Increasing Women's Representation via Gender Quotas: The Argentine Ley de Cupos. *Women and Politics* 16(4):75-98.
- Jones, Mark P. and Navia 1999. Assessing the Effectiveness of Gender Quotas in Open-List Proportional Representation Electoral Systems. *Social Science Quarterly* 80(2):341-355.
- Kawamara-Mishambi, Shieila and Irene Ovonji-Odida. 2003. "The 'Lost Clause': The Campaign to Advance Women's Property Rights in the Uganda 1998 Land Act." No Shortcuts to Power: *African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, edited by Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim. London: Zed Books,160-187.
- Kenworthy, Lane and Melissa Malami. 1999. "Gender Inequality in Political Representation: A Worldwide Comparative Analysis." *Social Forces* 78(1):235-268.
- Kharono, Elizabeth. 1998. *Feminist Challenge to the Land Question in Uganda: Options for Meaningful Action*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, African Gender Institute.
- Knoke, David. 1982. "The Spread of Municipal Form: Temporal, Spatial, and Social Dynamics." *American Journal of Sociology* 87:1314-39.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2004. Promoting Gender-Balanced Decision-Making: The Role of International Fora and Transnational Networks." *Crossing Borders: Re-Mapping*

- Women's Movements at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Eds. Hilda Romer Christensen, Beatrice Halsaa, and Aino Saarinen, 205-220. University Press of South Denmark.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2003. Get the Balance Right!: Global and Transnational Campaigns to Promote Gender-Balanced Decision-Making. Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, February 25-March 1, 2003, Portland, OR.
- Kunovich, Sherri and Pamela Paxton. 2005. Pathways to Power: The Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation. *American Journal of Sociology* 111:505-552.
- Land, Kenneth C., Glenn Deane, and Judith R. Blau. 1991. Religious Pluralism and Church Membership: A Spatial Diffusion Model. *American Sociological Review* 56:237-249.
- Lipset, Seymour M. Kyung-Ryung Seong, and John C. Torres. 1993. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Requisites of Democracy. *International Social Science Journal* 136:155-175.
- Lovenduski, Joni and Pippa Norris, Eds. 1993. *Gender and Party Politics*. London: Sage Publications.
- Matland, Richard E. 1998. Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23(1):109-25.
- Matland, Richard and Kathleen A. Montgomery, Eds. 2003. *Women's Access to Power in Post-Communist Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.
- McMichael, Philip. 2000. *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective, 2nd Edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Moane, Geraldine. 1999. "Women, Psychology and Society: the Personal is Political." *Gender and Colonialism: A Psychological Analysis of Oppression and Liberation*. Houndmills,

- UK: Macmillan Press, 1-23.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 1991. "Introduction. Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism." *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, edited by Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1-47.
- Moore, Gwen and Gene Shackman. 1996. Gender and Authority: A Cross-National Study. *Social Science Quarterly* 77:273-288.
- Nelson, Barbara J. and Najma Chowdhury, Eds. 1994. *Women and Politics Worldwide*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 1985. "Women's Legislative Participation in Western Europe." *West European Politics* 8:90-101.
- Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2001. Cultural Obstacles to Equal Representation. *Journal of Democracy* 12(3): 126–40.
- Nzomo, Maria and Kathleen Staudt. 1994. "Man-Made Political Machinery in Kenya: Political Space for Women?" *Women in Politics Worldwide*, edited by Barbara J. Nelson and Najma Chowdhury. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 416-435.
- O'Regan, Valerie. 2000. *Gender Matters: Female Policymakers' Influence in Industrialized Nations*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Okonjo, Kamene. 1994. "Women and the Evolution of a Ghanaian Political Synthesis." *Women in Politics Worldwide*, edited by Barbara J. Nelson and Najma Chowdhury. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 286-297.
- Olzak, Susan. 1992. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Paxton, Pamela. 1997. Women in National Legislatures: A Cross-National Analysis. *Social Science Research* 26: 442-464.
- Paxton, Pamela and Sheri Kunovich. 2003. Women's Political Representation: The Importance of Ideology. *Social Forces*.
- Presley, Cora Ann. 1992. *Kikuyu Women, the Mau Mau Rebellion, and Social Change in Kenya*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rai, Shirin M. 1996. "Women and the State in the Third World: Some Issues for Debate." *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, edited by Shirin M. Rai and Geraldine Lievesley. London: Taylor and Francis, 5-22.
- Rajan, Rajeswari Sunder. 1993. *Real and Imagined Women: Gender, Culture and Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Ramirez, Francisco O., Yasemin Soysal, and Suzanne Shanahan. 1997. The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890 to 1999. *American Sociological Review* 62: 735-745.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 1999. Women in the Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling. *World Politics* 51(4): 547-572
- Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis. 2005. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).
- Rule, Wilma. 1994. Women's Underrepresentation and Electoral Systems. *Political Science and Politics* 27(4): 689-692.
- Rule, Wilma. 1987. Electoral Systems, Contextual Factors, and Women's Opportunity for Election to Parliament in 23 Democracies. *The Western Political Quarterly* 40:477-98.
- Rule, Wilma. 1981. Why Women Don't Run: The Critical Contextual Factors in Women's

