

Web Appendix: Why Are Gender Quotas Adopted by Men? The Role of Inter- and Intraparty Competition

This document provides supplementary information for “Why Are Gender Quotas Adopted by Men? The Role of Inter- and Intraparty Competition.” Specifically, it includes: (A) Case Study Matching Procedure (B) Interview Methods.

Appendix A: Case Study Matching Procedure

The following section provides further details about the statistical matching procedure used to select paired cases, including a discussion of similarities and differences between the matched pair countries and tables showing the data used.

I match on six variables identified as potential determinants of quota adoption: percentage of women in parliament, proportional representation, economic development (income per capita), women’s labor force participation, percentage of parties with voluntary quotas (weighted by seat share in parliament), and percentage of population Catholic (1980).¹

Percentage of women in parliament is included because most countries that pass a quota law have low levels of women in parliament before the law is passed, as discussed in the main text. This makes an intervention like a quota likely to be useful, although certainly many countries with low levels of women’s representation do not go on to pass a quota (e.g., the United States), and some with high levels of women’s representation do (e.g., Spain). Economic development and women’s labor force participation are included due to their correlation with increases in women’s representation (Matland 1998; McAllister and Studlar 2002; Iversen and Rosenbluth 2008; Tripp and Kang 2008). According to Inglehart

¹Data on percentage of women in parliament, female labor force participation, and proportional representation come from the Comparative Welfare States Data Set, February 2014 version; income per capita comes from the U.N. World Development Indicators (2014); percentage of the population Catholic as of 1980 from (La Porta et al. 1999); and the share of parties with voluntary gender quotas comes from an original dataset.

and Norris (2000), economic development goes hand in hand with the transformation of sex roles and attitudes towards women, female participation in the workforce, and ultimately the supply and demand of female candidates for political office. Catholicism is also included because of its potential link to women's representation. Catholic culture has been linked to low levels of women's representation in office, and every country that has passed a quota law in Europe has a strong tradition of Catholicism (Castles 1994; Esping-Andersen 1990). Proportional representation is included because quotas are thought to be more compatible with PR systems where the party presents a list of candidates than with majority systems with lower district magnitude (Matland, 2006). Finally, I include voluntary party quotas because party-level experience with voluntary gender quota provisions might also be linked to adoption of a quota law. In addition to contagion theory, parties that have already passed internal quotas have already had the critical debate, making members more likely to be unified in support for a national law. Parties also gain experience implementing the law and are able to see that it is effective.

I considered controlling for several other variables correlated with quota adoption. First, research has highlighted the importance of strong women's movements advocating for change, especially women's sections in the party (Kittilson 2006; Dahlerup 2006). Unfortunately it is very difficult to measure the presence or strength of women's movements or party sections across countries over time. The best data available come from Htun and Weldon (2012), who compile measures of the strength and autonomy of feminist women's movements over time in 70 countries. These data show that there was no change in the strength or autonomy of women's movements in Belgium or Portugal before a quota law was passed. In other words, a trend towards strong, autonomous women's movements is not present before quota laws were passed in these cases. My interview data further confirmed that women's movements were not crucial players in these cases.

Second, scholars also point to international information sharing as a key factor in quota

adoption (Krook 2006, 2008) – and in my cases, particularly at the European level. Two of the international influences most frequently cited in my interviews were the European Commission and Council of Europe.² Because all advanced democracies are likely to be similarly influenced by these bodies, I do not include this as a matching variable. I return to the question of international influence and women’s sections in parties in the subsequent section on balance on other potential confounders.

The matching procedure is carried out using the `MatchIt` package version 2.4-20 in R version 2.14.0. I conduct separate matching procedures for Belgium and Portugal, subsetting the data to countries with elections in the years including and immediately preceding the year in which a quota law was adopted for each case (1994 in Belgium and 2006 in Portugal). I include only one election-year per country.

I drop other ‘quota countries’ before matching. I use nearest neighbor, Mahalanobis matching. Nearest neighbor matching selects the single best control match for each ‘treated’ unit (i.e., Belgium and Portugal). Matching is done using a distance measure, and here the Mahalanobis option is used because it allows for continuous covariates (Ho et al. 2011). The match is selected based on Mahalanobis distance, a generalization of Euclidean distance that accounts for correlations between variables (Rubin 1973). Tables A1 and A2 at the end of this section present data used in the matching procedures. Matched pairs are in **bold**.

