Women as Executive Leaders:
Canada in the Context of Anglo-Almerican Systems*

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*Not for citation without permission of the author. Paper prepared for delivery at the Canadian Political Science Association Annual Conference and the Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Concordia University, Montreal, June 1-3, 2010.

Abstract

This research identifies the obstacles and opportunities women as executives encounter and explores when, why, and how they might en*gender* change by advancing the interests and enhancing the status of women as a group. Various positions of executive leadership provide a range of opportunities to investigate and analyze the experiences of women – as prime ministers and party leaders, cabinet ministers, governors/premiers/first ministers, and in modern (non-monarchical) ceremonial posts. Comparative analysis indicates that the institutions, ideology, and evolution of Anglo-American democracies tend to put women as executive leaders at a distinct disadvantage. Placing Canada in this context reveals that its female executives face the same challenges as women in other Anglo countries, while Canadian women also encounter additional obstacles that make their environment even more challenging. Sources include parliamentary records, government documents, public opinion polls, news reports, leaders' memoirs and diaries, and extensive elite interviews.

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As national elected executives, women are scarce throughout the Anglo-American world. Only two Anglo systems have elected female prime ministers – the United Kingdom and New Zealand – and New Zealand's only elected prime minister Helen Clark succeeded in a reformed system that departs in some significant ways from its Anglo counterparts. The Republic of Ireland has elected two women to the presidency, but it remains a ceremonial post, despite Mary Robinson's best efforts to stretch the scope of its influence. And Canada allowed its first and only female prime minister Kim Campbell to lead for a meager few months before she faced and failed to win a general election. While the US and Australia remain the only two Anglo nations without any female national executives, women have not fared much better in their cousin countries.

Ironically, Anglo-American systems often serve as models of democracy in political science and in global politics, even though the experiences of female leaders as executives call into question the democratic character of these regimes. Until relatively recently in the UK, few mothers could be found in the Mother of Parliaments at Westminster and even fewer made it to cabinet. With the exception of New Zealand, Anglo systems have historically ranked low on the list of modern, liberal democracies in terms of the representation and leadership of women. Once women do make it to the top, few of them manage to achieve their central policy objectives and political goals.

By the twenty-first century, executive leadership has assumed a central role in the politics and policy making of Anglo-American systems, even in New Zealand where reformers took steps to stem the growth of executive authority through electoral reform. National political executives have acquired a capacity to set the agenda that usually supercedes that of other political actors in cabinet, the parties, and the legislature. To advance their interests as a group, women need access to influence the president or prime minister and opportunities to occupy the executive itself. For democratic theorists, the paucity of women as executives should ignite curiosity and spark suspicion – not only about why so few make it to the top but also what happens when they arrive there. At the very least, when it comes to female executives, Anglo-American regimes fall short in fulfilling liberal democratic standards of descriptive and symbolic representation (Pitkin 1972). Determining how much women also suffer in terms of substantive representation constitutes an essential aspect of this overall research project.

Introduction

This paper is part of a larger study that explores the institutional and ideological factors that affect female executive leaders and shape their capacity to facilitate change. The set of systems includes Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. One classic study asserts that "[n]ations can be understood only in comparative perspective" and describes the value of cross-national research by explaining "the more similar the units being compared, the more possible it should be to isolate the factors responsible for differences between them" (Lipset 1990: xiii). Written about the US and Canada, that astute observation applies equally to the larger set of Anglo-American systems. Anglo nations provide sufficient variation to highlight the source of some differences, while having in enough in common to invite reasonable comparisons. For the most part, shared institutions and ideology as well as links in political development present similar leadership challenges to women in executive offices throughout the Anglo-American world.

Various positions of executive leadership provide a range of opportunities to investigate and analyze the experiences of women – as prime ministers and party leaders, cabinet ministers, governors/premiers/first ministers, and in modern (non-monarchical) ceremonial posts. The time frame for this study extends from the mid-twentieth century to the present, a period that provides a few fluctuations in the fortunes of female executives rather than renders a single trajectory that signals their steady advancement. Sources include parliamentary records, government documents, public opinion polls, news reports, leaders' memoirs and diaries, and extensive elite interviews. While the total number of women as executives remains relatively small, considering their collective experiences can yield some significant lessons about women in government and the character of executive leadership – as well as the institutional and ideological development of Anglo nations.

Gender analysis of executive leadership in Anglo-American systems can reveal when, why, and how women succeed, but gender studies and research on executive leadership generally constitute separate fields in political science that rarely overlap empirically or theoretically. In both fields, researchers have identified the factors that enhance the selection and election of women,[2] but they usually neglect what affects the nature of leadership once women do lead. Scholars who investigate the role of women in politics have increased our knowledge about women legislators and the (under) representation of women across countries; yet research on women as executives tends to focus on a single nation or produce a collection of case studies.[3] If female legislators behave differently than men do (Thomas 1991, Tamerius 1995), then female executives might also differ from their male counterparts. Furthermore, when opportunities open up for women, they might encounter unexpected obstacles (or advantages) if they are treated differently than men. Finally, even if women are treated the same as men, the consequences can be inequitable given the different situations women inherit – by nature as child-bearers and by nurture as they often assume greater responsibilities in the home and follow distinct career paths.

Exploring the experience of women can also yield lessons about executive leadership in general, but outside gender studies, political scientists rarely look at female leaders or employ the analytic tools and concepts that women's studies have generated.

Gender provides a lens that filters individual traits and determines their value, and gender-based norms become embedded in institutional arrangements. Research that focuses on men alone conceals the gender-specific character of executive leadership in nations where masculinity permeates politics and power, and "masculinism" (which favors strength, decisiveness, and determination) often pervades expectations and constructs of leadership (DiStefano 1998, Duerst-Lahti and Kelly eds. 1995).[4] Yet men as well as women differ in their inclination or ability to convey gender-specific attributes. Consider, for example, how the transition from President William Jefferson Clinton to President George W. Bush signaled a shift from "femininalist" to masculinist styles of leadership. As *The New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd sardonically described the change, "The 'Let's figure out how we all feel about this' White House is over. The 'We know what's best, follow our rules' White House is beginning" (January 3, 2001). Depending on the context, the gendered nature of leaders' styles helps shape perceptions of leadership as weak or strong, empathetic and compassionate or unresponsive and out of touch. As a result, the study of women as executives can reveal the gender-specific requirements of leadership that all leaders – men and women – must seek to meet.

The Comparative Context of Anglo Adversarial Institutions and Ideology

Masculinism becomes most apparent in the adversarial institutional arrangements that have traditionally characterized Anglo systems. To facilitate programmatic change, adversarial systems concentrate power in the executive, and to ensure accountability, they rely on combat between two major parties. The more adversarial the system, the more masculinist its norms and expectations of executive leadership tend to be. Female leaders in adversarial, Anglo systems usually need to develop styles and strategies that show they are capable of being tough enough for the job. As a result women who wish to engender change by practicing different styles get caught in a double bind. If they mimic men, they reinforce the masculinist norms and expectations of their institution, but if they introduce a different approach to leadership, they might well appear too weak to lead. Even when the times favor feminalist leadership, adversarial institutions can make it more challenging for women than for men to meet changing expectations by adopting a "softer" style.

Furthermore, liberalism constitutes the dominant ideology in Anglo countries, and it is predominantly a masculinist ideology – in both its classical form and its neo reincarnation. In classical theory, liberalism embraces the concept of a disembodied, genderless individual, making it difficult for women to seek redress under the law for the concrete ways that their experiences differ from those of men (Pateman 1986). (As a result, to increase the representation of women, Anglo nations tend to shun the use of formal quotas, instead preferring to pursue indirect means within political parties and occasionally adopting informal targets.) Neoliberalism makes matters worse for women because its market-oriented ideology shifts public policy away from the goal of equality to equity (fairness and impartiality), reinforcing the bias of classical liberal theory that fails to recognize differences between men and women. In nations where liberalism dominates, female leaders who become executives are likely to be liberal (or neo-liberal) feminists, if they are feminists at all, and so the liberal ideological framework limits the

degree of change they seek to engender even in the best of times (Tong 1998, especially chapter 1).

