Dynasts or Disruptors:
Gender and Representation in the Philippines Legislature

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Abstract

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The purpose of this project is to explore in-depth whether the identity of elected agents measurably contributes to the goal of achieving more representative democracies. The push for more diverse legislatures is one of the most significant global reform efforts of the twenty-first century with more than 150 countries having adopted measures to facilitate or require increased gender, racial, or ethnic diversity in their national legislatures since 1990. Yet, there is still no scholarly consensus on the substantive effects of increased diversity in legislatures. Though an expansive and growing literature on diversity in representation has identified a broad range of possible effects, the consensus is that the relationship between increased descriptive diversity (in any form) and substantive outcomes is not straightforwardly deterministic, but rather weak, probabilistic, and contingent on a number of other institutional, contextual, and individual factors (Dodson 2006; Celis and Childs 2014; Espírito-Santo, Freire, and Serra-Silva 2020). Still, scholars view the study of the descriptive-substantive link as worthwhile and maintain that diversity of identity is relevant to the study of political representation (Mackay 2008; Wängnerud 2009).

With this complexity and the difficulty of detecting measurable effects in mind, this project takes a broad, exploratory approach to evaluate a wide array of potential consequences that increased diversity in the legislature might engender in a context that has received scant attention, the Philippines. This project offers three innovations. First, I take a 'thick' view of representation (Mackay 2008) drawing on literatures from feminist theory, social psychology, feminist institutionalism, and diversity in representation, to identify and evaluate a wide range of potential impacts that more diverse legislatures might have. Second, I develop a novel Pathways Framework for categorizing and studying the potential avenues through which diversity in representation might exert a substantive influence on policies, populations, and parliaments. Third, I test this broad range of existing theories in a context that I argue is a least-likely case study and therefore provides a novel and informative testing ground for these theories.

My goal is not to demonstrate causality per se, but rather to determine if empirical evidence in support of a relationship between descriptive diversity and substantive outcomes, broadly construed, can be detected in a least-likely context. Using the Pathways Framework, I take a sustained, holistic approach to examining the potential consequences of women's growing presence in the legislature over time. Though I find limited support that women's increased presence in the legislature measurably influences policy outcomes or women's exposure to harm, as measured by two comprehensive indices, I uncover multiple ways that women legislators consistently advocate for and act on behalf of women at greater rates than men. These findings add to the feminist institutionalism literature by demonstrating that, while women continue to be disadvantaged in the context of historically male-dominated institutions, they are nonetheless able to innovate and bring valuable perspectives to the policymaking table, which challenge dominant gender norms and advance the interests of women and other marginalized groups.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

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Dedication

To my father, whose gentle guidance shaped me into the person I am today,
And taught me the meaning of a life lived in service of others.
I miss you.

You will always have a lucky star
That shines because of what you are
Even in the deepest dark
Because your aim is true

Chapter 1. Diversity in Political Representation: The Challenge of Representative Democracy

1.1 Introduction

What does it mean to be truly represented in a democracy? The purpose of this project is to explore in-depth the normative and empirical question of whether and to what extent the identity of elected representatives matters in terms of achieving the goal of a more representative democracy. The push for more diverse legislatures is one of the most significant global reform efforts of the twenty-first century. More than 150 countries have adopted measures to facilitate or require increased gender, racial, or ethnic diversity in their national legislatures since 1990 (Hughes, Paxton, Clayton, and Zetterberg 2019; Tan and Preece 2021). The underlying logic of these reforms are motivated either by a normative assumption, which argues that institutions *should* be more inclusive as a matter of justice, or a causal assumption that presupposes increased diversity will effect measurable changes in the quality of representation. However, despite the considerable buy-in among national governments, scholars, and activists to support and implement these reforms, there is still no scholarly consensus on the substantive effects of increased diversity in legislatures.

In part, this is because demonstrating a clear causal link between diversity in legislatures and changes in outcomes has proved a considerable empirical challenge. Among scholars of diversity in representation, a consensus has emerged that the relationship between increased descriptive diversity (in any form) and substantive outcomes is not straightforwardly deterministic, but rather probabilistic and mediated by a number of other factors including the influence of party and electoral rules, among others (Dodson 2006; Wängnerud 2009; Celis and Childs 2014; Espírito-Santo, Freire, and Serra-Silva 2020). Yet, as Mackay (2008) notes,

"feminist scholars have not given up on the claim, weak and probabilistic though it is, that something is going on between presence and action" (126). Indeed, efforts to demonstrate the links between presence and action have resulted in an expansive and growing literature on the effects of diversity in representation.