The matching procedure successfully identifies matches for both Belgium and Portugal. Belgium is matched to Austria, and Portugal is matched to Italy. Taking Belgium and Austria first, both are considered social democratic welfare states, and as Table A1 shows they had very similar levels of economic development and female labor force participation in this time period. Before the Belgian quota law both had relatively few women in office – although Belgium especially so (9%, compared to Austria’s 22%). The electoral systems in the two countries are similar, both having closed list PR systems with medium-sized districts

²Other international influences were global, e.g. CEDAW, Socialist Women International.

(about 14 - 20 legislators elected per district on average) in the early 1990s.³ Both countries have a strong history of Catholicism, with 89% and 90% of the population identifying as Catholic in 1980 in Austria and Belgium respectively. Both also had political parties with voluntary quota laws, including the socialist SPÖ in Austria and the Flemish Christian Democrats and Social Democrats in Belgium. Finally, I note that Austria is one of the only advanced democracies where a quota law was proposed by the national parliament following the 1994 elections but failed to pass (in 1999) (Köpl, 2005). This suggests that it is a particularly good counterfactual for the case of Belgium.

Portugal and Italy are Southern European countries with similarly low levels of women in office before the Portuguese quota law was adopted (21% and 10% respectively). The electoral systems at the time were similar, with both having closed list PR systems and multi-member districts. Catholicism is also very strong in both countries. The main left-wing parties in both countries had a voluntary party quota at the time (the DS in Italy and the PS in Portugal). The match is less close on the economy and women's employment. Italy is a higher income country, but in Portugal a greater percentage of women are active in the labor market. However, since both of these factors are hypothesized to lead to greater levels of women's representation and higher social spending, the bias from the mismatch ought to even out. I also note that the two countries' economies are often compared due to high national budget deficits relative to GDP, and high, or rising, government debt levels (as in the derogatory 'PIGS' acronym). Finally, I have extra confidence in this match because – as in the case of Austria – a quota law was proposed in Italy around the same time as in Portugal.

Balance on other potential confounders

Turning to the other variables that have been cited as causes of quota adoption in the

³After 1995 Belgium adopted several changes to increase the importance of preference votes, so it is now considered an open list system.

literature, we can see that both matches are European countries, and thus would have been subject to similar influence by the Council of Europe, European Commission, and other European-level and global organizations. Both Austria and Italy also have some political parties with established women’s sections, like their counterparts in Belgium and Portugal. In Austria both the Social Democratic party and the Austrian People’s Party have had a women’s section since 1945.⁴ In Italy the Democratic Party of the Left established a women’s section in the party in 1991 (Guadagnini 2005).

Table A1: Data for Matching: Belgium

Country	Election year	% Women in parliament	GNI per capita	PR	Female labor force participation	% Catholic (1980)	Party quotas (%)
Belgium	1991	9.4	28,513	1	41.81	90	35
Australia	1993	8.8	24,411	1	41.74	29.6	0
Austria	1994	21.9	29,186	1	42.81	88.8	43
Canada	1993	18	25,412	0	44.74	46.6	63
Denmark	1994	33.5	38,630	1	45.66	0.6	35
Finland	1991	39	25,295	1	47.18	0.1	0
Germany	1994	21.9	29,396	1	NA	35	45
Great Britain	1992	9.2	25,533	0	43.77	13.1	0
Greece	1993	6	15,632	1	37.25	0.4	57
Iceland	1991	23.8	38,706	1	45.77	0.7	38
Ireland	1992	12	20,952	1	NA	95.3	0
Japan	1993	2.67	32,574	1	40.53	0.6	0
Luxembourg	1994	20	51,662	1	36.14	93	0
Netherlands	1994	31.3	31,122	1	41.32	42.6	28
New Zealand	1993	21.2	19,172	1	43.53	18.7	0
Norway	1993	39.4	47,290	1	45.42	0.3	76
Sweden	1991	33.5	29,576	1	47.98	1.4	5
Switzerland	1991	17.5	48,306	1	41.73	52.8	21
United States	1992	11	32,791	0	44.83	30	0

⁴<http://frauen.spoe.at/ueber-uns>;
<http://www.frauenoffensive.at/service/geschichte-der-oesterreichischen-frauenbewegung.html>; and see Kopl 2005.