Finally, the nature of institutions and ideology fluctuate, and in political development, two types of time – linear historical and cyclical political – influence the prospects and performance of female leaders. Despite the dominance of masculinism, Anglo institutions and ideology also include some aspects of governance that could be construed as feminalist and favor conventional attributes associated with women such as cooperation, conciliation, and consensus building. Even with adversarial systems, Anglo institutions usually operate with a high degree of consensus, and debate takes place within a constitutional context of mutually agreed-upon principles. Furthermore, to secure individual rights, classic liberal theorists promoted a political order that would generate consensus and require compromise or conciliation for the sake of stability. Finally, yet another aspect of classic liberalism favors feminalism: As a philosophy, it emphasizes individual freedom, but its assumptions about the value of freedom depend on the fundamental equality of rights. If Anglo institutions and ideology contain both masculinist and feminalist elements, then the gendered nature of governance will shift at different junctures in political development. As a result, time itself becomes gendered.

Linear historical time has generally limited female executives, although it once provided a path for the progress of women's movements.[5] In historical development, a "Britonnic network" of reformers linked and assisted women's movements during much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Belich 2001, 167; see also Backhouse and Flaherty 1992), and the success of those movements has made it possible for women to become executives. Despite the substantial achievement of the women's movements, their efforts eventually ran up against at least one significant institutional development in the second half of the 20th century. The increased concentration of power in the executive has produced various degrees of presidentialization in parliamentary systems (Poguntke and Webb eds. 2005) and the politicization of presidential ones (Moe 1985). In theory, a female executive could seize the opportunities inherent in the position of a presidentialized premier and use them to set a feminist agenda. It would prove much more difficult for her to adopt a feminalist style of leadership and still satisfy the linear, historical demands of a strong executive. When different dimensions of time collide, women are more likely than men are to get caught in the collision of conflicting expectations.

At first glance, cyclical political time would appear to provide more opportunities for female executives. Its several stages – regime construction, maintenance, and degeneration – define the scope of leadership opportunities (Skowronek 2006) and can alter the gendered nature of leadership expectations and norms. During periods of regime construction, political time demands determined and decisive leadership; later, the maintenance of the political order requires more conciliation and mediation. Viewed in this way, development goes through periods that fluctuate in the degree to which the elite and the public value and reward masculinist or feminalist attributes. Female leaders with a feminalist approach to leadership might seem more likely to succeed during periods of regime maintenance, but to succeed at those junctures in political time, institutional development and the prevailing ideology must also be in sync with leadership style. Unfortunately, the neo-liberal ideology of the last full cycle in political time limited programs that would benefit women as a group and restricted the female leaders who

tried to advance them (Bashevkin 1998, Sawer 2007, Grey and Sawer eds. 2008). And even when stages of the political cycle shift, women must still struggle to satisfy the masculinist standards of contemporary executive-centric government.

The Case of Canada

Women as National Executives

The experiences of Margaret Thatcher (UK 1979-90), Kim Campbell (Canada 1993), Jenny Shipley (New Zealand 1997-99), and Helen Clark (New Zealand, 1999-2008) indicate how the gender-specific character of Anglo institutions, ideology, and political development affect female prime ministers. The best known case, Thatcher met the highly masculinist expectations of leadership in an aggressive, adversarial system, vigorously advanced the rugged individualism of neo-liberal ideology, and capitalized on historical and political times that called for strong leadership. As a result, she proved to be a successful regime builder who brought about substantial change (Sykes 2000), but in style as well as substance she declined any deliberate effort to enhance the welfare of women or expand their political opportunities. Canadian Prime Minister Campbell encountered a much more challenging institutional, ideological, and political environment.

For Campbell, linear historical time continued to require a strong, independent executive, but political time generated new public expectations and altered leadership norms. In 1993 the electorate had grown tired of the tough tactics of its prime minister Brian Mulroney. Moreover, his Progressive Conservatives (PC) – the party that primarily presided over the neo-liberal regime – slid into a state of rapid degeneration and stood on the verge of disintegration. As a result, when Campbell followed Mulroney, she inherited severely circumscribed leadership opportunities. The two types of time and the conflict between them posed leadership challenges for Campbell that Thatcher (until the very end of her premiership) had managed to escape.

Until 1993 and the demise of the Progressive Conservatives, Canada had a strong, two-party system in an adversarial institutional context with highly masculinist norms of executive leadership. As a neo-liberal reformer, Mulroney proved more pragmatic than some of his contemporary Anglo counterparts, but he was a tough, independent leader in a Conservative party that greatly admired strong leadership. (Arguably, parties are also gender-specific: Right-of-center parties tend to be more hierarchical and masculinist and left-of-center parties more egalitarian and feminalist.) Many of the problems Campbell encountered came from within her own party – particularly from members of the political elite who disdained her feminist inclinations and feminalist style. Linear time – and the historic Conservative party (Canada's oldest) – required that she perform as manfully as Mulroney, even though political time had made Mulroney and his party extremely unpopular.[6]

Despite their unpopularity, by 1993 a neo-liberal consensus had emerged, the two major parties had converged, and executive leadership required regime maintenance. To a great extent, Campbell faced the same challenge as her Anglo counterparts US President George Herbert Walker Bush and British Prime Minister John Major. They needed to

offer a softer style and moderate policies, thereby creating distance from their predecessors without denouncing their own parties or the neo-liberal policies they produced. These "kinder, gentler" times (to borrow a phrase coined by Bush 41) might be considered more feminalist – favoring traditional feminine attributes and thereby enhancing the prospects for a female leader. Yet in political times that call for conciliation, moderation, and maintaining consensus, traditional Anglo adversarial arrangements can continue to generate highly masculinist expectations of executive leadership.

To a great extent, Campbell dealt with the dilemma by pursuing the same electoral strategy Major and Bush adopted. All of them avoided taking precise policy positions and issued mainly ambiguous, equivocal statements. Admittedly, their critics alleged that both Bush and Major lacked vision, and Campbell might have created the same impression during her 1993 campaign. Instead, as a woman, Campbell's evasions conveyed incompetence and ignorance, and her vague statements raised doubts about her abilities. Before the general election and at the time of her selection, the popular press observed, "She has proven herself to be a highly intelligent, innovative politician who is certain of her opinions and unafraid of controversy" (*Maclean's*, June 21, 1993). A former university lecturer in political science, critics initially accused her of intellectual elitism. Nevertheless, when Campbell adopted the electoral strategy of her male counterparts, her public image went from egghead to airhead – and the media magnified the metamorphosis.[7]

Campbell also failed to fulfill expectations of the executive when she adopted a distinctly feminist style of leadership. True to the egalitarian spirit of feminism, as prime minister she promised to practice "the politics of inclusion," a phrase she frequently used as Justice Minister (Campbell 1996, 266). During her brief tenure as prime minister, she held cabinet meetings more frequently than her predecessor had, and she organized a national conference to consult provincial premiers. Rather than win praise for practicing participatory leadership, she appeared weak and unable to make decisions on her own. In addition, when she rejected attempts by media consultants to revamp her image, her refusal to be stage-managed made her seem naïve. As a feminist, Campbell wanted to defy stereotypes, not reinforce them, but she repeatedly ran up against the historical masculinist norms that persist even when political time shifts.

Finally, while she was criticized for her ambiguity and apparent uncertainty, Campbell also got into trouble when she articulated precise positions, especially when those positions reflected her feminism. She continued to advocate many neo-liberal policies and emphasize the importance of "fiscal responsibility," but she was a feminist who believed the state should play a positive role in setting social policy. As Justice Minister, she had assigned top priority to women's issues, especially abortion (which had just been decriminalized in 1988), gun control, and violence against women. She also convened a symposium on "women, law, and the administration of justice" in 1991, but later her own government rejected her proposals to reform the judicial system, because they would constitute "special treatment" for women. Feminalist moments in political time do not necessarily fuel feminist reform, especially when they occur in the midst of maintaining the neo-liberal regime.

