



The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights

Edited by Susan Franceschet
Mona Lena Krook · Netina Tan

palgrave
macmillan

Gender and Politics

Series Editors
Johanna Kantola
University of Tampere
Tampere, Finland

Sarah Childs
Birkbeck, University of London
London, UK

The Gender and Politics series celebrated its 7th anniversary at the 5th European Conference on Politics and Gender (ECPG) in June 2017 in Lausanne, Switzerland having published more than 35 volumes to date. The original idea for the book series was envisioned by the series editors Johanna Kantola and Judith Squires at the first ECPG in Belfast in 2009, and the series was officially launched at the Conference in Budapest in 2011. In 2014, Sarah Childs became the co-editor of the series, together with Johanna Kantola. Gender and Politics showcases the very best international writing. It publishes world class monographs and edited collections from scholars - junior and well established - working in politics, international relations and public policy, with specific reference to questions of gender. The titles that have come out over the past years make key contributions to debates on intersectionality and diversity, gender equality, social movements, Europeanization and institutionalism, governance and norms, policies, and political institutions. Set in European, US and Latin American contexts, these books provide rich new empirical findings and push forward boundaries of feminist and politics conceptual and theoretical research. The editors welcome the highest quality international research on these topics and beyond, and look for proposals on feminist political theory; on recent political transformations such as the economic crisis or the rise of the populist right; as well as proposals on continuing feminist dilemmas around participation and representation, specific gendered policy fields, and policy making mechanisms. The series can also include books published as a Palgrave pivot.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14998>

Susan Franceschet · Mona Lena Krook
Netina Tan
Editors

The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Susan Franceschet
University of Calgary
Calgary, AB, Canada

Netina Tan
McMaster University
Hamilton, ON, Canada

Mona Lena Krook
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ, USA

Gender and Politics

ISBN 978-1-137-59073-2

ISBN 978-1-137-59074-9 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59074-9>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018943275

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2019

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover credit: George Peters

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Limited
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

For all women's political rights pioneers—past, present, and future.

PREFACE

2018 and 2019 mark the centennials of women's right to vote in 20 countries around the globe, with further celebrations to follow in the coming years. New Zealand, the first country to grant women's suffrage, is commemorating 125 years of women's right to vote. Women's share of parliamentary representation has never been higher, with the world average currently standing at 23.6%, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Twelve countries have surpassed more than 40% women in parliament and nearly 50 have achieved 30% or more. This Handbook seeks to take stock of these developments to offer a definitive account of the global state of women's political rights.

The book understands women's political rights to include the right to participate in politics through voting (suffrage) and the right to stand for political office (eligibility), offering an important interdisciplinary contribution to scholarship on gender and politics. Much of the research on women's suffrage campaigns has been carried out by historians, while political scientists have taken up questions of women's electoral behavior, gender gaps in voting, and the struggle to improve women's access to political office. The book is also global in scope, covering developments across all the world's major regions.

Part I, Theories and Concepts, comprises five chapters that set the stage for the case-focused chapters in Parts II and III. Chapters 1 and 3 map debates and events surrounding the introduction of women's rights to vote and run for political office, respectively, focusing on global patterns. Chapter 1 surveys suffrage movements around the world, analyzing the four waves of suffragism across the globe. Chapter 3 outlines the major debates as well as conceptual and theoretical questions about women's representation in office. Chapters 2 and 4 outline and discuss the various ways scholars have measured the impact of these rights, focusing on what women's voting and election patterns have looked like over time, as well as the various ways that scholarly research has analyzed what these activities have meant for politics and society more

broadly. Chapter 5 surveys emerging areas of concern among academics and practitioners, regarding new challenges to women's exercise of their political rights.

In Part II, Suffrage and Political Participation, the volume presents 21 case studies from six regions of the world. Each chapter focuses on a single country to map how women gained the right to vote, including the kinds of arguments utilized by the main advocates and opponents of women's right to vote, as well as who the main actors were in the suffrage debates. Authors also address the impact of women as voters, defined in various ways. These include voter turnout by sex, gender gaps in voting, and changes in political parties and party competition in response to female voters. The chapters also offer insights into the historical and ongoing challenges women confront in exercising their right to vote, including threats to women's political rights in societies where electoral violence is common.