Many such studies tend to focus on only one dimension of political representation at a time, considering the potential effects of diversity in a relatively narrow scope and, while a growing number of studies have expanded geographically beyond Western contexts, the Asian region in general, and Southeast Asia in particular remains understudied[1] and thus many predominant theories in the diversity and representation literature have gone untested in this regional context. This project, therefore, offers three innovations. First, I take a 'thick' view of representation (Mackay 2008), drawing on literatures from feminist theory, social psychology, feminist institutionalism, and diversity in representation, to identify a broad array of potential impacts that more diverse legislatures might have. Second, drawing on these literatures I develop a novel Pathways Framework for categorizing and studying the potential avenues through which diversity in representation might exert substantive influence on policies, populations, and parliaments. Third, I evaluate this broad range of existing theories in a context that has received scant attention in the gender and politics literature, the Philippines.

My goal is not to demonstrate causality per se, but rather to determine if empirical evidence in support of a relationship between descriptive diversity and substantive outcomes, broadly construed, can be detected in a novel context. In addition to testing whether existing

[1] A possible exception is Indonesia, which despite being the third largest democracy in the world has only recently begun to receive some attention in the gender and representation literature. For instance, a 2021 special issue of the *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, focused entirely on Women and Elections in Indonesia. See also Prihatini (2021), Prihatini and Halimatusa'diyah (2024), and Aspinall, White, and Savirani (2021).

theories on the descriptive-substantive link hold up in the Philippines context, I also identify several directions for future research that, to my knowledge, have not yet been well explored in the literature. Though I consider multiple facets of diversity, the primary empirical focus is on gender since this metric provides the most variation for analysis. I add to the literature on diversity in representation and feminist institutionalism by applying the Pathways Framework to the sustained examination in a novel context of the myriad ways women's increased presence in the legislature might influence policy outcomes and agenda setting, challenge dominant gender norms in society, and how historically male-dominated institutions, like legislatures, may resist or accommodate this diversity.

Political representation is foundational to both the concept and practice of democracy (Pitkin 1967). The election of agents to accurately represent the interests of both individuals and groups in government is a key mechanism of liberal democracies, crucial to their function and perceived legitimacy. Yet, despite its fundamental importance, there is little agreement among scholars about what political representation entails or how to achieve its optimal form (Urbinati and Warren 2008). To be truly representative, must an elected legislature look like the population it governs? If so, along what dimensions of identity should a legislature mirror its constituency and to what degree must they align to effectively represent their constituents' interests? Should legislators be primarily judged on the policies they enact? Or are other dimensions of representation equally important, such as articulating the lived experiences and perspectives of historically marginalized groups in debates and deliberations or elevating issues uniquely important to those groups to the policy agenda? Does increased diversity have the potential to change government institutions, affecting the norms and processes of representative democracy?

None of these questions have straightforward resolutions. Indeed, they highlight the very real mechanical and practical challenges of representative democracy as well as important normative debates on quality, expectations, and legitimacy of political representation. Nonetheless, answering them is crucial. If the interests of individuals and groups are not effectively represented in the legislative process, democracy as a form of governance is conceptually empty and practicably meaningless. Thus, the task of specifying the most appropriate or desirable relationship between the preferences of citizens and the laws under which they live is what Rehfeld (2009) calls "the central normative problem of democracy" (214). This global emphasis on diversity in representation is unfolding against the backdrop of democratic erosion worldwide. There is considerable agreement that the quality and efficacy of democracies have been deteriorating over the course of the twenty-first century (Levistsky and Ziblatt 2018; Waldner and Lust 2018). Though claims about this trend are not without contestation (Little and Meng 2024), if more diverse legislatures are indeed more representative and result in more optimal policy outcomes for larger swaths of society, then the potential stakes of increasing diversity in representation have never been higher.

At the same time, it is possible that reform efforts aimed at changing the makeup of legislatures could be used to give a veil of legitimacy to governments that are declining in their commitments to democratic principles. For instance, Valdini (2019) argues that male elites have made a conscious and calculated strategic decision to cede a limited number of seats to women in order to increase the perceived legitimacy of their parties and to prolong their political dominance while sacrificing only nominal legislative power. Moreover, several scholars argue that electoral autocracies have "weaponized" and "instrumentalized" the passage of women's rights and election of women politicians to lend democratic legitimacy to their regimes (e.g.