Table A2: Data for Matching: Portugal

Country	Election year	% Women in parliament	GNI per capita	PR	Female labor force participation	% Catholic (1980)	Party quotas (%)
Portugal	2005	21.3	17,994	1	46.75	94.1	52
Australia	2004	24.7	32,379	1	44.65	29.6	40
Canada	2004	21.1	33,704	0	46.61	46.6	50
Denmark	2005	36.9	48,209	1	47.33	0.6	0
Finland	2003	37.5	34,774	1	48.17	0.1	0
Germany	2005	31.8	33,922	1	45.18	35	81
Great Britain	2005	19.7	39,130	0	45.97	13.1	0
Greece	2004	13	21,094	1	40.66	0.4	39
Ireland	2002	13.25	37,004	1	41.65	95.3	0
Italy	2001	9.8	30,204	1	38.74	83.2	26
Japan	2005	9	36,615	1	41.35	0.6	0
Luxembourg	2004	23.3	68,354	1	41.96	93	75
Netherlands	2003	36.7	38,146	1	44.17	42.6	33
New Zealand	2005	32.3	25,711	1	46.42	18.7	0
Norway	2001	35.8	61,673	1	46.6	0.3	59
Sweden	2002	45	37,583	1	47.96	1.4	54
Switzerland	2003	25	53,493	1	44.65	52.8	26
United States	2004	14.9	43,615	0	46.18	30	0

Appendix B: Interview Methods

The following section details interview methodology, including constructing a sampling frame, interview format and response rate, recording, and compensation strategies for uncertainty.

In composing the sample frame, I sought a diversity of interview subjects – men and women, politicians, bureaucrats, and activists – who were participants and observers of the process to adopt a quota law. Most importantly, I looked for subjects who could offer the best evidence about quota adoption – including past and present party leaders, cabinet members, politicians and activists. I used parliamentary proceedings and newspaper coverage of quota debates, as well as secondary literature, to determine key actors. I also gave interviewees the opportunity to recommend other potential interview subjects. Many times these subjects were already in the sample frame, but some new interviews also resulted from these referrals. All in-person interviews were recorded, with the approval of the interviewee (one interview was not recorded due to technical problems). Audio was transcribed immediately following the interview, along with any other relevant notes or observations. Audio and transcripts of all interviews are available on request (one interviewee requested anonymity, so this recording is not available).

The majority of interviews were semi-structured, with the exception of structured email interviews when in-person interviews were not possible. The core questions were: 1) Why did your political party support / not support national quota legislation? 2) Why did (other party/ies) support / not support the quota law? 3) Why do you think the quota law passed (did not pass) at X time? In order to facilitate rapport, questions were often rephrased for individual respondents given their own documented views or actions related to the quota debate. At the end of interviews, respondents were also given an opportunity to add anything they thought relevant to the discussion.

Most of the interviews were conducted in English. While Austria and Belgium are both countries characterized by very high English proficiency, I expected more variation in the cases of Italy and Portugal. Initial emails were sent in both English and native language in these cases (I am proficient in Italian, and used a translator in the case of Portugal). In Portugal, all respondents save for one responded in English, and all interviews were conducted in English. I was unable to conduct one interview with a member of the communist party in Portugal because of translator unavailability. In Italy, contacts responded in both Italian and English, and interviews also took place in both languages (often both in the course of the same interview). In this way, interviewees were able to express themselves comfortably in whichever language they preferred. Because interviews were recorded, I could go back, re-listen, and translate into English different portions of the interview as needed.

Table B1 below reports all interviews sought, obtained, and declined. Interviewees are divided into categories based on country, and then their occupation and party affiliation, with the main groupings being left-wing politicians, right-wing politicians, and women's movement activists, since these are the actors central to accounts of quota adoption.