The PCs suffered a devastating loss in 1993: With only two seats remaining, the party lost its official status in the House of Commons. It won roughly the same

percentage of the vote that it had secured in the opinion polls when Mulroney resigned (almost seventeen percent), but the party blamed Campbell for their demise and forced her to resign. To this day, people in her own party (now reorganized and merged with the Canadian Alliance as the Conservatives) persist in judging that "she wasn't *entirely* responsible for the debacle." Their use of the word entirely indicates they continue to hold her responsible for much of what went wrong, and women are among her most severe critics. In fact, any PC leader is likely to have lost that election. Rather than merely reflect her personal shortcomings, the character of Campbell's campaign highlights the obstacles inherent in the conflicting demands of masculinist linear time and feminalist political time. Her experience also provides hints that it proves considerably more difficult for a woman to adopt a feminalist style at any time within traditional adversarial Anglo systems.

By contrast, when New Zealand adopted Mixed Member Proportional representation (MMP), it started to transform its adversarial, system into a multi-party one intended to produce coalition agreements or minority governments. While Shipley's early (and limited) experience in the new system reveals the obstacles that remained in the transition period, her successor Clark capitalized on some of the opportunities that the reformed system provides. When New Zealand moved away from the Anglo adversarial model, it started to create new institutional norms and expectations female prime ministers can more easily satisfy. In addition, Clark primarily faced the leadership tasks of regime maintenance, and as a result she led when the two types of time moved in tandem, although both trends tended to diminish the scope of executive authority. While sufficient variation in the institutional, ideological, and political contexts gave Clark leadership opportunities that Campbell lacked, now the power of a New Zealand prime minister could never match the authority of a Canadian prime minister.

Canadian prime ministers have always enjoyed greater independence and autonomy than their Anglo counterparts, and the process of presidentialization has greatly increased their executive authority (Bakvis and Wolinetz 2005). In a parliament that more closely resembles the Westminster model than Westminster itself, Canadian parties possess greater discipline than the British (Bashevkin 1993), and loyalty to the leader provides the primary path to career advancement. Admittedly, parties remain more significant than the leader during elections, but once in government, the prime minister dominates to such a degree that some observers have labeled the leader "an elected dictator." The forces that drive presidentialization – developments in communications and technology as well as globalization – have affected prime ministers everywhere, but the extent of concentrated executive authority varies even among Anglo nations. In Canada, presidentialization has taken place in an institutional context that already intensified prime ministerial power. Even the last two minority governments have done little to stem the tide of increasing executive independence, and the breakup or reconfiguration of the two-party system has failed to alter adversarial arrangements in any ways that would better check the executive.[8] The vast literature in political science on the nature and degree of presidentialization and countless empirical studies generally conclude that Canada provides the most extreme case of presidentialization even if it manifests itself primarily as "personalization" of the executive (Campbell 1998). As a result, the course of Canada's linear, historical development has magnified the

masculinism of the executive – with significant implications not only for future female prime ministers but also for women in cabinet.

Cabinet Ministers

In the waves of ideological change that have washed across the Atlantic and the Pacific, women have generally missed the boat. During the Keynesian Welfare State (KWS) regime, a few prominent women made it into cabinet and achieved success: Frances Perkins in the US and Barbara Castle in the UK provide two shining examples, but it is no accident that they both led the way in advancing the interests of labor. The KWS tapped the labor movement for support and then institutionalized its interests. For the most part the KWS regime was already in a state of degeneration when the women's movement gained momentum in the 1970s. In the next regime cycle, neoliberalism tapped the support of fiscal and social conservatives, while adopting policies designed to shut out (some might say shut down) the women's movement. As a social movement or organized interest, feminists have lacked the opportunity to become an integral component of any regime in cyclical, political time.

Furthermore, since the 1970s the prevalence of the neo-liberal policy paradigm in the cabinet rooms of Anglo countries has created obstacles for women seeking to advance feminist causes or adopt feminalist approaches to leadership. Of course, it tended to create opportunities for female ministers who shared its ideological commitments – Thatcher as prime minister in the UK or Shipley (as prime minister and previously as minister for social services and minister for women 1990-93) and Ruth Richardson (minister of finance 1990-93) in New Zealand. As cabinet ministers, Shipley and Richardson benefited from developments in both types of time, working in a pre-presidentialized system that gave great weight to their ministerial input and sharing the neo-liberal ideology of the regime. (The adoption of MMP has slowed down the process of presidentialization but not entirely halted it.) Their experience indicates that women who endorsed neoliberalism generally proved able to exercise more effective policy leadership as cabinet ministers than others. Yet neo-liberal women – even when they considered themselves feminists – failed to forge a broader set of values and principles that serve the interests or enhance the status of women as a politically marginalized group.

Just as significant, in the neo-liberal era most female ministers in Anglo systems have occupied posts that deal with domestic policies and programs. As women have traditionally dealt with the "domestic" in the home, heads of government have put them in charge of similar duties in cabinet. In particular, politicians, the press, and the public often consider subjects such as education, health, and welfare "women's issues," and polling data consistently show that women do care about these issues more than men do. In cabinet, many of these positions threaten to become identified as the "women's posts" with reduced influence. Both the public and politicians increasingly view these posts as "feminine" – and to put it more accurately, they are feminalist as they favor attributes associated with women such as collectivism, caring, and compassion. In the case of female cabinet ministers in the neo-liberal regime, they have also been the areas that endured the most severe budget cuts or diminished rates of funding. As a consequence,

the political costs of implementing the neo-liberal agenda have outweighed many benefits women might have derived from fitting into feminalist slots.

The pattern of women dominating domestic, feminalist posts appears as strongly in Canada as in other Anglo countries. See tables 1-6. In general, Canadian women interviewed express the same frustration at being given the "warm, fuzzy portfolios." Many of them also recall their despair at securing a domestic post during a time when the government was restricting resources at home. As one Liberal minister (who otherwise praised her prime minister) put it, even during the Liberal governments of the 1990s neo-liberal change went "too far and too fast – in health care, welfare, education."[9] More than most of their Anglo counterparts, Canadian female ministers declare they had few opportunities to express their discontent when their self-described progressive views ran counter to the prevailing neo-liberal trends.

In Canada as in the other Anglo countries, few women have occupied the highly masculinist cabinet positions pertaining to finance, justice, and foreign affairs. There have been no female finance ministers, only two female justice ministers, and two female foreign ministers. Within international relations, most women have been given the International Cooperation portfolio: In charge of humanitarian efforts, they occupy a feminalist position with authority subject to the supervision of the foreign minister. As a general rule, as the significance and scope of influence increases, fewer female ministers can be found, and they encounter greater obstacles in the form of masculinist norms and expectations of their leadership – although their institutional setting is by no means static. To appreciate fully the obstacles female ministers encounter requires tracing the changing place of cabinet in the political order – and returning to the historical trend of presidentialization.

While presidentialization erodes the integrity of cabinet and affects all ministers, this linear trend (along with the political cycle of neo-liberalism) coincides with the arrival of greater numbers of women. In fact, from 1980 to 2005, in sheer numbers, the increase for Canadian women in cabinet is more dramatic than for others. See chart attached. Like the women in other Anglo cabinets, Canadians interviewed expressed their belief or perception that cabinet authority has diminished in the past few decades. At the same time, preliminary interviews with Canadian female ministers suggest some ways they differ and indicate why ultimately they prove even more constrained than their Anglo counterparts.

Ministers in other Anglo systems generally perceive a clear trade off between increased prime ministerial power and diminished cabinet authority, and they hold prime ministers responsible for fuelling that historical trend (Sykes 2009). Canadian women perceive only some prime ministers as presidential – and never their own. (Empirical studies on presidentialization document fluctuations due to personal variations, but they tend to reach uniform conclusions that defy the subjective assessments rendered below.) Moreover, when Canadian ministers feel their autonomy and authority have been restricted, they distinguish between the behavior of their prime ministers and the actions of the prime minister's staff – in sharp contrast to ministers elsewhere. In the UK, for example, disgruntled members of cabinet would routinely complain about "Blair and his blokes at Number 10" as if they were one and the same (which they were). By contrast, Canadian ministers from both the Liberal and Conservative parties and across governments attacked their prime minister's staff, while they praised their prime minister

– a perception or phenomenon I have not observed in any other country. And I can find no external empirical evidence to suggest that the prime ministers' staff members are more inclined to act on their own in Canada than in other Anglo countries. Nevertheless, members of cabinet would typically describe their prime minister as "open" and "even handed" dealing with cabinet while simultaneously accusing his staff of interfering and always "pushing" them around. And again Canadian ministers interviewed never perceive their own prime minister as presidential (excessively independent and/or shunning cabinet collective decision making), but they always view other prime ministers that way.