Bjarnegård and Zetterberg 2022; Tripp 2023). The fact that diversity in representation is proposed both as a panacea to increase democratic quality and lambasted as a Trojan horse to preserve the political power of male elites while giving a veneer of legitimacy is evidence that the serious, sustained study of this crucial component of representative democracy is both timely and warranted.

1.2 The Problem of Representation

There is a growing sense that to be truly representative, governing bodies *should* look like the populations they govern. This mandate is often framed as a matter of social justice and equity: major demographic groups *should* be represented in proportion to their numbers in society. Indeed, legislative institutions whose demographic features significantly deviate from the nations they govern (either in the numerical over- or under-representation of certain groups relative to their numbers in the population) might rightly be taken as *prima facie* evidence of systemic inequalities in opportunities for or access to political decision making. For example, in the absence of some systematic barriers preventing women from pursuing political power at equal rates to men, we should expect women to comprise roughly half of legislative institutions worldwide.

Yet, as of 2023, not a single country in the world has achieved gender parity in their legislative institutions[2] (Childs and Hughes 2018; Joshi and Goehrung 2018; IPU 2024). Unless a

[2] Though some legislative institutions in a small number of countries have met or exceeded parity, no country has uniformly achieved gender parity across upper and lower houses, as well as national and subnational bodies. Considering just lower houses of national legislatures, only three countries – Rwanda, Cuba, and Nicaragua – have exceeded gender parity by slightly over representing women relative to men. Three more countries – Mexico, Andorra, and the United Arab Emirates – meet the 50/50 gender split, while 22 countries have achieved at least 40% women's representation in their lower houses. This leaves more than 165 countries (85% of cases) where women are significantly underrepresented in the lower house relative to their numbers in society.

convincing argument can be made that women systematically prefer not to wield legislative authority in equal proportions to men, this near universal gender disparity in representation indicates the existence of systemic inequalities, which create meaningful barriers to women's equitable access to political power. The same logic applies to the persistently observed under-representation of other demographic groups as well. Given the finite number of seats in legislatures, the over-representation of one group (i.e. men of the dominant social class), inherently means that other groups will be present in numbers below their proportions in the population (Murray 2014; Bjarnegård and Murray 2018).

Beyond being an indicator of systemic inequalities in broader society, the persistent under-representation of some demographic groups in legislative institutions likely have considerable implications for their continued marginalization. First, if it is true that in-group members are most capable of and committed to representing the interests of their own demographic groups, then legislative institutions that accurately reflect those groups in relative proportion to society are key to achieving equity not only in representation but also in outcomes. Second, because political institutions are historically male-dominated, the rules, norms, and procedures of which are designed by and for the benefit of elite men, the very act of including marginalized group members in these spaces and processes may be transformative (Puwar 2004; Lovenudski 2005). Ann Phillips (1995) most notably terms this dynamic "the politics of presence," arguing that the inclusion of women will inherently shift the procedures and policy agendas of legislative institutions over time.

Both the notion that members of marginalized groups will represent the interests of their groups most effectively and faithfully, as well as the concept that increased diversity will change the way institutions operate make intuitive sense. As such, both have also found considerable

resonance with policymakers and activists, as evidenced by the widely supported efforts to increase descriptive diversity in political institutions around the globe. But as theories they rely on several assumptions about how marginalized group members will consistently act on behalf of their groups and how institutions and dominant actors will accommodate, rather than resist, the effects of increased diversity. Taking both theories seriously means we should expect to see measurable shifts in the way legislative institutions operate and the outcomes they achieve as they become more representationally diverse.

In practice, however, the measurement and evaluation of these theories raise several thorny empirical challenges. Even establishing the relative level of diversity in legislative institutions is not straightforward. When it comes to highly visible categories like race and gender, measuring descriptive representation – that is how closely a legislature mirrors the demographics of the population it governs – is quite achievable (Pitkin 1967). However, if the logic of the descriptive representation mandate is extended to less visible categorizations like sexual orientation, ethnicity, linguistic group, gender identity, or religion, this quickly poses measurement issues. Without detailed biographies of elected representatives that disclose such features of their identities, the tallying of such metrics introduces enormous subjectivities on the part of researchers making coding decisions. There is also the issue of counting intersectional identities. If an elected representatives is both female and a racial, ethnic, or religious minority how should this be calculated in terms of the overall metrics of diversity? Thus, even though measuring descriptive representation should be the most straightforward component of this question, it is quickly complicated if we move beyond the largest and most visible categories of ascriptive identities.