Overall the response rate was just under 50% (61/124). Notably, I was unable to obtain any interviews with members of right-wing parties in Italy. I was also unable to obtain any interviews with men in Italy. Response rates for individual countries are: Austria 66% (12/18), Belgium 58% (23/40), Italy 33% (10/30), Portugal 44% (16/36). The gender breakdown of interviews overall is 20% men, 80% women. One important reason that women are overrepresented is that they were key actors in debates about quota law adoption, and so they are similarly overrepresented in the sample frame. However, it is also the case that in some instances male potential interviewees were less responsive than women (Italy, and to a lesser extent Austria). The gender breakdown for individual countries is as follows: Austria 92% female (1 man, 11 women), Belgium 78% female (5 men, 18 women), Italy 100% female (10 women), Portugal 63% female (6 men, 10 women).

Absent interviews with right-wing politicians in Italy, and with male party elites in Italy and Austria, I supplement interview data with parliamentary debates and newspaper coverage about quota law adoption. While certainty about individual perspectives cannot be complete, these original sources do provide important missing information, often with verbatim accounts. Pairing interview data with primary source material thus raises confidence that findings are unbiased.

Table B1: Interview Methods Table

Interviewee	Status	Source	Format	Length	Documentation
<u>Austria</u>					
Category 1: Left-wing parties					
Andrea Brunner, SPÖ women’s section	Conducted in person 04/22/14	Sample frame and referred by Gisela Wurm	Semi-structured	50 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Irmtraut Karlsson, SPÖ politician	Conducted in person 05/12/14	Sample frame and referred by Andrea Brunner	Semi-structured	60 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Gisela Wurm, SPÖ politician	Conducted via email 04/27/14	Sample frame	Structured	NA	Email transcript available
Ines Stilling, Ministry bureaucrat	Conducted in person 04/22/14	Referred by Julia Valsky	Semi-structured	50 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Julia Valsky, spokesperson for SPÖ Minister	Conducted in person 05/05/14	Substitute in sample frame	Semi-structured	35 min	Audio recording and transcript available
SPÖ Minister’s aide	Conducted in person 04/18/14	Substitute in sample frame	Semi-structured	70 min	Confidentiality requested
Berivan Aslan, The Greens politician	Conducted via email 04/01/14	Sample frame	Structured	NA	Email transcript available
Ulrike Lunacek, The Greens politician	Conducted via email 04/25/14	Sample frame	Structured	NA	Email transcript available
Judith Schwentner, The Greens politician	Conducted in person 05/06/14	Sample frame	Semi-structured	45 min	Audio recording and transcript available
SPÖ Minister	Refused 04/17/14	Sample frame			
SPÖ politician 1	Refused 04/01/14	Sample frame			
SPÖ politician 2	Accepted 04/29/14, then no response	Sample frame			
Category 2: Right-wing parties					
Claudia Durchschlag, ÖVP politician	Conducted in person 05/05/14	Sample frame and referred by ÖVP politician	Semi-structured	40 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Martina Schenk, Team Stronach politician	Conducted in person 05/07/14	Sample frame	Semi-structured	50 min	Audio recording and transcript available
ÖVP politician	Refused 03/31/14	Sample frame			
FPÖ politician 1	Accepted 05/01/14, then no response	Referred by Andrea Brunner			
FPÖ politician 2	No response	Sample frame			
Category 3: Women’s movements					