Part III, Eligibility and Political Representation, examines developments in 23 countries across six geographical regions. Each chapter maps the struggles that women have waged in order to gain the right to run for political office and to improve their political representation. The authors identify and account for uneven patterns in women's parliamentary representation and electoral performance at local and national levels over time. In addition to identifying ongoing challenges and stereotypes undermining women's participation, authors discuss formal and informal strategies to improve the share of women elected, especially the introduction of electoral gender quotas. Many chapters also explore the descriptive, substantive, and symbolic impacts of electing more women, focusing on the profiles of elected women, the proposal and passage of women-friendly bills, public opinion toward women as leaders, and initiatives to enhance representation based on race, ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation.

Calgary, Canada
New Brunswick, USA
Hamilton, Canada

Susan Franceschet
Mona Lena Krook
Netina Tan

CONTENTS

Part I Theories and Concepts

- 1 Global Patterns and Debates in the Granting of Women's Suffrage** 3
Ann Towns
- 2 Gender and Electoral Behavior** 21
Miki Caul Kittilson
- 3 The Political Representation of Women over Time** 33
Melanie M. Hughes and Pamela Paxton
- 4 The Impact of Women in Parliament** 53
Diana Z. O'Brien and Jennifer M. Piscopo
- 5 New Horizons in Women's Political Rights** 73
Mona Lena Krook

Part II Suffrage and Political Participation

- 6 Chile: Women's Suffrage and Political Participation, 1935–2015** 85
Ricardo Gamboa and Miguel Angel López
- 7 Colombia: Civil Conflict, Violence, and Women's Political Participation** 101
Juliana Restrepo Sanín

8	Mexico: The Long Road to Women's Suffrage Gabriela Cano	115
9	New Zealand: A Country of Firsts in Women's Political Rights Jennifer Curtin	129
10	Finland: Suffrage, Nation, and Political Mobilization Irma Sulkunen	143
11	Switzerland: Direct Democracy and Women's Political Participation Anouk Lloren	155
12	Canada: Uneven Paths to Suffrage and Women's Electoral Participation Nancy Janovicek and Melanee Thomas	169
13	Afghanistan: Uphill Challenges for Women's Political Rights Andrea Fleschenberg	185
14	Kuwait: Why Did Women's Suffrage Take So Long? Meriem Aissa	201
15	Morocco: Ongoing Struggle for More Representation Katja Žvan Elliott	213
16	Turkey: From Symbols to Actors in the Struggle for Women's Political Rights Marella Bodur Ün	227
17	Kenya: Women's Suffrage and Political Participation as Voters Mi Yung Yoon and Christol Okeke	243
18	Nigeria: Women's Suffrage, Change, and Continuities in Political Participation Chiedo Nwankwor	257
19	Cameroon: Early Mobilization and Limited Impact of Women's Suffrage Melinda J. Adams	275
20	Zimbabwe: Women's Mass Movement and Violence Rudo B. Gaidzanwa	289

21	China: Women's Rights Advocacy	301
	Kimberley Ens Manning	
22	Indonesia: Local Advocacy for Suffrage	317
	Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi	
23	Malaysia: Middle-Equality Trap	331
	Bridget Welsh	
24	Sri Lanka: Struggle for Franchise	349
	Malathi de Alwis and Chulani Kodikara	
25	Czech Republic: Nationalism, Suffrage and Political Participation	363
	Dana Musilová	
26	Russia: The Great War and Women's Political Rights	375
	Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild	
 Part III Eligibility and Political Representation		
27	Bolivia: Parity, Empowerment, and Institutional Change	393
	Stéphanie Rousseau	
28	Cuba: Women's Complicated Political Participation and Representation	405
	Lana Wylie and Sarah Shoker	
29	Uruguay: Slow Progress in Women's Political Representation	421
	Niki Johnson	
30	United States: Gendered Institutions, Processes, and Outcomes	437
	Kelly Dittmar	
31	Sweden: An Incremental Process	455
	Lenita Freidenvall	
32	France: The Republic Tested by Parity	467
	Réjane Sénac	
33	Australia: The Slow Road to Parliament	483
	Joy McCann and Marian Sawer	