For example, contrary to every scholarly and journalist account of Jean Chretien, his own Liberal ministers depict him as respectful and solicitous of cabinet input. One such minister makes the point by contrasting his style to his successor Paul Martin and explains, "The people around [Martin] were referred to as 'the board.' Nobody could get to the prime minister, and he wouldn't listen. Or you could get to him, and he'd say 'yes' to you all the time, and then nothing ever happened…" In this case and others, when criticized, the prime minister and his staff were linked. She continued:

> A lot of the ministers who worked under Chretien were now [under Martin] being controlled by and pushed around by the staffers… [I]mmediately after they were appointed to cabinet there was a meeting held by the prime minister's staff with the ministers' staff to say "Do not have your minister ever say anything that hasn't been cleared by us - no press releases that haven't been cleared by us. You don't say anything unless we say so." So that was there [under Martin]. And it is under this prime minister [Harper]. The most minute things he controls.

One might expect a former Liberal minister to be critical of the current Conservative prime minister but her most vehement remarks are leveled against another Liberal prime minister (not her own).

A second Liberal minister under Chretien echoed these sentiments. She considered Chretien "a feminist" because:

> He liked strong women [in cabinet] who were pushing the envelope constantly. I didn't have a problem with him at all…And since this government came into power, there has been a really strong change. *And I would say that even started when we had a minority government. I saw a change in the milieu from Mr. Chretien who was so different – even though the people around him weren't.* After Chretien, it's "give the women the warm, fuzzy portfolios and tell them what to do. And if they dare to tell you they disagree, then we'll decide they won't be in cabinet very long." People like to say [Chretien] was a control freak, but he wasn't…Mr. Chretien's cabinet worked on consensus… It radically changed with Paul Martin's government. We had staff telling ministers with pedigrees a thousand miles long that you're wrong – and that would be listened to (emphasis added).

To this female minister, the consequences of the prime minister's style had a distinctly gendered dimension. Chretien's collective approach to cabinet showed he respected women, while Martin's independence from cabinet and the strong-arm tactics of his staff indicated they "disliked especially strong women." Here again, negative comments link

the prime minister with his staff, while positive ones separate the two. And the good prime minister engages his ministers in cabinet, but the bad one is presidential with staff who issue his commands.

Contrast the flattering remarks made by Chretien's ministers above (and their criticisms of Martin) with the view of a different Liberal minister – one who served in Martin's government and endorsed his leadership. In her view:

> Paul was very much about consensus, very approachable…He encouraged everybody to be part of that…Women were given their due respect by Paul Martin… His staff were the ones at the end of the day that were going to tell you certain things or whatever. It was often the staff that did various things, not the prime minister himself…I have to say that I had certain feelings about reform that I wanted to see happen that I think the prime minister was ok with but the staff weren't. And they let you know quite easily that if you don't do what they want you to do, then you may not be sitting at that cabinet table tomorrow or the next day… They were just pushing their weight around, and I don't think the prime minister would have even known. They're very, very powerful, those who are around the prime minister.

A second minister in Martin's government expressed the same views in even stronger language. " I loved him," she gushed and then explained why: "He's the son of a parliamentarian. Deep inside, he's a real democrat – I think the people around him weren't." She conceded that after Martin became prime minister, "It was far more difficult to get in if there was an issue you cared about. Quite often calls wouldn't be returned. I don't believe it was Paul. He probably didn't even know about it. I think there were times when he wasn't being well served by the people around him." The pattern is quite pronounced in every interview – and the perception is not limited to Liberals.

A member of the current Conservative government expresses the same views of her prime minister (notorious for his excessive independence and intolerance of dissent). As she explained:

> [This is] a case of the perception of the public and the reality of the cabinet being completely different…[Prime Minister Harper] has great respect for everybody's point of view…This is the most solid, decent, hardworking, honest, straight shooter I've met in all my years in politics…Around the cabinet table, it's just not true that we all sit there like a bunch of trained seals.

As she describes the collegial atmosphere in cabinet, she gleefully declares, "We have a lot of fun." Not surprisingly, she contrasts Harper's collective decision-making to the presidential styles of Martin and Chretien.

To sum up, Canadian ministers prove intensely loyal to their leader – to a degree unparalleled in other Anglo systems. As they perceive their institutional setting, loyalty to the leader provides the only path for MPs to advance to cabinet. In other parliamentary systems, the prime minister usually needs to include intra-party opponents in the cabinet because "collective responsibility" serves to silence them, whereas backbenchers remain free to criticize their own government and their own prime ministers. Indeed, in other systems (notably the UK) the prime minister's rivals resign from cabinet in order to organize backbench revolts. That does not happen in Canada because extreme

"discipline" restricts the parliamentary party. MPs fear they will be thrown out of caucus if they step out of line, and no membership in caucus means the end of a parliamentary career as the independent MP proves unable to remain his party's nominee in the riding. For this reason, one minister described party discipline as "career discipline." Party discipline means many things in most parliamentary systems: It can include adherence to the party's program or principles, for example. In Canada it means that MPs and especially ministers must follow the leader without question. Of course, this affects all members of parliament, not just female MPs or ministers. But for women who have only recently arrived in substantial numbers (in parliament as well as cabinet), the tight discipline that muzzles them and renders them mute can also thwart their efforts to engender change.

Another related aspect of the Canadian parliament and parties adversely affects the ability of women to pursue change. Intense competition for cabinet posts characterizes their environment because cabinet provides the only place an MP can have any hope of exerting influence, given the silence expected from backbenchers. Canadian ministries are larger than most Anglo countries' and the number of MPs fewer – so the chance of getting into cabinet is greater for Canadian MPs than for their Anglo counterparts. But this only serves to intensify the competition because no one wants to be among the relatively few left out (the "B team" as one minister described it). Once again, intense competition affects all MPs, but it has especially negative consequences for women – especially ones who want to change the institution or its politics. Fierce competition forces women to "play the game" when most seem to prefer policy to the "blood sport" of parliamentary politics – and it pits women against each other for the few "women's posts." (To make matters worse, the need for regional balance in cabinet also intensifies competition among the women – as many of them come from metropolitan ridings in a handful of cities such as Toronto.) Add fierce competition to the intense loyalty demanded of ministers and the result is an environment most women consider quite "alien" and "hostile." Here again, the comments of women interviewed attest to the challenges they face. Their comments breathe life into the scholarly depictions of the Canadian parliament as excessively aggressive – while they serve to unmask the extreme masculinism often overlooked by mainstream (usually male) political scientists who study Canada.

Under pressure from prime ministers and/or their staffs, women admit "most of the time you just had to cave in." When asked why, one female minister explained:

> You never know where the knives come from. It's very, very competitive. The whole place is competitive. Everyone wants in cabinet and your own members will do you in just as fast… Women just work hard and do the job. The men are more apt to scheme and protect each other. Women just do the job – and the men will scheme up together to get you out of that job…You've got to cooperate or you won't be there…The men will hustle and bustle to protect each other. The men understand the game better than women… [Women] don't want to play the game…If you don't play the game, you're not here very long – or you're not in cabinet very long.

In her own case, she attributes her downfall as a minister to her intra-party rivals. As she recalled:

> The information that was being given to the opposition was being fed by blackberries on my side. During question period, the information was going from blackberries on my side saying "Ask her about this, ask her about that." I was a newcomer on the block. They didn't think I'd been there long enough to deserve that position. But it was really about power. They didn't get it and they wanted it. Getting me out of it meant [pause], every person in cabinet that's taken out [pause], the current cabinet, once Helena [Guergis] was in trouble, they were all figuring out "now who's in next? Maybe it will be me." It's a really, really strange place. It's really competitive. Everybody wants to get into cabinet because that's where the power is. It's not on the backbenches. And there's only so many people who can be there. If one of your own colleagues can get you out of it, he will - [by] saying "I heard about this, there's trouble coming." Harper not only takes his minister out of cabinet, he kicks her right out of caucus. I mean, my god!