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Interviewee	Status	Source	Format	Length	Documentation
Brigitte Hornyik, women’s movement activist	Conducted in person 05/08/14	Sample frame	Semi-structured	45 min	Audio recording and transcript available
<u>Belgium</u>					
Category 1: Left-wing parties					
Anne-Marie Lizin, PS politician	Conducted in person 09/09/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	55 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Yvan Mayeur, PS politician	Conducted in person 10/17/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	30 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Louis Tobback, SP.A politician	Conducted in person 09/20/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	70 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Renaat Landyut, SP.A politician	Conducted in person 09/23/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	25 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Vera Claes, SP.A women’s section	Conducted in person 10/10/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	60 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Emily Hoyos, ECOLO party leader	Conducted in person 09/13/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	35 min	Audio recording and transcript available
ECOLO politician	No response				
Groen! party leader	No response				
PS Minister	Refused 09/19/13	Sample frame			
PS politician 1	Refused 09/04/13	Sample frame			
PS politician 2	Accepted 09/27/13, then no response	Sample frame			
SP.A politician 1	No response	Sample frame			
SP.A politician 2	No response	Sample frame			
Category 2: Christian Democrats					
Sabine de Bethune, CDV politician	Conducted in person 09/05/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	80 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Els Van Hoofe, CDV women’s section	Conducted in person 10/16/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	75 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Tinneke Huyghe, CDV politician	Conducted in person 10/16/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	75 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Niki Dheedene, cdH Minister’s aide	Conducted in person 10/08/13	Referred by cdH Minister 1	Semi-structured	60 min	Audio recording and transcript available
cdH party leader	No response	Sample frame			
cdH Minister 1	Refused 08/29/13	Sample frame			
cdH Minister 2	Refused 10/03/13	Sample frame			

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Interviewee	Status	Source	Format	Length	Documentation
CDV politician 1	Accepted 09/19/13, then un- available	Sample frame			
CDV politician 2	Accepted 09/05/13, then un- available	Sample frame			
Category 3: Right-wing parties					
Gerolf Annemans, VB party leader	Conducted in person 09/10/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	55 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Gwendolyn Rutten, Open VLD party leader	Conducted in person 10/02/13	Sample frame and referred by Open VLD politician	Semi- structured	50 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Joachim Pohlmann, N-VA party official	Conducted in person 09/10/13	Referred by N-VA party leader	Semi- structured	30 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Viviane Teitelbaum, MR politician	Conducted in person 10/23/13	Referred by Anne-Marie Lizin and MR politician 1	Semi- structured	30 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
MR politician 1	Refused 10/18/13	Sample frame			
MR politician 2	Accepted 09/16/13, then no response	Sample frame			
Open VLD politician 1	Refused 08/27/13	Sample frame			
Open VLD politician 2	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
VB politician	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
N-VA party leader	Refused 08/30/13	Sample frame			
N-VA politician 1	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
N-VA politician 2	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
FDF politician	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
Category 4: Women's movements					
Eveline Cortier, women's movement activist	Conducted in person 10/03/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	50 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Kitty Roggeman, women's movement activist	Conducted in person 10/03/13	Referred by Eveline Cortier	Semi- structured	50 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Hedwige Peemans-Poullet, women's movement activist	Conducted in person 10/04/13	Referred by Pe- tra Meier and Karen Celis	Semi- structured	70 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Women's movement activist 1					
Women's movement activist 2					
<u>Italy</u>					

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Interviewee	Status	Source	Format	Length	Documentation
Category 1: Left-wing parties					
Elsa Fornero, PD Minister	Conducted in person 03/27/14, w/ Skype follow-up	Sample frame	Semi-structured	80 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Cecilia Guerra, PD politician	Conducted in person 04/09/14	Sample frame	Semi-structured	60 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Rosa Calipari, PD politician	Conducted via email 05/19/14	Referred by Simona Lanzoni	Structured	NA	Email transcript available
Valeria Fedeli, PD politician	Conducted via email 05/14/14	Referred by Ludovica Tranquilli Leali	Structured	NA	Email transcript available
Valeria Valente, PD politician	Conducted in person 04/09/14	Sample frame	Semi-structured	50 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Elettra Deiana, PRC, then SEL politician	Conducted in person 04/11/14	Sample frame	Semi-structured	120 min	Audio recording and transcript available
DS politician 1	No response	Sample frame			
PD politician 1	Accepted 03/27/14, then unavailable				
PD politician 2	No response	Sample frame			
PD politician 3	No response	Sample frame			
PD politician 4	No response	Sample frame and referred by Elsa Fornero			
PD politician 5	No response	Sample frame			
PD politician 6	No response	Referred by Simona Lanzoni	sample frame		
PRC politician	Accepted 02/25/14, then unavailable	Sample frame			
Category 2: Right-wing parties					
FI politician 1	No response	Sample frame			
FI politician 2	No response	Sample frame			
FI politician 3	No response	Sample frame			
FI politician 4	No response	Sample frame			
FI politician 5	No response	Sample frame			
Pdl politician 1	No response	Sample frame			
Pdl politician 2	No response	Sample frame			
Pdl politician 3	No response	Sample frame			