34	Jordan: Quotas and Change in Women's Political Representation	503
	Sarah Sunn Bush	
35	Tunisia: Changing Patterns of Women's Representation	517
	Lindsay J. Benstead	
36	Israel: A Century of Political Involvement	531
	Reut Itzkovitch-Malka and Chen Friedberg	
37	Mauritius: Still a Long Journey Ahead	547
	Ramola Ramtohl	
38	Rwanda: Women's Political Representation and Its Consequences	563
	Jennie E. Burnet	
39	Uganda: Achievements and Challenges for Women in Elected Office	577
	Aili Mari Tripp	
40	Niger: Patterns of Women's Political Presence Since Independence	591
	Alice J. Kang	
41	Ghana: Stalled Patterns of Women's Parliamentary Representation	607
	Gretchen Bauer	
42	South Korea: Women's Political Representation	627
	Young-Im Lee	
43	Taiwan: Asia's Exception	641
	Chang-Ling Huang	
44	Myanmar: Women's Political Life	657
	Paul Minoletti	
45	India: A Contradictory Record	673
	Francesca R. Jensenius	

46	Poland: Regime Transformation and Women's Political Representation	689
	Małgorzata Fuszara	
47	Slovenia: From Socialist Legacies to Legislative Gender Quotas	699
	Milica Antić Gaber	
48	Mongolia: Transformation of Women's Representation	713
	Pavel Maškarinec	
49	Armenia: Persistent Gender Stereotypes	729
	Kristin Cavoukian and Nona Shahnazaryan	
	Index	745

CONTRIBUTORS

Melinda J. Adams James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA, USA

Meriem Aissa Rutgers University, New Jersey, USA

Milica Antić Gaber University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Gretchen Bauer Political Science and International Relations, University of Delaware, Newark, DE, USA

Lindsay J. Benstead Portland State University, Portland, OR, USA

Marella Bodur Ün Department of Political Science and International Relations, Çukurova University, Adana, Turkey

Jennie E. Burnet Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA, USA

Sarah Sunn Bush Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA

Gabriela Cano El Colegio de México, México, Mexico

Kristin Cavoukian University of Toronto Mississauga, Mississauga, ON, Canada

Jennifer Curtin University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

Malathi de Alwis University of Colombo, Colombo, Sri Lanka

Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi Research Center for Politics, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), DKI Jakarta, Indonesia

Kelly Dittmar Rutgers University, Camden, NJ, USA; Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, USA

Andrea Fleschenberg Cologne, Germany

Lenita Freidenvall Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

Chen Friedberg Department of Middle Eastern Studies and Political Science, Ariel University, Ariel, Israel; Israel Democracy Institute, Jerusalem, Israel

Małgorzata Fuszara University of Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland

Rudo B. Gaidzanwa University of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe

Ricardo Gamboa Institute of International Studies, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile

Chang-Ling Huang Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan

Melanie M. Hughes University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, USA

Reut Itzkovitch-Malka Department of Sociology, Political Science, and Communication, Open University of Israel, Ra'anana, Israel

Nancy Janovicek University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada

Francesca R. Jensenius University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway; Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway

Niki Johnson Universidad de la República, Montevideo, Uruguay

Alice J. Kang Associate Professor of Political Science and Ethnic Studies, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Lincoln, USA

Miki Caul Kittilson School of Politics and Global Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, USA

Chulani Kodikara University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK

Mona Lena Krook Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, USA

Young-Im Lee California State University-Sacramento, Sacramento, CA, USA

Anouk Lloren Swiss National Science Foundation, Bern, Switzerland

Miguel Angel López Institute of International Studies, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile

Kimberley Ens Manning Concordia University, Montreal, Canada

Pavel Maškarinec Jan Evangelista Purkyně University, Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic

Joy McCann School of History, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, Australia

Paul Minoletti Yangon, Myanmar

Dana Musilová University of Hradec Králové, Hradec Králové, Czech Republic

Chiedo Nwankwor School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC, USA

Diana Z. O'Brien Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, USA

Pamela Paxton University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA

Jennifer M. Piscopo Occidental College, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Ramola Ramtohul University of Mauritius, Moka, Mauritius

Juliana Restrepo Sanín Josef Korbel School of International Studies, Denver, CO, USA; One Earth Future, Broomfield, CO, USA

Stéphanie Rousseau Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru

Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA

Marian Sawyer School of Politics and International Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, Australia