This female minister – like many others – emphasized the gendered nature of the competition: In their view the men scheme (often over drinks at Hy's Steakhouse), while the women work late hours in their offices; the men have well established networks, while the women are relative newcomers. As a result, when adversarial politics moves from inter-party battles to intra-party conflict, women are often left out of the loop and on their own.

While the competitive environment often brings men together, it tends to pit women against each other. Once again, the reasons why sisterhood proves scarce are institutional and endemic to the Canadian parliament. In addition to intense competition for the few designated "women's posts" in cabinet, female MPs need to throw their support behind a perceived winner in the leadership contest, and in the major parties, the serious contenders are men. Consider what happened when three women competed for the Liberal party leadership in 2006 – as recalled by two of the three female contestants. One of them remembered:

> Not a single woman in the party [among the MPs] supported any one of the three women running for the leadership because they all wanted to go with a winner. And they all hedged their bets. They'd pat you on the back, but they're politicians, and they're backroom people. And I was the only one who said that. I said it out loud at a women's caucus. I said, "There's an elephant in the room that no one's talking about. You have three women running. You have a choice. And not one of you in this caucus has supported any one of us." I said, "I don't want to discuss it or debate it. I know you all have excuses. But I just want to put it on the table."

Another female contestant mentioned she had the support of many female candidates but no sitting female MPs.

That same woman put the contest in context by recalling her reaction when she arrived in Ottawa. As she described it, the confidence and comfort she had acquired in her career "was dashed coming here" in "such a competitive atmosphere," and she added "it was also dashed by the fact that the women who had been here for a while [pause], my biggest shock was that the women had bought into this bullshit." She recalled how very early on, while she was away caring for her sick mother, a female colleague took one of

her proposals for a private members bill and submitted it as her own. In fact, every woman interviewed had stories to tell about how female MPs – within their own party – had undermined other women.

Where the women agree is in their depictions of the hostile environment in the House of Commons, and what is surprising is how little that has changed as the number of female MPs has increased. Almost twenty years ago, a classic study documented the obstacles women encounter in the "guilded ghetto" of Canadian government and politics (Sharpe 1993). In every other Anglo system, the women interviewed observed that the behavior of male politicians did change as the number of women increased – at least in superficial ways that affect parliamentary discourse and decorum, but apparently not in Canada. After one female minister recounted her initial naïveté at thinking she could achieve change, she concluded the interview by declaring, "Now I know you need to change the institutions." The prospects for fundamental institutional change of parliamentary government appear even more daunting in Canada than throughout the rest of the Anglo-American world.

Additional Positions of Leadership: Sub-national and Ceremonial Executives

Comparing the federal systems of Canada, the US, and Australia can shed light on the opportunities and obstacles female executives encounter at the sub-national level. States, provinces, and territories can render laboratories for experiments in public policy that the federal government might later adopt, but few female executives have been able to seize the opportunities the sub-national context can provide. Here again, institutional opportunities vary across and within these countries. In the US, for example, the office of governor ranges in its scope of authority from a part-time, somewhat ceremonial post to a powerful executive position. Predictably, most women can be found where the state constitution severely circumscribes the authority of the governor as in Texas but not in powerful positions such as the governor of New York or California.

By contrast in Canada (and to a lesser degree in Australia), all the provinces and territories enjoy a great deal of autonomy and their premiers generally have the potential to wield substantial influence. Indeed, in the case of Canada, one check against the presidentialization of the prime minister is the authority of provincial and territorial governments where presidentialization has also occurred at the sub-national level (Bakvis and Wolinetz 2005). Yet both countries have had very few female premiers or first ministers. In Australia, of the six cases, two women became premiers but never won elections, three were elected in territories, and only one was elected premier of a state (relatively recently). Among Canada's seven cases, only four have been elected as party leaders, and only one premier currently holds office – in a territory, not a province. While the small numbers limit quantitative analysis, at least one case study has found evidence that Canadian female premiers can advance the interests of women as a group (Bernard 2004). In general, however, the limited experience of sub-national executives reinforces a rule that runs throughout the study of female leaders: Their numbers decrease as the range of institutional authority expands.

Two types of time in political development also affect the nature and prospects of female leaders as governors and premiers. In linear historical time, centralization has

occurred in the US and Australia, though not in Canada where constitutional measures halted the historical trend and strengthened the provinces. In cyclical political time, in the neo-liberal era tensions increased between the federal and state governments, especially when governors and premiers endorsed more public programs and when cuts at the national level increased the financial burden on states and provinces. On the other hand, states and provinces often experience their own political cycles within larger developments, and female leaders can serve as catalysts for change, albeit on a smaller scale than national leaders and sometimes limited by them.

Institutional authority and political power prove most circumscribed in the case of ceremonial heads of state, but Irish presidents and Governors General in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada have successfully employed symbolic politics in order to engender change. Women as ceremonial national leaders reveal both the barriers that a masculinist, adversarial system erects and the benefits of being excluded from the battlefield. Many Anglo systems separate the head of state from the head of government, creating a national unifying figure that stands apart from the aggressive arena of partisan politics. Some women such as Irish President Mary McAleese and Canadian Governor General Michaelle Jean have used their posts to foster national unity – a significant effort in countries with deeply rooted cultural and ethnic divisions. While her female predecessor proved content to perform traditional ceremonial duties, Governor General Jean has worked to assist immigrant women and establish a network of shelters for women and children as well as bridge the divide between Francophones and Anglophones.

Other ceremonial executives have crafted their positions to tap traditions outside Anglo political development that add communal values and collective concerns to Anglo individualism. To draw national attention to the plight of disadvantaged, marginal groups, both Irish President Mary Robinson and New Zealand Governor General Silvia Cartwright met with them in high profile settings. Through symbolic gestures and ceremonial events, President Robinson linked the new modern, prosperous Ireland to those still suffering at home and abroad by honoring aspects of Irish history such as the famine and the diaspora. Similarly, Governor General Cartwright made special efforts to celebrate Maori traditions and culture, showing how the Maori have enriched New Zealand history and made the nation unique. And, finally, like Governor General Jean, almost all the female ceremonial leaders have consciously tried to advance the interests of women as a group. While these ceremonial executives have sometimes stirred controversy, they have also demonstrated how symbolic politics can help forge positive change, even in the highly rational, legalistic context of Anglo institutions and ideology.

The two types of time also affect ceremonial executives, and female leaders in these posts can play especially significant roles at critical junctures in political development. In linear historical time, “progress” often advances the majority but neglects or marginalizes minorities, and ceremonial executives can draw attention to those who might otherwise be left behind. In cyclical political time, ceremonial leaders can unify in periods of deep division – at controversial and contentious moments in regime building or during regime degeneration when consensus breaks down. In either type of time, female ceremonial executives are uniquely situated to keep the concerns of women on the national agenda, particularly given the recent trend of awarding these ceremonial posts to women.

Conclusion

This paper has given greater weight to the obstacles than the opportunities female executives encounter, but in the twenty-first century some avenues are open to women who wish to engender change. In Canada and throughout the Anglo-American world, female leaders can tap traditions within their countries that add communal values to Anglo individualism and rival the masculinism entrenched in Anglo liberal ideology and institutions. Furthermore, they can seize the opportunities inherent in a new political cycle that shifts public policy back to collective concerns and promotes a positive understanding of the "public sphere." Of course, as leaders, they might also facilitate such a shift. Finally, female executives can return to the aspect of linear, historical time that served women decades ago – namely, women's movements and pressure groups. Here again, as leaders they might revive and energize such movements, and in doing so, improve the environment for other female executives and women in general. In the interdependent global context of the twenty-first century, women's movements are likely to become increasingly transnational, and female leaders might be well situated and better equipped than their male counterparts are to make connections that cross cultures and transcend traditional boundaries.