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Table B1 – continued from previous page

Interviewee	Status	Source	Format	Length	Documentation
LN politician	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
UdC politician	Accepted 03/27/14, then un- available				
Category 3: Other parties					
C5S politician	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
SEL politician	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
Category 4: Women’s movements					
Ludovica Tranquilli Leali, women’s movement activist	Conducted in person 03/25/14	Sample frame	Semi- structured	80 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Simona Lanzoni, women’s movement activist	Conducted in person 03/21/14	Sample frame	Semi- structured	50 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Titti Carano, women’s movement activist	Conducted in person 03/21/14	Sample frame and referred by Ludovica Tran- quilli Leali	Semi- structured	75 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Vittoria Tola, women’s movement activist	Conducted in person 03/15/14	Referred by Si- mona Lanzoni	Semi- structured	90 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
<u>Portugal</u>					
Category 1: Left-wing parties					
Maria de Belem, PS party leader	Conducted in person 11/07/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	40 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Ana Gomes, PS politician	Conducted in person 12/06/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	35 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Augusto Santos Silva, PS Minister	Conducted in person 11/12/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	50 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Elza Pais, PS politician	Conducted in person 11/26/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	40 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Caterina Marcelino, PS politician	Conducted in person 11/26/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	40 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Sonia Fertuzinhos, PS politician	Conducted in person 11/22/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	60 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Vitalino Canas, PS politician	Conducted via email 10/16/13	Sample frame	Structured	NA	Email tran- script available
Luis Fazenda, BE politician	Conducted in person 11/05/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	40 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
BE politician 1	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
BE politician 2	No re- sponse	Sample frame			

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Interviewee	Status	Source	Format	Length	Documentation
BE politician 3	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PS politician 1	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PS politician 2	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PS politician 3	Refused 10/128/13	Sample frame			
PS politician 4	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PS politician 5	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PS politician 6	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PCP politician 1	Refused 10/16/13	Sample frame			
PCP politician 2	Accepted 10/28/13, then un- available	Sample frame and referred by PCP politician 1			
Category 2: Right-wing parties					
Helder Amaral, CDS politician	Conducted in person 11/06/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	40 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
João Almeida, CDS politician	Conducted in person 11/20/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	35 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Teresa Caeiro, CDS politician	Conducted in person 11/05/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	60 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
José Mendes Bota, PSD politician	Conducted in person 11/07/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	45 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Paula Cardoso, PSD politician	Conducted in person 12/05/13	Substitute from sample frame	Semi- structured	35 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Monica Ferro, PSD politician	Conducted in person 12/05/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	35 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Teresa Morais, PSD Minister	Conducted in person 12/02/13	Substitute from sample frame	Semi- structured	45 min	Notes written w/in 1 hr avail- able
CDS politician 1	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PSD politician 1	Refused 10/10/13	Sample frame			
PSD politician 2	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PSD politician 3	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
PSD politician 4	No re- sponse	Sample frame			
Category 3: Women's movements					
Ana Coucello, women's movement activist	Conducted in person 12/03/13	Referred by Alexandra Silva (EWL)	Semi- structured	145 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available
Maria Jose Magalhaes, women's movement activist	Conducted in person 11/08/13	Sample frame	Semi- structured	60 min	Audio record- ing and tran- script available

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Interviewee	Status	Source	Format	Length	Documentation
Fatima Duarte, women’s policy agency bureaucrat	Conducted via email 12/09/13	Sample frame	Structured	NA	Email transcript available
Nora Kiss, women’s movement activist	Conducted in person 10/30/13	Sample frame	Semi-structured	40 min	Audio recording and transcript available
Regina Tavares da Silva, women’s movement activist	Conducted in person 11/13/13	Referred by Alexandra Silva (EWL)	Semi-structured	45 min	Audio recording and transcript available

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