Réjane Sénac Sciences Po, CEVIPOF, CNRS, Paris, France

Nona Shahnazaryan National Academy of Sciences, Yerevan, Armenia

Sarah Shoker McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada

Irma Sulkunen University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland

Melanee Thomas University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada

Ann Towns University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden

Aili Mari Tripp University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI, USA

Bridget Welsh Political Science and International Affairs, John Cabot University, Rome, Italy

Lana Wylie McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada

Mi Yung Yoon Hanover College, Hanover, IN, USA

Katja Žvan Elliott School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Al Akhawayn University, Ifrane, Morocco

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 3.1	Women's political representation, 1945–2015	34
Fig. 3.2	Sample trajectories of women's political representation, 1945–2010	39
Fig. 3.3	Women's average political representation by geographic region	43
Fig. 6.1	Integration of women in the electorate, 1935–2009, presidential elections	91
Fig. 11.1	Female and male turnout in national elections 1971–2015	160
Fig. 23.1	Women candidates by party, 2013 general election	338
Fig. 30.1	Proportion of women in Congress and state legislatures, 1917–2017	439
Fig. 30.2	Proportion of women of color in Congress and state legislatures, 1965–2017	440
Fig. 33.1	Representation of women in the House of Representatives, 1977–2016	486
Fig. 33.2	Women in national parliament: Australia's world ranking 1997–2018	486
Fig. 33.3	Women senators and members in the Commonwealth Parliament in election years, 1943–2013	487
Fig. 36.1	The number of female members of Knesset (on the date the Knesset was installed)	534
Fig. 36.2	Female MKs by political division (right-center-left)	536
Fig. 36.3	Private members' bills by thematic area and gender	540
Fig. 36.4	Laws enacted by thematic area and gender	541
Fig. 36.5	Legislators' issue priorities by gender—PMBs	542
Fig. 36.6	Legislators' issue priorities by gender—Laws enacted	543
Fig. 43.1	Percentage of female representatives in local councils in Taiwan	646
Fig. 45.1	Percentage of female candidates and elected Members of Parliament in India's federal parliamentary elections 1952–2014	678
Fig. 48.1	Women's representation in the Mongolian parliament, 1973–2016	715

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	Women's suffrage adoption in national politics, on the same terms as men, 1893–2018	5
Table 3.1	Thresholds of women's parliamentary representation for 190 countries, 2015	47
Table 6.1	Gender gap in presidential elections 1952–1970	93
Table 6.2	Gender gap in presidential elections 1989–2009	94
Table 6.3	Candidates for Senate, Chamber of Deputies, and Municipal Councils	96
Table 6.4	Distribution of candidates by gender: Chamber of Deputies 1989–2013	96
Table 6.5	Distribution of candidates by gender: Councilors 1992–2012	97
Table 9.1	Turnout rates by sex, New Zealand, 1893–1919 ^a	136
Table 11.1	Policy proposals with the largest gender gap in voting	163
Table 12.1	First year (some) women eligible to vote in Canada, by province	173
Table 13.1	Percentage of women voters and candidates in post-2001 elections	189
Table 14.1	Logistic regression of voting in elections, with robust standard errors	208
Table 18.1	Time line of suffrage and women's suffrage in Nigeria	259
Table 18.2	Women's representation in elective positions in Nigeria (1979–2015)	268
Table 20.1	Representation at the parliament and Senate	291
Table 23.1	Women's representation in Malaysia's general elections	337
Table 23.2	Voting by gender	341
Table 23.3	Political engagement by gender	341
Table 23.4	Non-traditional political participation by gender	342
Table 29.1	Women seat-holders at the beginning of each legislative term, 1985–2015	423
Table 29.2	Women seat-holders in parliament at the beginning of each legislative term by party, 1985–2015	423