- Legislative Recruitment. *Western Political Quarterly* 34:60-77.
- Rule, Wilma and Joseph F. Zimmerman, editors. 1994. *Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspective: Their Impact on Women and Minorities*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Siaroff, Alan. 2000. Women's Representation in Legislatures and Cabinets in Industrial Democracies. *International Political Science Review* 21(2):197-215.
- Simmons, Beth A. 2000. International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Affairs. *American Political Science Review* 94:819-835.
- Smith, Sidonie and Julia Watson, Eds. 1992. *De/colonizing the Subject: the Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Stasiulis, Daiva and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1995. "Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies-Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class in Settler Societies." *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*. London: Sage Publications, 1-38.
- Stewart, Ann. 1996. "Should Women Give Up on the State? – The African Experience." *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, edited by Shirin M. Rai and Geraldine Lievesley. London: Taylor and Francis, 23-44.
- Swers, Michelle. 2002. Research on Women in Legislatures: What Have We Learned, Where Are We Going? *Women in Politics* 23(1/2).
- Tambe, Ashwini. 2005. A Transnational Feminist Analysis of European Prostitution in Colonial Bombay. *Gender & Society* 19(2):160-179.
- Towns, Ann. 2004. *Norms and Inequality in International Society: Global Politics of Women and the State*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota
- Tripp, Aili Mari. 2003. "The Changing Face of Africa's Legislatures: Women and Quotas." Paper Presented at The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences, Pretoria, South