To further complicate matters, discerning whether elected representatives truly *act for* their group members is considerably more challenging (Pitkin 1967; Childs and Krook 2009; Wängnerud 2009). The most straightforward dimension of this question is whether the increased presence of historically marginalized group members in legislative institutions results in improved policy outcomes for their groups. There is relative agreement among scholars on the point that the representativeness of government can be measured by comparing the expressed preferences of voters with the policy outcomes of their elected legislative bodies (Lax and Phillips 2009; Gilens and Page 2014; Caughey and Warshaw 2016; Grumbach 2018). A marked divergence between voters' preferences and actual policy outcomes indicates a deficiency in the quality of democracy, while greater congruence in this respect is evidence of more accurate and effective political representation. The approach works particularly well for policy issues that lend themselves to dichotomous categorization, such as abortion rights or gay marriage (Lax and Phillips 2009), and where there is a clear unidimensional left-right divide among political parties (Grumbach 2018).

In contexts where there is not such a clean division between parties or where the institutional capacity to routinely gather policy preferences are lacking, this approach is much more difficult to implement. Additionally, evaluating the policy interests of a given racial/ethnic group or gender is not straightforward. Women and racial/ethnic minorities are not homogeneous groups. Members of the same demographic can hold a wide range of policy preferences and perspectives on what policies would most benefit their group. As Joshi (2023: 5) notes, dealing with this heterogeneity is perhaps "the greatest challenge" of studying substantive representation. And several scholars have critiqued approaches that attempt to define in advance the policy interests of a given group as potentially arbitrary, overly narrow, or essentializing (e.g. Celis et

al. 2008; Mackay 2008; Celis and Childs 2012). Moreover, the expectation that marginalized group members will automatically and primarily represent the interests of their group places limits on their ability to hold more diverse and comprehensive policy agendas (Mansbridge 1999).

Similarly, if elected members of historically marginalized groups are evaluated on their ability to *act for* their groups mainly by passing policies, it raises the question of whether it is reasonable to hold individual legislators to this standard. The simple fact that these representatives are, by definition, a minority in the legislature means they will inherently have limited policy making abilities in majority rule institutions. Making matters worse, minority members, such as women, are often marginalized within legislative institutions, by their own parties, relegated to lower power committees or otherwise stymied in their ability to be effective policy makers (Holike 2012). Thus, evaluating the efficacy of minority legislators based on the policies they pass on behalf of their group members may place an unreasonable expectation on the ability of such marginalized legislators to move their policy agendas forward even if they have the desire to do so.

1.3 From Pitkin to the Pathways Framework

Acknowledging the challenges posed by evaluating the substantive representation of historically marginalized groups, this project takes a broad understanding of the impacts that more diverse political representation can have on the societies they govern. The goal is to identify where and how increased diversity in national legislatures could plausibly exert a measurable impact, including but not limited to policy outputs. Following Franceschet and Piscopo (2008), I examine both process- and outcome-based dimensions of political

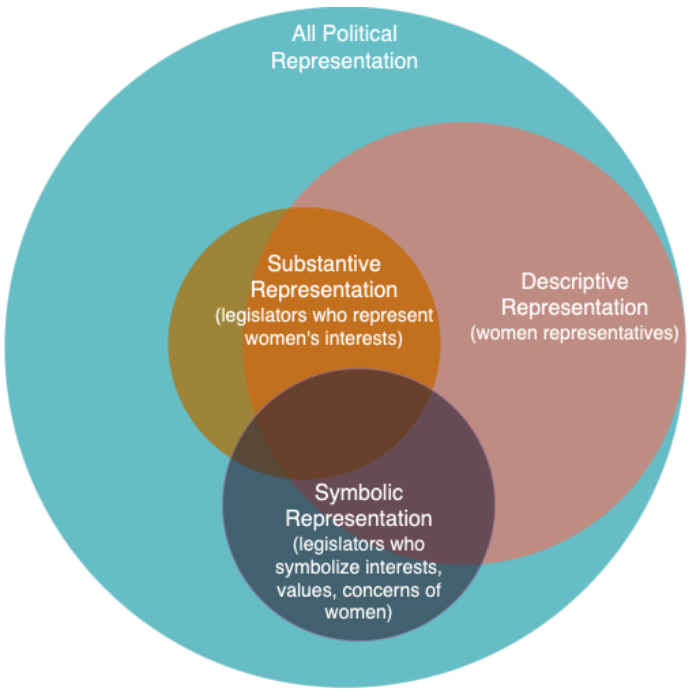
representation, considering direct and indirect policy-related outcomes achieved by more diverse legislative institutions, as well as changes to the political agenda, priorities, and procedures. Building on Pitkin (1967), I develop a Pathways Framework to understanding the myriad ways that increased diversity in legislative institutions might shape outcomes for historically marginalized groups. I argue that this Pathways Framework provides a useful model for evaluating the comprehensive consequences of more diverse legislatures.