Initially, to secure their rights as citizens, Anglo women reached across the Atlantic and the Pacific and linked their movements, a sensible strategy in light of their common challenges and the natural (if sometimes uneasy) alliance among their nations. Those women's movements altered the place of women in the political order and forged an environment that opened opportunities for female leadership. In political development, however, women as leaders often encountered obstacles erected by the predominantly masculinist institutions, ideology, and development of Anglo systems.

For Canadian women in politics, the greatest opportunities could come from aspects of its public philosophy. Compared with the US and the UK, Canadians have a more collectivist (and more feminalist) perspective on the role of government. Contrast the Canadian national motto "peace, order, good government" to the American objective – to secure the individual's "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Whether the Canadian collectivist notion of the public good stems from Anglo interaction with indigenous peoples (Saul 2008) or the influence of French Quebec, Canada prides itself on being "a fair country." Fully realizing that noble, national ideal might require adjusting governing institutions to make them more inclusive and reforming politics to enable more female leaders to engender change.

Notes

[1] I would like to thank the Canadian Government's "Understanding Canada-Canadian Studies" Faculty Research Program for funding the research for this particular paper and the larger book project of which it is a part. At the time of writing, I am in the middle of field work in Ottawa, and so this constitutes a work in progress within the context of a book in progress. As a result, my statements or findings about Canada are necessarily tentative, and I welcome suggestions from participants here at the Canadian Political Science Association annual meeting.

[2] Women fare better in electoral systems with certain forms of proportional representation than in first-past-the-post systems. In the absence of proportional representation, political parties can achieve the same level of representation for women through the use of gender-based quotas. See Lijphart 1991, Rule 1994, Rule and Zimmerman eds.1994, and Reynolds 1999.

[3] In the 1990s, some comparative studies started to explore the nature of women's leadership, but these early efforts generally produced edited volumes or collections of case studies. For examples, see Genevese ed.1993, Liswood 1995, and Duerst-Lahti and Kelly eds.1995. As the number of female executives increases worldwide, more genuine cross-national studies are likely to appear. See, for example, Jalalzai 2008. Single nation studies on women and executive leadership in the US include Martin 2003 and Borrelli 2002. General texts on women in politics within specific countries also often include data on female executives. For examples, see Dolan, Deckman, and Swers 2006, Galligan 1998; and on Canada in particular - Trimble and Arscott 2003, Trimble and Tremblay eds. 2003, and Bashevkin 2009.

[4] It might be helpful to explain some of the definitions and distinctions commonly used in gender studies. Masculinism privileges attributes associated with men, whereas feminalism (its conceptual counterpart) prefers traits associated with women. Feminalism also assumes female agency and includes women's own preferences in its construction. It differs from feminine, a concept constructed by men, which treats women as weak and inferior to men and masculinity. Finally, feminism comprises an ideological element of feminalism that, among other aims, seeks to enhance women's power and achieve equality between women and men. For more on these definitions and distinctions, see Duerst-Lahti 2002.

[5] For analysis of several ways time can affect gender, see the symposium "Studying Gender and Politics Over Time," *Gender & Politics* 3 (September 2007): 369-408.

[6] By staying in office until his party's prospects proved beyond repair, Mulroney essentially "handed the poisoned chalice" to Campbell. Some men among the Conservative party elite hoped the novelty of a woman prime minister might reverse the party's fortunes, but those same men kept her from making an appeal to women as a group or cultivating their support (For her own views on the situation, see Campbell 1996, 289). Several factors facilitated the party's demise: some pertain to political time – the unpopularity of Mulroney personally as well as his government's Goods and Services Tax (GST), while other factors stand outside the cycle of time such as the growth of regional parties that stole much of the PC base.

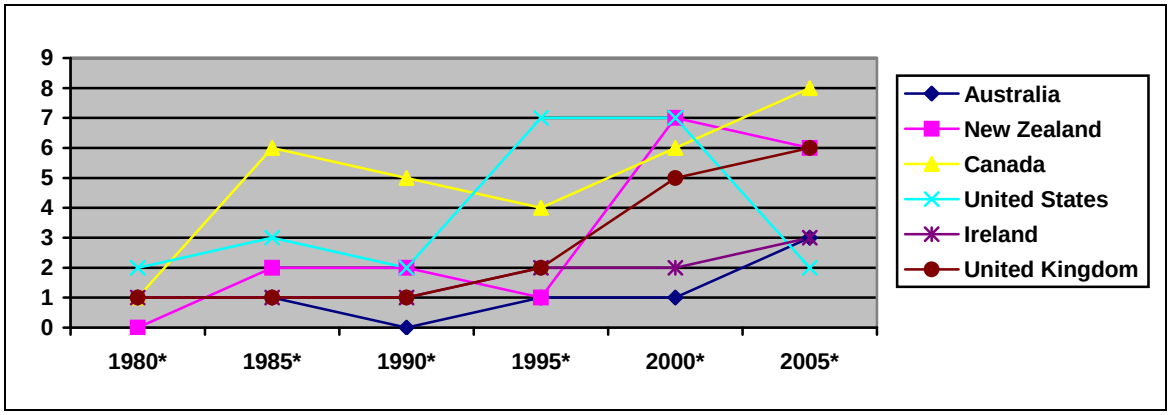
[7] Reporters focused on her failure to articulate specific policies and saw every gaffe as an indication of limited knowledge and low aptitude. In one instance when pressed for

details about her government's social policies, Campbell quickly replied that a general election was no time "to get involved in a debate on very, very serious issues" (quoted in *The Record*, September 24, 1993). Later she explained she meant it is difficult to plan the details of policies during a short, heated campaign, but the sound bite sent the message that she was either unable or unwilling to consider issues important. Liberal leader Jean Chretien escaped such scrutiny even though he failed to provide any bold new plans. Indeed, he would go on to maintain the neo-liberal regime established by his opponents. The media might well have held Campbell to higher standard of specificity than men must meet as she insists in memoirs (Campbell 1996, 268). Admittedly, Campbell's personal qualities also made media management difficult, including her limited national experience and her deliberate desire to change political discourse by being more open and direct.

[8]Excluded from government, multiple parties tend to line up as the opposition, even though this forces them to adopt some rather awkward arrangements. For example, in the Opposition Lobby, chairs are informally arranged to separate the parties. As a Liberal MP explained the layout to me, the back of one row of chairs denotes the end of the Bloc and the start of the NDP and so on. In a relatively small, often crowded room, the result is a sort of organized chaos where members huddle and whisper within earshot of their opponents from the other parties – but within the "opposition."

[9] As I am in the midst of conducting interviews in Ottawa, I have declined to cite my sources here with full attribution.

Chart 1: Numbers of Women in Cabinet in Anglo-American Systems



*Number of female cabinet ministers as of 1 January. Admittedly, the percentage of women in cabinet would be more helpful than the raw numbers, and the chart is being revised to provide percentages.

Table 1: Ireland

Name	Position	Dates in Position	Portfolio Gender[1]
Domestic Portfolios			
Countess Markievicz	Labour	1919-1922	Feminalist
Màrie Geoghegan-Quinn	Gaeltacht	1979-1981	Feminalist
	Tourism, Transport, and Communications	1992-1993	Feminalist
	Justice	1993-1994	Masculinist
Eileen Desmond	Health and Social Welfare	1981-1982	Feminalist
Gemma Hussey	Education	1982-1986	Feminalist
	Social Welfare	1986-1987	Feminalist
	Health	1987	Feminalist
Mary O'Rourke	Education	1987-1991	Feminalist
	Health	1991-1992	Feminalist
	Public Enterprise	1997-2002	Masculinist
Niamh Bhreathnach	Education	1993-1997	Feminalist
Nora Owen	Justice	1994-1997	Masculinist
Sile De Valera	Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht & the Islands	1997-2002	Feminalist
Mary Coughlan	Social, Community, and Family	2002-2004	Feminalist
	Agriculture	2004-Present	Masculinist
Mary Hanafin	Chief Whip	2002-2004	Masculinist
	Education	2004-Present	Feminalist
Mary Harney	Tànaiste	1997-2006	Masculinist
	Minister for Enterprise, Trade, and Employment	1997-2004	Masculinist
	Health and Children	2004-Present	Feminalist
Foreign Portfolios			
None			

[1] The labels "masculinist" and "feminalist" vary across countries and across time to reflect country-specific characteristics (whether the nation is agricultural or industrial, for example) and the evolution of posts as they undergo regendering (usually moving from masculinist to feminalist after successive women occupy the position). Also, in some cases, the labels called for very subject judgments and are disputable. Finally, please note that these tables need to be updated to include current governments.