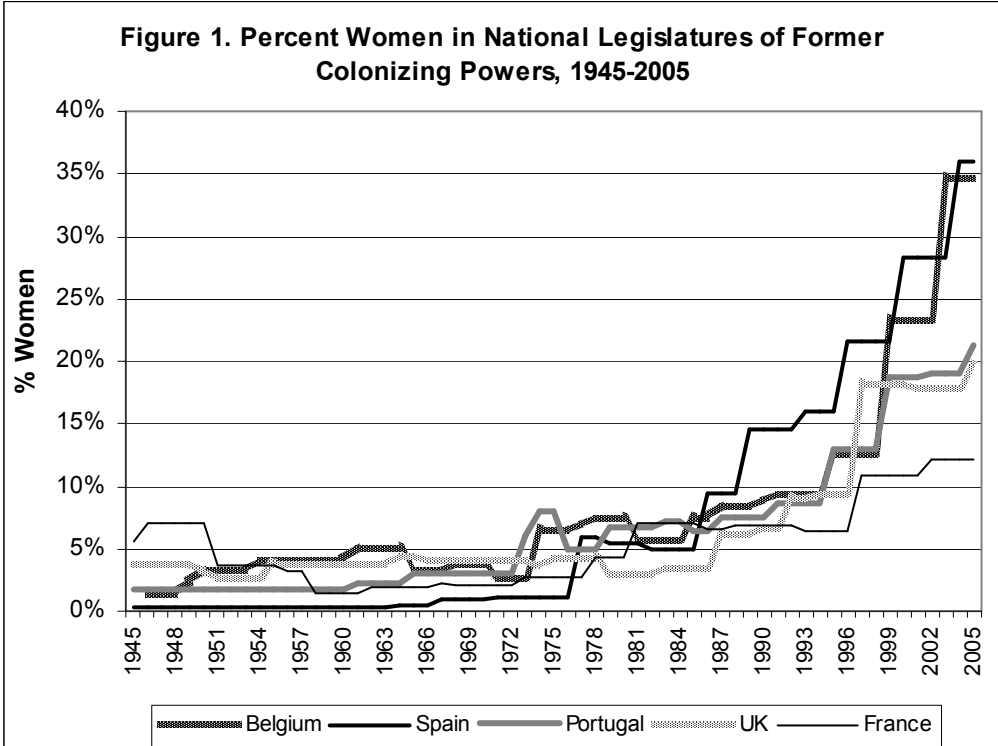
- Africa, November 11-12, 2003.
- United Nations Development Program. 2005. *Human Development Report 2004*.
<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2004/>
- United Nations Development Program. 2000. *The Women's Indicators and Statistics Database (WISTAT) Version 4* [CD-ROM]. United Nations Publications.
- United Nations. 1996. "Fact Sheet on Women in Government." Retrieved April 30, 2003.
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/public/fact.htm>.
- von Hippel, Paul T. 2004. "Multiple Imputation with Deletion: Increasing Efficiency by Deleting Cases with Imputed Y." Unpublished Manuscript.
- Yoon, M. Y. 2001. Democratization and Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Democratization* 8(2):169-190.
- Waylen, Georgina. 1994. Women and Democratization: Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics. *World Politics* 46(3): 327-354.
- Weiner, Myron. 1987. "Empirical Democratic Theory." In *Competitive Elections in Developing Countries*, edited by M. Weiner and E. Özbudun. Washington DC: American Enterprise Institute.
- World Bank. 1999. *World Development Indicators* [CD-ROM].

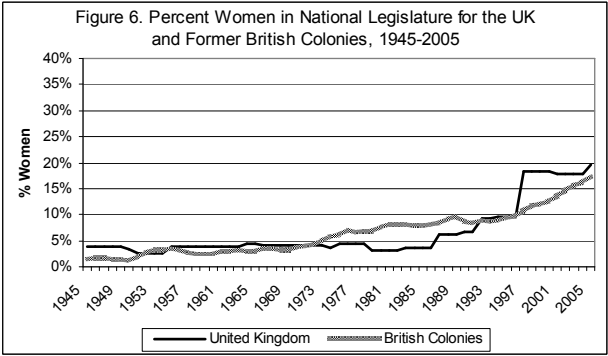
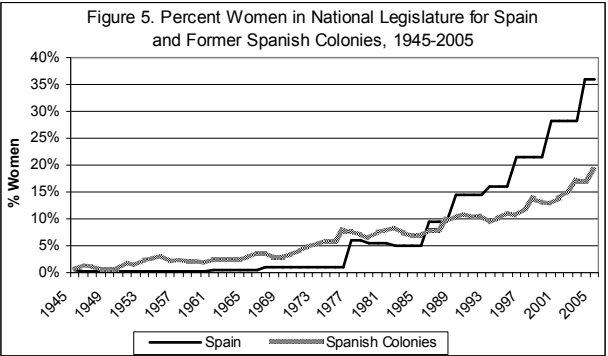
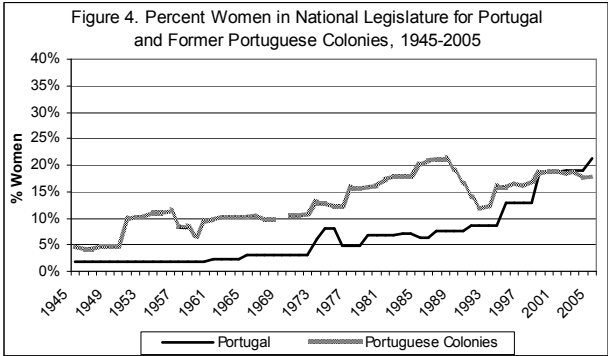
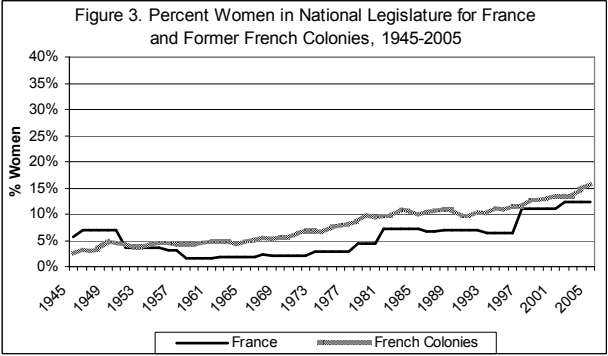
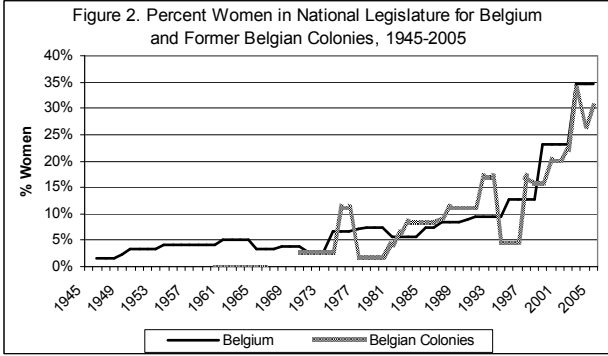
Table 1. Comparing Women's Relative Parliamentary Representation in Belgium, Spain, Portugal, the United Kingdom, France and 103 of Their Former Colonies, Descriptive Statistics and OLS Results