Table 29.3	Women's representation in departmental assemblies (percentage) at the beginning of each legislative period, 1985–2015	424
Table 29.4	Impact of quota on percentage of female candidates and women elected by electoral district	430
Table 29.5	Bill introduction by sex of signatories	431
Table 32.1	Implementing provisions for parity rules by election and voting system	475
Table 32.2	Proportion of men in political assemblies and executive councils, before and after gender parity laws	476
Table 33.1	Timeline of women's political rights in Australia's national, state and territory elections	485
Table 34.1	Women in the Jordanian parliament	506
Table 35.1	Women's descriptive representation in the legislature	519
Table 35.2	Female parliamentarians in the 217-seat Constituent Assembly (2011–2014)	523
Table 35.3	Family status laws and reforms	524
Table 37.1	Elected members by type of election and sex, 1983–2014	550
Table 39.1	Women in Uganda's parliaments (1962–2016)	579
Table 39.2	Ugandan parliamentarians: highest degree attained	582
Table 39.3	Marital status of parliamentarians	583
Table 39.4	Support for women as political leaders, 2005–2018	586
Table 39.5	Support for women as political leaders, 2018	587
Table 39.6	Trust in the president 2002–2018 by gender	587
Table 39.7	Support for president by gender, geography, and education	587
Table 39.8	Trust in institutions 2016/2018	588
Table 39.9	Voting by gender	589
Table 39.10	Political participation	589
Table 40.1	Women's political representation in the National Assembly of Niger	592
Table 41.1	Women members of parliament in Ghana, 1956–2016 elections	609
Table 42.1	Gender gaps in legislators' backgrounds	632
Table 42.2	Number of women-friendly bills by legislative session	635
Table 42.3	The number of women-friendly bills proposed to the National Assembly, 2000–2016	636
Table 42.4	Party affiliation, seat type, gender, and women-friendly bill initiation	637
Table 43.1	Women's reserved seats in Taiwan's national elections	644
Table 43.2	Reserved seats and gender quotas in Taiwan after the mid-1990s	649
Table 43.3	Female parliamentary members with local political experience	651

Table 44.1	Percentage of parties' MPs that are women following 2015 elections (National and State/Region parliaments combined)	663
Table 46.1	Percentage of women in the Sejm in Poland after 1989	692
Table 47.1	Elected women in Slovenia at all levels	708
Table 47.2	Attitudes to the statement: Men are better political leaders	709

PART I

Theories and Concepts



Global Patterns and Debates in the Granting of Women's Suffrage

Ann Towns

In 1912, German women's rights activist Käthe Schirmacher proclaimed that "woman's suffrage is the most radical demand made by organized women and is hence advocated in all countries by the 'radical' woman's rights advocates" (Schirmacher 1912). Claiming suffrage to be radical was no exaggeration at a time when only four countries—New Zealand (1893), Australia (1902), Finland (1906), and Norway (1907)—had granted women the right to vote. This was about to change. In the coming century, virtually every state introduced women's suffrage, making the measure global in scope and hardly extreme. In fact, to most, the radicalism today is found in the extremely rare denial of women's suffrage on the same terms as men's. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, women are only allowed to vote in local elections, and that right was exercised for the first time only in 2015.

The first aim of this chapter is to show how women's suffrage spread internationally, both in terms of global adoption patterns and in terms of the transnational suffrage activism which preceded adoption. As we will see below, suffrage activism and suffrage adoption were clustered along some major lines of international hierarchy. Transnational suffragism developed in at least four overlapping waves with distinctive membership, geographical scope, and suffrage arguments rooted in international social hierarchies between so-called civilized states and others. The first emerged in what was then referred to as the "society of civilized states," from the turn of the twentieth century until the 1920s. Transnational suffrage mobilization in the

A. Towns (✉)
University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden
e-mail: ann.towns@gu.se

socialist East constitutes a second, closely overlapping wave, from approximately 1907 until the 1920s. The third wave developed in the Pan-American context, from the 1920s until the 1940s. Although much less research and evidence is provided, a fourth wave of transnational suffragism appears to have developed in the Afro-Asian post-colonial context in the 1950s. Suffrage adoption closely followed these waves of activism.

The second aim of this chapter is to analyze some of the arguments made in favor and against women's suffrage, focusing particularly on claims about the relation between suffrage and so-called civilization. Women's suffrage initially became expected behavior of so-called civilized states, around the end of World War I (WWI). Suffrage became indicative of having reached a more advanced level of civilization and thus helped to set these states apart from presumably inferior societies. Since far from all societies were regarded as civilized (nor desired to be), it was not clear what this new standard of civilization suggested for them, however. It was a formidable task of non-European activists to justify why their states should also pass suffrage laws. After all, as the Europeans claimed, this was behavior proper for "civilized" states rather than the "less advanced" or non-civilized. Creative reinterpretation of the initial arguments was needed to explain why it was appropriate for states not part of the core of Western civilization to approve the vote for women.