The most earnest effort to systematically articulate what it means to be represented politically in modern democracies is Hanna Pitkin's (1967) *The Concept of Representation*. It is a testament both to the brilliance of her work and the challenge of cogently articulating the concept and practice of representation that in the intervening half-century few scholars have attempted to further develop our understanding of this elemental building block of democracy (Mansbridge 2003, 2011; and Rehfeld 2009 are notable exceptions). Pitkin's (1967) enduring framework offers three categories of representation:

1. *Descriptive* – how closely a legislature matches the demographic and ascriptive features or identities of their constituents
2. *Symbolic* – what an elected representative stands for, the extent to which they symbolize the interests, values, and concerns of their constituents regardless of whether they match their demographic features
3. S*ubstantive* – the degree to which a legislator acts for their constituents, whether they accurately represent the social and political interests of their constituents through their policy agendas, voting patterns, and legislative efforts

In much of the modern scholarship on political representation these are often taken as standalone categories distinct from one another. However, Pitkin saw these as three vantages from which to view the same concept and understood the act of political representation to include all three components simultaneously. Thus, rather than looking at each in isolation, I argue that we should examine representation from this more holistic perspective, taking all three facets at once. In this view, descriptive, symbolic, and substantive representation are not separate forms of representation, but rather fundamental components to the act of political representation. Figure 1.1 below visually depicts the relationship between these three forms of political representation as I understand them and demonstrates that each can occur in isolation or in combination. Only descriptive representation necessitates that representatives share the same identity-based characteristics as the represented, though it is generally assumed that substantive and symbolic representation are more likely when group identities are shared.

Figure 1.1: The Dynamics of Political Representation



Source: Author's original compilation drawing on Pitkin's (1967) framework

Pitkin's (1967) framework also helpfully stakes the boundaries of political representation, identifying the extremes within which all acts of representation must fall. On the one hand, if an elected official's duty is to faithfully represent the precise interests of those who elected them, this act is not really representation but only *presenting* the views/interests of their principle. Practically speaking, this is possible only in a highly homogenous electorate and with perfect information about the desires of the constituency.

If instead, we define representation as an agent having autonomy to make decisions in the best interests of their constituents regardless of what they say they want, then the elected official is not really representing them at all, rather they are acting as a paternalistic steward. Pitkin (1967) refers to this as "the mandate-independence controversy," but the dichotomy traces its roots to 18th century democratic theorists including Edmund Burke and James Madison (Mansbridge 2011). Today, it is more commonly framed in the political science literature as the "delegate" vs "trustee" models of representation, first articulated by Eulau, Wahlke, Buchanan, and Ferguson (1959). As Pitkin (1967) establishes, either extreme of this spectrum is infeasible, but where on the spectrum a representative *should* fall is primarily a normative question.

It is also useful to establish the extremes of descriptive representation. On the one hand, it is possible that the identity of legislators matters a great deal and should be a preeminent consideration by which to judge the quality of democratic institutions. If this is the case, the goal should be perfect symmetry between the makeup of a legislature and its population along all salient dimensions of identity. Though a normative question arises as to which dimensions of identity are most important to mirror. Again, there is no clear answer. Is it only immutable characteristics of identity like race or biological sex that should matter in this respect? Gender identity, sexuality and ethnicity are often included among the most salient demarcations, but they

are not the only dimensions of identity that shape the lived experience of individuals. Class, religion, linguistic group, and other factors also shape the preferences and identities of individuals (Verloo 2013). So, the goal of perfect descriptive representation is complicated by which facets of identity we consider most crucial to shaping political representation.

At the other extreme, it is possible that identity does not matter at all when it comes to representational efficacy, or that there are so many important markers of identity that it becomes an impracticable way of differentiating elected representatives. If this is the case, elected representatives should simply be judged on the legislation they support and the policies they enact (symbolic and substantive representation), while their identity remains a secondary or even tertiary concern. The truth is likely somewhere in the middle of these two extremes. But as it is an empirical question and given the considerable emphasis placed on achieving more descriptive representation (at least in terms of gender and race) over the last several decades, it is worthwhile to systematically evaluate the connection between descriptive diversity and substantive representation (Wängnerud 2009).