	Colonizer		Former Colonies, 2000 (Descriptive)							Former Colonies, 2000 ^a (OLS)						
	% Women		Mean	N	% Women			Min	Max	Comparison Group	Reference Group					
	2000	2005			Miss	St	Dv				Belgium	Portugal	Spain	UK	France	Other
Belgium	23.3	34.7	Belgium	20.1	2	1	8.0	14.4	25.7	Belgium	n/a	8.80 [†]	9.47 [*]	10.65 [*]	11.78 ^{**}	8.93 [*]
Portugal	17.4	21.3	Portugal	13.2	6	0	8.9	5.7	30.0	Portugal	-8.80 [†]	n/a	0.67	1.85	2.97	0.12
Spain	28.3	36.0	Spain	13.3	16	0	7.0	2.5	27.6	Spain	-9.47 [*]	-0.67	n/a	1.18	2.30	-0.54
UK	18.4	19.7	UK	9.7	51	2	7.9	0.0	30.8	UK	-10.65 [*]	-1.85	-1.18	n/a	1.12	-1.73
France	10.9	12.2	France	8.0	24	1	6.2	0.0	26.0	France	-11.78 ^{**}	-2.97	-2.30	-1.12	n/a	-2.85 [†]
			Other	13.2	81	2	0.8	0.0	42.7	Other	-8.93 [*]	-0.12	0.54	1.73	2.85 [†]	n/a

^a OLS regression model controlling for dominant religion, industrialization, level of democracy, Marxist-Leninist ideology, party-list proportional representation, gender quotas, percentage women in the labor force, percentage women in tertiary education, presence of a major leftist party, and region. See Appendix B for parameter estimates for these variables.

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$ (two-tailed test); [†] $p \leq .05$ (one-tailed test).





APPENDIX A. Date of Independence and Percent Women in Parliament for Countries by Former Colonizing Power