Activist organizations and networks were the primary associational arena promoting women's suffrage internationally, rather than international organizations or state actors. Transnational suffrage advocacy supplies a good empirical entry-point to study the debates on women's suffrage around the globe. The rest of this chapter is therefore organized around demonstrating the existence of no less than four waves of transnational suffragism and analyzing their arguments. Before delving into these waves of transnational activism and the understandings of suffrage, however, the chapter begins by looking at the global route of suffrage law adoption. The chapter ends with an assessment of prior attempts to account for the global emergence of women's suffrage.

SUFFRAGE ADOPTION TRAJECTORY

Women first won the vote in new states on the outskirts of the core of international society—New Zealand (1893), Australia (1902), Finland (1906), and Norway (1907)—rather than in, say, France and Great Britain (see Table 1.1). By 1919, another twenty European states had passed suffrage legislation. It would nevertheless take many decades for a few European states, like Switzerland (1971) and Lichtenstein (1984), to allow women voting rights. In short, women's suffrage initially moved from the margins to the center of European and neo-European international society.

One striking and overlooked aspect is that the ensuing adoption path was clustered, as is evident in Table 1.1. The timing of adoption seems to cluster

Table 1.1 Women's suffrage adoption in national politics, on the same terms as men, 1893–2018

<i>Year</i>	<i>European civilization</i>	<i>Socialism</i>	<i>Pan-Americanism</i>	<i>(Post)-colonialism</i>	<i>Other/Unclear</i>
1893	New Zealand				
1902	Australia				
1906	Finland				
1913	Norway				
1915	Denmark				
	Iceland				
1917	Canada				
1918	Austria	Russian			
	Germany	Federation			
	Hungary	Estonia			
	Ireland	Georgia			
	United Kingdom	Latvia			
		Lithuania			
		Poland			
1919	Belgium	Belarus			
	Luxemburg	Ukraine			
	Netherlands				
	Sweden				
1920	Czechoslovakia	Albania			
	United States				
1921		Armenia			
		Azerbaijan			
1924		Kazakhstan			Saint Lucia (UK)
		Mongolia			
		Tajikistan			
1927		Turkmenistan			
1929	Romania		Ecuador		
1930	South Africa ('whites')				
1931	Portugal		Chile		
	Spain				
1932			Brazil		Thailand (Siam)
			Uruguay		
			Cuba		Turkey
1934				Myanmar (UK)	
1935					Philippines
1937					
1938		Uzbekistan	Bolivia		
1939			El Salvador		
1941			Panama		
1942			Dominican Republic		
1944	Bulgaria				Jamaica (UK)
	France				
1945	Croatia			Indonesia	Japan
	Slovenia			Senegal (FR)	
	Italy			Togo (FR)	

(continued)

Table 1.1 (continued)

<i>Year</i>	<i>European civilization</i>	<i>Socialism</i>	<i>Pan-Americanism</i>	<i>(Post)-colonialism</i>	<i>Other/Unclear</i>
1946	Romania Yugoslavia	DPR of Korea	Guatemala Venezuela	Viet Nam Djibouti (FR) Cameroon (FR)	Liberia Trinidad and Tobago (UK)
1947		China	Argentina Mexico	Pakistan Singapore (UK)	
1948	Israel			Niger (FR) Seychelles (UK) Suriname (NL)	Republic of Korea
1949	Bosnia and Herzegovina		Costa Rica		Syria
1950				India	Haiti Barbados (UK) Antigua and Barbuda (UK)
1951				Nepal	Dominica (UK) Grenada (UK) Saint Kitts and Nevis (UK)
1952				Ivory Coast (1952)	Lebanon
1953	Greece			Bhutan	Guyana (UK)
1954			Colombia	Ghana (UK)	Belize (UK)
1955			Honduras Nicaragua Peru	Eritrea Ethiopia Cambodia Benin (FR) Gabon (FR) Comoros (FR) Egypt Mali (FR) Mauritius (UK) Somalia (UK/ IT)	
1956				Malaysia	
1957				Nigeria (South—UK)	
1958		Laos		Burkina Faso (FR) Chad (FR) Guinea Madagascar Tunisia	
1959	San Marino			Tanzania (UK)	
1960	Cyprus			Tonga (UK) Gambia (UK)	