If, for instance, we can identify a subset of policies that are clearly in the interest of or to the benefit of certain demographic groups, we should be able to discern whether increasing the congruence of legislators' identities with the populations they govern also increases the faithful representation of groups' interests based on the policies they enact. However, it should be noted, that identifying a set of policies that are in the interest of a certain group is not always straightforward. The very act of identifying such policies may hinge upon some normative and prescriptive judgements about what is best for a given groups' policy interests. Moreover, it is important to consider the fact that law making in democratic institutions is inherently a collaborative and collective endeavor. Thus, historically marginalized groups may need to

constitute a “critical mass” of the legislature before the interests of those groups can be transformed into policy outcomes (Kanter 1977; Dahlerup 2006a; Childs and Krook 2009).

The quality and significance of symbolic representation is more difficult to measure directly. A woman legislator, for instance, may say that she stands for women. This type of symbolic representation could be measured by evaluating campaign promises, public statements, or political debates and may be an important signal in itself, indicating that women’s policy interests are being elevated to the level of policy discourse. But determining if or when symbolic representation becomes substantive, requires evaluating the actions taken within the legislature to move policy forward. Otherwise, it is impossible to differentiate between whether representatives are only saying what they think voters want to hear rather than taking seriously the mandate to act on behalf of women.

There is also a normative component to symbolic representation, which depends upon how important it is deemed for institutions of power to reflect the demographic features of the populace. This could be of preeminent concern from a social justice standpoint as the identities of legislators signal to society which demographic groups have a place in the halls of power. Thus, another way of approaching symbolic representation is to measure the impacts of women’s presence in the legislature over time on broader societal perceptions of women and the effects of women’s presence in elected office on those institutions. How do perceptions of women in power change as more women are represented in such positions? Are there shifts in women’s relative power in society, and are women generally less subject to violence and oppression when their visible presence in formal positions of power becomes normalized? Does trust in institutions or engagement in politics increase when more women are present?

1.3.1 Gender Diversity vs Other Forms of Diversity

The concept of groups needing to constitute a "critical mass" in the legislature in order to make a measurable policy impact (Dahlerup 2006a), raises an important challenge for the study of substantive representation of historically marginalized groups. How can a group that is by definition a minority hope to exercise consequential policy making powers in institutions that are fundamentally majority rule? The answer is usually to form coalitions among different groups with overlapping policy interests. For example, Black and Latinx legislators in the United States may share similar policy goals when it comes to policing reform and could feasibly form a coalition to advance this policy issue even if neither group has a critical mass in the legislature on their own. However, from a standpoint of studying the respective effects of Black and Latinx legislators, this obfuscates the direct impact of either group individually in the policymaking process. Thus, we would ideally be able to isolate the effects of individual demographic groups in terms of their contribution to shaping policy outcomes for their specific group.

Because this is primarily an empirical study, such questions of measurement and isolating the effects of individual groups are paramount. For this reason, while this project considers the effects of diversity in the legislature along multiple demographic dimensions, including ethnicity, religion, and indigeneity, empirically, the primary focus of this study is on gender diversity in the legislature.

Unlike other salient demographic groups, such as race, ethnicity, linguistic group, religion or class, gender is a randomly distributed treatment. Meaning, absent of abortive interventions, every individual regardless of where or to whom they are born is equally likely to be biologically male or female. In contrast, racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and class groups are much more likely to be geographically sorted and clustered either by force or choice both

within and across borders. Thus, in legislatures with seats that are bound to certain geographic districts, the likelihood of most historically marginalized groups being elected varies considerably with geography.

For this reason, primary focus of this study is gender diversity. To simplify the terminology, the discussion will focus on women legislators and women as a group. This is shorthand for biologically female and for those who identify and present as women. To be sure this is an oversimplification of the rich complexity and nuance of gender identity and presentation. In part, the choice is stylistic to streamline the language of this study. It is also a practical choice from an empirical standpoint. As of 2023, less than .0002% of elected officials in the United States are openly trans or gender non-conforming and these levels are similar throughout the world (LGBTQ+ Victory Institute 2023). Thus, such a small percentage does not lend itself well to empirical study. However, like racial, ethnic, indigenous, and religious minorities, the role of trans and gender non-conforming representatives will be considered on a more anecdotal basis.