Belgian	Year	% W	British (cont.)	Year	% W	French (cont.)	Year	% W
Burundi	1962	14.4	Myanmar	1948	.	Laos	1949	21.2
Congo, DRC	1960	.	New Zealand	1907	30.8	Lebanon	1943	2.3
Rwanda	1962	25.7	Nigeria	1960	3.4	Madagascar	1960	8
			Pakistan	1947	2.3	Mali	1960	12.2
British	Year	% W	Saint Kitts & Nevis	1983	13.3	Mauritania	1960	3.8
Afghanistan	1919	.	Saint Lucia	1979	11.1	Morocco	1956	0.6
Antigua & Barbuda	1981	5.3	Saint Vincent	1979	4.8	Niger	1960	1.2
Australia	1901	23	Seychelles	1976	23.5	Senegal	1960	12.1
Bahamas	1973	15	Sierra Leone	1961	8.8	Syrian Arab R.	1946	10.4
Bahrain	1971	0	Solomon Islands	1978	2	Togo	1960	4.9
Barbados	1966	10.7	South Africa	1910	29.8	Tunisia	1956	11.5
Belize	1981	6.9	Sri Lanka	1948	4	Viet Nam	1945	26
Botswana	1966	17	Swaziland	1968	3.1	Portuguese	Year	% W
Brunei Darussalam	1984	0	Tonga	1970	0	Angola	1975	15.5
Canada	1867	20.6	Trinidad & Tobago	1962	11.1	Brazil	1822	5.7
Cyprus	1960	7.1	Uganda	1962	17.8	Cape Verde	1975	11.1
Dominica	1978	18.75	UAE	1971	0	Guinea-Bissau	1973	7.8
Egypt	1922	2.4	USA	1776	14.02	Mozambique	1975	30
Fiji	1970	4.3	Zambia	1964	10.1	Sao Tome & Principe	1975	9.1
Gambia	1965	2	Zimbabwe	1980	9.3	Spanish	Year	% W
Ghana	1957	9				Argentina	1816	26.5
Grenada	1974	26.7	French	Year	% W	Bolivia	1825	11.5
Guyana	1966	18.5	Algeria	1962	3.4	Chile	1810	10.8
India	1947	9	Benin	1960	6	Colombia	1810	11.8
Iraq	1932	7.6	Burkina Faso	1960	8.1	Costa Rica	1821	19.3
Ireland	1921	12	Cambodia	1953	7.4	Cuba	1902	27.6
Israel	1948	12.5	Central African Republic	1960	7.3	Ecuador	1822	14.6
Jamaica	1962	13.3	Chad	1960	2.4	El Salvador	1821	9.5
Jordan	1946	0	Comoros	1975	.	Equatorial Guinea	1968	5
Kenya	1963	3.6	Congo, Republic of	1960	12	Guatemala	1821	8.8
Kiribati	1979	4.8	Côte d'Ivoire	1960	8.52	Honduras	1821	9.4
Kuwait	1961	0	Djibouti	1977	0	Mexico	1810	16
Lesotho	1966	3.8	Gabon	1960	9.2	Nicaragua	1821	9.7
Malawi	1964	9.3	Guinea	1958	8.8	Paraguay	1811	2.5
Malaysia	1957	10.4	Haiti	1804	3.6	Peru	1821	20
Maldives	1965	6				Venezuela	1811	9.7
Malta	1964	9.2						
Mauritius	1968	5.7						

Appendix B. Controls for Table 1 Models, Predicting Women in National Legislatures, 2000

<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Parameter Estimate</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>
Intercept	17.017 ^t	(9.568)
Region ¹		
Scandinavia	12.744 ***	(3.036)
Sub-Saharan Africa	-2.881	(2.354)
Latin America	-3.664	(2.385)
Eastern Europe	-5.317 *	(2.073)
Middle East / North Africa	-6.268 *	(3.107)
Asia / Pacific Islands	-7.702 ***	(2.104)
Religion ²		
Muslim	-2.497	(1.867)
Catholic	-3.506 *	(1.648)
Orthodox	-6.590 **	(2.202)
Other	-2.076	(1.735)
Structural Factors		
Industrialization	-0.553	(1.193)
Tertiary Education	0.069	(0.111)
Labor Force Participation	0.022	(0.087)
Political Factors		
Democracy	0.033	(0.020)
Left Party	2.720	(1.649)
PR-PL	2.306 *	(1.159)
Gender Quotas	2.956 **	(1.136)
Marxist-Leninist	17.818 ***	(3.362)
Years of Women's Suffrage	0.078 *	(0.031)
<hr/>		
N	179	
Adjusted R ²	0.633	

¹ Western Industrialized countries are the reference category.

² Protestant countries are the reference category.

Note: Colonial dummies are included in this analysis. Parameter estimates are reported in Table 1.