(continued)

Table 1.1 (continued)

<i>Year</i>	<i>European civilization</i>	<i>Socialism</i>	<i>Pan-Americanism</i>	<i>(Post)-colonialism</i>	<i>Other/Unclear</i>
1961			El Salvador Paraguay	Malawi (UK) Burundi Rwanda Mauritania Sierra Leone	Bahamas (UK)
1962	Monaco			Algeria Uganda Zambia (UK)	
1963				Kenya Fiji (UK) Kenya Congo (FR) Morocco	Afghanistan Iran
1964				Sudan	Libya
1965				Botswana Lesotho	
1967					
1968				Swaziland	
1970	Andorra	Yemen			
1971	Switzerland				
1972				Bangladesh	
1973					Bahrain (reintroduced 2002) Jordan
1974					
1975				Angola Cape Verde Mozambique	
1977					
1978		Moldova			
1979					
1980					Iraq
1984	Lichtenstein				
1986					Central African Republic
1989				Namibia	
1998					Quatar
2003					Oman
2005					Kuwait
2006					United Arab Emirates

Table assembled from data provided in IPU (2000), Arat (2000), Edwards (2000), Al Kitbi (2008)

around four intersecting transnational contexts in international society: European civilization, socialism, Pan-Americanism, and Afro-Asian post-colonialism. After suffrage had successfully won ground in a handful of “civilized” states, an overlapping though more concise second cluster of adoption took

place in the emerging socialist states of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. These states recognized women's suffrage primarily between 1918 and 1924, simultaneously with many states of Western Europe. The so-called New World of the Americas passed suffrage laws in a third cluster, mainly between the late 1930s and mid-1950s. The fourth cluster consists of the post-colonial states of Africa and Asia, where suffrage was extended to women primarily when national independence was won, between 1945 and 1975. The clustered timing of adoption corresponds roughly with the timing of four waves of transnational suffrage activism.

FOUR WAVES OF SUFFRAGISM AND DEBATES

Suffragism in the Society of Civilized States

Nineteenth-century Europe was characterized by tremendously intense struggles over the nature of sexual difference and the implications of that difference for women in terms of participation in political life. Then, the prevailing idea was that civilized states should keep women out of politics. However, this idea was always contested and had to be justified and bolstered in an ongoing manner. The demand for voting rights began already in the 1840s, not long after women were expressly barred from state affairs. The first domestic suffrage organizations were also formed at this time, more or less simultaneously across Europe and some of its former colonies.

The first push to connect some of this domestic activism across borders was made at the turn of the twentieth century. The well-known International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) was founded in Berlin in 1904. Although there were a number of transnational women's organizations that worked for suffrage, such as the International Council of Women, few were as important as the IWSA.

The phenomenon of transnational suffragism and the IWSA emerged in an era of new imperialism, with colonial conquests accelerating at a rapid pace. European powers competed aggressively for territorial conquests, freshly joined by a USA with international aspirations. International Society of the early twentieth century was thus deeply divided and, from the vantage point of Europe, consisted of two rough classes of people and societies: the civilized and the uncivilized. Doctrines of racial and cultural superiority abounded, legitimating the superiority of the so-called civilized and their domination of the uncivilized.

Colonialism and the relations of inequality it entailed fundamentally shaped transnational suffrage activism. This was activism primarily by and for the "civilized" parts of the world. The nationality of the IWSA officers, the congress locations, and the official languages of the association—English and French—were exclusively European until the 1930s. The member affiliations (organized as country sections) suggests a slightly larger circle, including

Australia, White South Africa, Argentina, and Uruguay as the most European of the young Americas, as well as Russia and China, considered to be at the outskirts of civilization. Tellingly, once most of Europe and the Anglo states had enfranchised women in the early 1920s, the IWSA moved to work on other issues (Rupp 1997). This decision was made even though there were by then suffrage movements in Asia and Latin America that had still not attained their objective. The core of the organization and its activities matched the core of the society of civilized states.