1.4 The Three Pathways of Influence

I conceptualize the three main pathways through which increased diversity in the legislature might substantively affect outcomes for historically marginalized groups in society. I begin with a brief sketch of these three pathways before developing each in more detail.

The first and most obvious connection between diversity in representation and improved outcomes for marginalized groups is the policy pathway. As women are represented in greater numbers in the legislature they can feasibly influence the specific laws and policies that are produced through the legislative process. Women legislators may advocate for the interests of

women as a group through their legislative efforts by drafting, presenting, and supporting laws that they believe are beneficial to women (Lee and Lee 2020). A more indirect version of this is shaping the legislative agenda and priorities. Even if women remain a small enough minority such that they are unable to reliably pass legislation benefiting women, they may be successful in a longer-term gambit to raise the profile of women's issues in the legislature. That is, women may introduce and ensure attention is paid to policy issues and specific legislation they believe would benefit other women, even if they know it is unlikely to pass in a given legislative session. This type of policy agenda work is often crucial to the long-term success of legislation, which may require repeatedly introducing similar pieces of legislation in order to gradually build support and ensure that arguments in favor of its passage are heard on the floor.

Second, the presence of women in the legislature may have implications for the status of women as a group in society through a population pathway. I refer to these as spillover or ripple effects. Even if legislative institutions are such that a minority of women legislators are unable to pass meaningful legislation or shift the policy agenda in favor of women, it is possible that the very presence of women in the legislature may still be transformative at the societal level. Across cultures and time, the face of political power, at least in the last five-hundred years, has been predominantly male. As women take on visible roles in the government, their very presence may be disruptive to this paradigm of male hegemony in politics (Puwar 2004). This may have generational impacts as notions of which groups hold power or deserve access to decision making bodies can have powerful effects on shaping the career trajectories and prospects for historically marginalized group members. It may also influence measurable shifts in societal attitudes toward women as leaders, their relative status in society, and perceptions of the validity of political institutions when more women are represented.

Finally, the increasing presence of women may have implications for the gendered dynamics of the legislature itself via an institutional or parliamentary pathway. Male dominated institutions have been molded over time to serve the interests and meet the needs of the male elite (McKay 2011; Chiva 2018). The informal rules that govern lawmaking, the spaces, practices, procedures, and norms were all designed by a male majority (McKay 2007, 2011). Thus, introducing a new demographic with different needs, priorities, and values is inherently disruptive (Phillips 1995). In a relatively short amount of time women legislators in various countries have succeeded in altering the rules of their institutions by, for instance, requiring that they are allowed to bring their infant children into the legislature, that breast feeding or pumping breaks be required, or that day care facilities be established (Childs 2016; Joshi and Goehrung 2021). In addition, research in social psychology has shown that compared to men, women tend to bring a more communal style of leadership oriented toward the concerns and needs of others and a more collaborative or consensus-based style of leadership (Eagly and Johnson 1990; Carli and Eagly 2011).

An emerging area of political science literature on deliberation has also shown through surveys and experiments that, while women are more open to deliberation (Afsahi 2021), they tend to be perceived (and perceive themselves) as having less authority and influence in deliberative debate, unless the institutional rules or gender balances are designed in such a way to overcome these disadvantages or the negative influence of men undercutting women (Karpowitz, mendelberg, and Shaker 2012; Mendelberg, Karpowitz, and Goedert 2014; Mendelberg, Karpowitz, and Oliphant 2014). Thus, while the increased presence of women might plausibly influence institutional rules, norms, and procedures over time, the design of those institutions and their gender balance are both crucial and may exert their own influences by

marginalizing women or otherwise constraining their potential impacts on policy or the policy agenda.

1.4.1 Policy Pathway

When considering the substantive impacts of increased gender diversity in the legislature, the most obvious outcome is a measurable change to the type of policies produced. The most direct consequence of changing the makeup of an elected body would be a change to the legislation that results from that newly diversified body. Lee and Lee (2020: 440) usefully articulate this dimension of substantive representation as "a series of acts and actors: putting women's interests on the political agenda, translating women's interests, concerns and views into legislation." In traditional understandings of women's substantive representation, the "actors" referenced by Lee and Lee (2020) are women. In this model of change, women legislators are more informed of issues that affect the lives of women, more invested in policies that will directly affect other women (and therefore potentially themselves), more committed advocates for women, and are effectively able to push an entire legislature to adopt the policies they propose.