Table 2: United Kingdom

Name	Position	Dates in Position	Portfolio Gender
Domestic Portfolios			
Margaret Bondfield	Labour	1929-1931	Masculinist
Ellen Wilkinson	Education	1945-1947	Feminalist
Florence Horsburgh	Education	1953-1954	Feminalist
Judith Hart	Paymaster General	1968-1969	Feminalist/Masculinist
Barbara Castle	Transportation	1965-1968	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Employment	1968-1970	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Social Services	1974-1976	Feminalist
Margaret Thatcher	Education	1970-1974	Feminalist
	Prime Minister	1979-1990	Masculinist
Shirley Williams	Prices	1974-1976	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Education	1976-1979	Feminalist
	Paymaster General	1976-1979	Feminalist
Baroness Young	Leader of the Lords	1981-1983	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Duchy of Lancaster	1981-1982	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Lord Privy Seal	1982-1983	Feminalist/Masculinist
Gillian Shephard	Employment	1992-1993	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Agriculture	1993-1994	Feminalist
	Education	1994-1995	Feminalist
	Education and Employment	1995-1997	Feminalist
Virginia Bottomley	Health	1992-1995	Feminalist
	National Heritage	1995-1997	Feminalist
Margaret Beckett	Leader of the Commons	1998-2001	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Environment	2001-2006	Feminalist
Ann Taylor	Leader of the Commons	1997-1998	Feminalist
	Chief Whip	1998-2001	Masculinist
Baroness Jay	Leader of the House of Lords	1998-2001	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Lord Privy Seal	1998-2001	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Women	1998-2001	Feminalist
Harriet Harman	Social Security	1997-1998	Feminalist
	Women	1997-1998, 2007-Present	Feminalist
	Leader of the Commons	2007-Present	Feminalist
Hilary Armstrong	Chief Whip	2001-2006	Masculinist
	State/Cabinet Office	2006-2007	Feminalist
Tessa Jowell	Culture	2001-2007	Feminalist
Estelle Morris	Education	2001-2002	Feminalist
Mo Mowlam	Cabinet Office	1999-2001	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Duchy of Lancaster	1999-2001	Feminalist
Patricia Hewitt	Trade and Industry	2001-2005	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Health	2005-2007	Feminalist
Jacqui Smith	Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury	2006-2007	Masculinist
	Home Secretary	2007-Present	Masculinist
Hazel Blears	Without Portfolio	2006-2007	NA
	Communities and Local Government	2007-Present	Feminalist
Ruth Kelly	State/Cabinet Office	2004	Feminalist
	Education and Skills	2004-2006	Feminalist
	Communities and Local Government	2006-2007	Feminalist
	Transportation	2007-Present	Feminalist
Baroness Amos	Leader of the Lords	2003-2007	Feminalist
Baroness Ashton	Leader of the Lords	2007-Present	Feminalist
Foreign Portfolios			
Barbara Castle	Overseas Development	1964-1965	Feminalist/Masculinist
Mo Mowlam	Northern Ireland	1997-1999	Feminalist/Masculinist
Clare Short	International Development	1997-2003	Feminalist
Helen Liddell	Scotland	2001- 2003	Feminalist
Margaret Beckett	Trade	1997-1998	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Foreign Affairs	2006-2007	Masculinist

Table 3: United States

Name	Position	Dates in Position	Portfolio Gender
Domestic Portfolios			
Frances Perkins	Labor	1933-1945	Masculinist
Oveta Hobby	Health, Education, and Welfare	1953-1955	Feminalist
Carla Anderson	Housing and Urban Development	1975-1977	Feminalist
Patricia Harris	Housing and Urban Development	1977-1979	Feminalist
Juanita Kreps	Commerce	1977-1979	Feminalist/Masculinist
Shirley Hufstedler	Education	1979-1981	Feminalist
Patricia Harris	Health and Human Services	1979-1981	Feminalist
Elizabeth Dole	Transportation	1983-1987	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Labor	1989-1991	Feminalist/Masculinist
Margaret Heckler	Health and Human Services	1983-1985	Feminalist
Ann McLaughlin	Labor	1987-1989	Feminalist
Lynn Martin	Labor	1991-1993	Feminalist
Barbara Franklin	Commerce	1992-1993	Feminalist
Hazel O'Leary	Energy	1993-1997	Feminalist/Masculinist
Janet Reno	Attorney General	1993-2001	Masculinist
Carol Browner	Environment	1993-2001	Feminalist
Donna Shalala	Heath and Human Services	1993-2001	Feminalist
Alice Rivlin	Office of Management and Budget	1994-1996	Masculinist
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	Council of Economic Advisors	1993-1995	Masculinist
	National Economic Council	1995-1996	Masculinist
Janet Yellen	Council of Economic Advisors	1997-1999	Masculinist
Alexis Herman	Labor	1997-2001	Feminalist
Aida Alvarez	Small Business Administration	1997-2001	Feminalist/Masculinist
Janice Lachance	Offices of Personnel Management	1997-2001	Feminalist/Masculinist
Christine Todd Whitman	Environment	2001-2003	Feminalist
Ann Veneman	Agriculture	2001-2005	Feminalist
Gale Norton	Interior	2001-2006	Feminalist
Elaine Chao	Labor	2001-Present	Feminalist
Margaret Spellings	Education	2005-Present	Feminalist
Mary Peters	Transportation	2006-Present	Feminalist
Foreign Portfolios			
Jeane Kirkpatrick	U.N. Ambassador	1981-1985	Feminalist/Masculinist
Carla Hills	Special Trade Representative	1989-1993	Feminalist
Madeleine Albright	U.N. Ambassador	1993-1997	Feminalist
	State	1997-2001	Masculinist
Charlene Barshefsky	U.S. Trade Representative	1997-2001	Feminalist
Condoleezza Rice	State	2005-Present	Feminalist/Masculinist
Susan Schwab	U.S. Trade Representative	2006-Present	Feminalist

Table 4: Canada

Name	Position	Dates in Position	Portfolio Gender
Domestic Portfolios			
Ellen Fairclough	Citizenship and Immigration	1958-1962	Feminalist/Masculinist
Julia LaMarsh	Health and Welfare	1963-1965	Feminalist
Jeanne Sauvé	Environment	1974-1975	Feminalist
	Communications	1975-1979	Feminalist
Monique Bégin	Revenue	1976-1977	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Health and Welfare	1977-1979, 1980-1984	Feminalist
Judith Erola	Mines	1980-1983	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Consumer and Corporate Affairs	1983-1984;	Feminalist
Barbara McDougall	Employment and Immigration	1988-1991	Feminalist/Masculinist
Flora MacDonald	Employment and Immigration	1984-1986	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Communications	1986-1988	Feminalist
Pat Carney	Energy, Mines, and Resources	1984-1986	Feminalist/Masculinist
Monique Vézina	Treasury Board	1988	Feminalist/Masculinist
Suzanne Blais-Grenier	Environment	1984-1985	Feminalist
Kim Campbell	Justice and Attorney General	1990-1993	Masculinist
	Veterans Affairs	1993	Masculinist
	Prime Minister	1993	Masculinist
Monique Landry	Communication	1993	Feminalist
Pauline Browes	Environment	1991-1993	Feminalist
	Indian Affairs and Northern Development	1993	Feminalist
Mary Collins	Western Economic Diversification	1993	Feminalist
	Environment	1993	Feminalist
	National Health and Welfare	1993	Feminalist
	Environment	1993	Feminalist
	Employment and Immigration	1993	Feminalist/Masculinist
Barbara Sparrow	Energy, Mines and Resources	1993	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Forestry	1993	Feminalist/Masculinist
Diane Marleau	National Health and Welfare	1993-1996	Feminalist
	Public Works	1996-1997	Feminalist
	Supply and Services	1996-1997	Feminalist
Joyce Fairbairn	Leader of the Senate	1993-1997	Feminalist/Masculinist
Shelia Copps	Environment	1993-1996	Feminalist
	Deputy Prime Minister	1993-1997	Masculinist
	Multiculturalism and Citizenship	1996	Feminalist
	Communications	1996	Feminalist
	Heritage	1996-2003	Feminalist
Anne McLellan	Forestry	1993-1995	Feminalist
	Energy, Mines, and Resources	1993-1995	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Natural Resources	1995-1997	Feminalist
	Justice and Attorney General	1997-2002	Masculinist
	Health	2002-2003	Feminalist
	Deputy Prime Minister	2003-2006	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Public Safety	2003-2006	Feminalist
Lucienne Robillard	Labour	1995-1996	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Citizenship and Immigration	1996-1999	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Treasury Board	1999-2003	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Industry	2003-2004	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Human Resources	2005	Feminalist
	Intergovernmental Affairs	2004-2006	Feminalist/Masculinist
Jane Stewart	National Revenue	1996-1997	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Indian Affairs and Northern Development	1997-1999	Feminalist
	Human Resources	1999-2003	Feminalist
Christine Stewart	Environment	1997-1999	Feminalist
Claudette Bradshaw	Labour	1998-2004	Feminalist
Elinor Caplan	Citizenship and Immigration	1999-2002	Feminalist/Masculinist
	National Revenue	2002-2003	Feminalist
Sharon Carstairs	Leader of the Senate	2001-2003	Feminalist
Helene Scherrer	Heritage	2003-2004	Feminalist
Albina Guarnieri	Veterans' Affairs	2004-2006	Masculinist