The expectation of the day was that civilized states keep women out of formal state affairs. Those in favor of the status quo could contend that “the propaganda of woman suffrage is part and parcel of the worldwide movement for the overthrow of the present order of civilized society” (Illinois Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women 1900, p. 2). The suffragists naturally had to meet such arguments. In their attempts to show the benefits of women as voters for the civilized state, the suffragists forged a specific subject position—“Civilized Women”—which differentiated them from men (civilized and uncivilized) as well as from less or non-civilized women. In relation with the non-European, they were now *civilized* women, free beings, able to awaken less civilized women to demand their rights. As such, the suffragists had ample voice in the mainstream media. Writing in a US magazine in 1912, the founder and first president of the IWSA, Carrie Chapman Catt, accredited the incipient women’s mobilizing in Egypt to British colonial tutelage: “Great Britain has created a new Egypt,” she announced. “It has awakened a sleeping race and held before it the dazzling achievements of Western progress” (as quoted in Burton 1994, p. 191).

On the other hand, the suffragists also articulated women as the more civilized of the sexes within Europe. Military service had served as a potent argument of working-class men in their contention for the vote, an argument which did little to bring women suffrage as they were barred from the military. The suffragists instead pointed to the allegedly destructive and selfish capacity of men and the male state, which resulted in the menace of war. The portrayal of men as a threat to civilization had been made for some time. Particularly around times of war, interpretations of other cultures were used metaphorically to give meaning to the savagery and barbarism of male power and masculine politics. At the onset of the 1871 Franco-Prussian War, British suffragists roared that “the franchise is needed as a protection for women from the uncontrolled dominion of the savage passions of men.” The female forces of civilization were needed to overpower the “savage instinct in men” and save Europe from the destruction of war (as cited in Rendall 1994, pp. 143–144).

In most cases, the extension of women’s suffrage was not simply a matter of argumentative savvy and ability to mobilize great numbers of suffrage supporters. Women’s suffrage may never have materialized in the “old culture-states” of Europe had it not been for the crisis generated by the world wars. The World War I signified a breakdown of the relations between

civilized states of enormous magnitude. A wave of European states enfranchised women in the years immediately preceding or following the war: Denmark and Iceland in 1915; Canada in 1917; Germany, Austria, Hungary, the UK, and Ireland in 1918; Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Sweden in 1919; and Czechoslovakia and the USA in 1920. Women's suffrage now became viewed as a standard of civilization, a reversal of the prior expectation that civilized states keep women out of formal politics.

But far from all societies were classified as "civilized" in the early twentieth century. Nor did all care to be part of civilized society and adhere to its standards of behavior. What did the close link between suffrage and civilization imply for women in these other societies? What were the implications of tying the female vote so intimately to civilization? Subsequent suffrage movements all had to grapple with the claim that suffrage was a trait of European civilization. As we will see below, they handled the claim in very different ways.

SUFFRAGISM AND SOCIALIST TRANSNATIONALISM

In the first years of the twentieth century, the importance of women's suffrage as an explicit goal also won ground among socialist organizations. A second and distinctive wave of suffragism developed within socialist transnationalism between then and the early 1920s. This wave was distinctive in two regards. First, socialist women organized separately from the suffragists and the core of their organization was located more toward the east of Europe. Second, these women had a different diagnosis of the problem that suffrage was meant to rectify. What others termed Western civilization was to them "bourgeois capitalism" and the source of female subordination. The claim that women's suffrage was a standard of civilization, an indicator of civilized progress, thus posed a challenge for socialist women.

In the late 1890s, women were organized as a separate collective within the socialist transnational infrastructure. Among others, Clara Zetkin of the German Social Democratic Party worked relentlessly for a formalized Women's International. This work came into fruition at the 1907 Congress of the Second Socialist International in Stuttgart, and a permanent International Women's Bureau was created. A key resolution was passed requiring all socialist parties to fight for universal male and female suffrage. Commanding all socialist parties across Europe and beyond to place universal suffrage on their platform was no small accomplishment.

As was the case with the IWSA, the geographical scope of this circle of women was to remain limited until the 1920s. During its first decade of existence, the Women's International was almost entirely made up of nationals of Europe and North America. The working language was one—German—rather than the two (English and French) of the IWSA. The choice of working language is telling about the core of the organization. In the Women's