Judy Sgro	Citizenship and Immigration	2003-2005	Feminalist/Masculinist
Belinda Stronach	Human Resources	2005-2006	Feminalist
Beverley Oda	Heritage	2006-2007	Feminalist
	Status of Women	2006-2007	Feminalist
Carol Skelton	National Revenue	2006-2007	Feminalist
	Western Economic Diversification	2006-2007	Feminalist
Marjory LeBreton	Leader of the Senate	2006-Present	Feminalist
Rona Ambrose	Environment	2006-2007	Feminalist
	Intergovernmental Affairs	2007-Present	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Western Economic Diversification	2007-Present	Feminalist
Diane Finley	Human Resources and Social Development	2006-2007	Feminalist
	Citizenship and Immigration	2007-Present	Feminalist/Masculinist
Josée Verner	Status of Women	2007-Present	Feminalist
	Heritage	2007-Present	Feminalist
Foreign Portfolios			
Ellen Fairclough	Secretary of State	1957-1958	Feminalist
Julia LaMarsh	Secretary of State	1965-1968	Feminalist
Flora MacDonald	External Affairs	1979-1980	Masculinist
Pat Carney	External Relations	1986-1993	Feminalist/Masculinist
	International Trade	1986-1988	Feminalist/Masulinist
Barbara McDougall	External Affairs	1991-1993	Masculinist
Monique Vézina	External Relations	1984-1986, 1993	Feminalist/Masculinist
Kim Campbell	National Defense	1993	Masculinist
Monique Landry	Secretary of State	1993	Feminalist/Masculinist
Lucienne Robillard	Secretary of State	1996	Feminalist/Masculinist
Diane Marleau	International Cooperation	1997-1999	Feminalist
Maria Minna	International Cooperation	1999-2002	Feminalist
Susan Whelan	International Cooperation	2002-2003	Feminalist
M. Aileen Carroll	International Cooperation	2004-2006	Feminalist
Josée Verner	International Cooperation	2006-2007	Feminalist
Beverley Oda	International Cooperation	2007-Present	Feminalist

Table 5: Australia

Name	Position	Dates in Position	Portfolio Gender
Domestic Portfolios			
Enid Lyons	Without Portfolio	1949-1951	NA
Margaret Guilfoyle	Education	1975	Feminalist
	Social Security	1975-1980	Feminalist
	Finance	1980-1983	Masculinist
Susan Ryan	Education and Youth	1983-1987	Feminalist
	Special Min. of State	1987-1988	NA
Ros Kelly	Minister for Arts, Sport, Environment, Tourism and Territories	1990-1991	Feminalist
	Minister for Arts, Sport, Environment and Territories	1991-1993	Feminalist
	Minister for Environment, Sport, and Territories	1993-1994	Feminalist
Carmen Lawrence	Human Services and Health	1994-1996	Feminalist
Jocelyn Newman	Social Security	1996-1998	Feminalist
	Family and Community Services	1998-2001	Feminalist
Amanda Vanstone	Employment, Education, Training, and Youth Affairs	1996-1997	Feminalist
	Family and Community Services	2001-2003	Feminalist
	Minister for Immigration and Indigenous Affairs	2003-2007	Feminalist
Kay Patterson	Health and Aging	2001-2003	Feminalist
	Family and Community Services	2003-2006	Feminalist
Helen Coonan	Communication, Information Technology, and Arts	2004-Present	Feminalist
Julie Bishop	Education	2006-Present	Feminalist
Foreign Portfolios			
None			

Table 6: New Zealand

Name	Position	Dates in Position	Portfolio Gender
Domestic Portfolios			
Mabel Howard	Supplies	1947	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Health	1947-1949	Feminalist
	Social Affairs and Welfare	1957-1960	Feminalist
Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan	Tourism and the Environment	1974-1975	Feminalist
Margaret Hercus	Social Welfare	1984-1987	Feminalist
	Police	1984-1987	Masculinist
	Women's Affairs	1984-1987	Feminalist
Margaret Shields	Customs	1984-1987	Feminalist
	Consumer Affairs	1984-1987	Feminalist
Helen Clark	Conservation	1987-1989	Feminalist
	Housing	1987-1989	Feminalist
	Health	1989-1990	Feminalist
	Deputy Prime Minister	1989-1990	Masculinist
	Prime Minister	1999-Present	Masculinist
	Arts, Culture and Heritage	1999-Present	Feminalist
Annette King	Employment	1989-1990	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Immigration	1989-1990	Feminalist
	Youth Affairs	1989-1990	Feminalist
	Health	1999-2005	Feminalist
	Racing	1999-2005	Feminalist/Masculinist
	State Services	2005-Present	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Police	2005-Present	Masculinist
	Transport	2005-Present	Feminalist
	Food Safety	2005-Present	Feminalist
Ruth Richardson	Finance	1990-1993	Masculinist
Jenny Shipley	Social Welfare	1990-1993	Feminalist
	Health	1993-1996	Feminalist
	State Services	1996-1997	Feminalist
	Transport	1996-1997	Feminalist
	State Owned Enterprises	1996-1997	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Broadcasting	1996-1997	Feminalist
	Prime Minister	1997-1999	Masculinist
Georgina Te Heu Heu	Courts	1998-1999	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Women's Affairs	1998-1999	Feminalist
Sandra Rose Te Hakamatua Lee	Conservation	1999-2002	Feminalist
	Local Government	1999-2002	Feminalist
Laila Harré	Women's Affairs	1999-2002	Feminalist
	Youth Affairs	1999-2002	Feminalist
	Statistics	1999-2002	Feminalist/Masculinist
Ruth Dyson	Women's Affairs	2002-2005	Feminalist
	ACC	2002-Present	Feminalist
	Senior Citizens	2004-Present	Feminalist
	Labour	2005-Present	Feminalist/Masculinist
Margaret Wilson	Attorney General	1999-2005	Masculinist
	Labour	1999-2004	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Courts	2002-2003	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Commerce	2004	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Building Issues	2004	Feminalist/Masculinist
Lianne Dalziel	Immigration	1999-2004	Feminalist
	Senior Citizens	1999-2004	Feminalist
	Commerce	2002-2004; 2005-Present	Feminalist/Masculinist
	Women's Affairs	2005-Present	Feminalist
Marion Hobbs	Environment	1999-2005	Feminalist
	Broadcasting	1999-2005	Feminalist
Nanaia Mahutu	Customs	2005-Present	Feminalist
	Youth Affairs	2005-Present	Feminalist
Foreign Portfolios			
None			

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