However, the legislative process is rarely straightforward, and the influence of one or even a group of legislators can be quite difficult to isolate. Policymaking is a collective process mediated by institutional rules and procedures that can often obfuscate the role of an individual legislator, even if it is considerable. Some scholars (e.g. Wallace 2014; Friesenhahn 2024) have used roll call votes as a means of identifying substantive representation, but support for legislation via floor votes is not as strongly indicative of a commitment to that policy area as investing limited resources and political capital to author, introduce, or more actively advocate

for a piece of legislation. Thus, primary authorship is a higher threshold by which to measure substantive support for a policy area. That said, interest groups, (I)NGOs, and other civil society organizations are often instrumental in drafting and lobbying for policies (Encinas-Franco 2023). And, in some cases, legislators may be acting on behalf of those groups. Thus, where possible it is also useful to trace the roots of policy ideas from their conception to drafting.

Another issue is the dual burden this expectation places on women legislators. Male politicians are rarely, if ever, scrutinized for how well they represent "men's issues" or how firmly they advocate for other men. Instead, male legislators are allowed, even expected, to hold a wide array of policy preferences that affect any number of other groups in society. Men can advocate for blue collar workers, immigrants, children, industries, themselves, and the nation without facing criticism for failing to adequately prioritize "men's issues." Women, however, are expected to advocate for women as a group above many other concerns and perhaps at the expense of a richer and more comprehensive policy agenda. So, while women legislators may be expected to naturally promote and support women's policy issues, this expectation places an unequal burden upon those women legislators and potentially inhibits them from being equal members of the legislature with diverse and robust policy agendas.

1.4.2 Population Pathway

The idea that women's visible presence in formal positions of political power might have broader effects in society is not unique to this study. For instance, other studies have found that the increased presence of women as candidates and legislators leads to higher levels of political engagement among women and girls via a role model effect (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Atkeson 2003; Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006; Bühlmann and Schädel 2012). The role model

effect is conceptually similar to what Pitkin (1967) calls symbolic representation. The idea being when a woman or girl sees another woman in a position of power it has a tangible effect on their attitudes or beliefs about gender roles. It makes visible the possibility that women can aspire to such positions of power; that they have a rightful, even equal, place in consequential decision-making and leadership roles. In the course of a generation, the reality of seeing more women in elected office could shift the way that women and girls see themselves, understand their positionality in society, and their belief that they are as deserving as men of being in positions of authority.

This role model effect has clear consequences for paving the pathway to power for women in politics. In its most direct form, a young girl witnesses a woman in a position of political power who she idolizes and aspires to be like and internalizes the belief that she too could occupy such a position in the future (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006; Catalano 2009). However, empirical studies on whether this theory translates to reality have been mixed (e.g. Beaman et al. 2012; Clayton 2018). Moreover, there are a considerable number of social, educational, and professional hurdles that a girl must overcome to translate that dream into a reality (Norris and Lovenduski 1995). First, girls must have access and opportunities to education. This is by no means a given. In many countries throughout the world the education of boys is prioritized above that of girls. Fortunately, this disparity has steadily declined over the last few decades, but in many cases the education of girls is seen as an investment that is unlikely to benefit the parents and in the calculus of household economics under severe resource constraints, decisions are often made with such returns on investment in mind.

In addition to education opportunities, there is evidence that girls' socialization within the household unit plays a significant role in determining their interest and ambitions in seeking

political careers (Lawless and Fox 2010; Fox and Lawless 2014). One study, for instance, found that girls in Latin America who grew up being asked about politics or included in political discussions in the home were significantly more likely to aspire to a career in politics (Schwindt-Bayer 2011). The modeling of gender roles in the household is also a key factor in shaping girls' political ambitions (Fox and Lawless 2014). If girls understand their role as being subservient to male members of the house, it is unlikely they would ever conceptualize themselves as being in a position of power even if they see women politicians in the news.

Finally, professionalization is a crucial component to developing a viable supply of women legislators. Numerous studies have demonstrated the potential pipelines to political power for women and have found that their professional background is key (Fox and Lawless 2004, 2014). The same is arguably true for male legislators, though they may be more likely to benefit directly from nepotism or connections to make their way into the halls of power. But in most cases, candidates must be able to demonstrate to voters that they have the professional experience necessary to have prepared themselves to be competent legislators. Most often this means having a career in law, business, public service, or the military. Globally these are the most common backgrounds for legislators. The degree to which these career pathways are gendered, therefore, also matters in shaping the gender disparities in political representation. If serving in the military or being a lawyer are two important jumping off points for political careers, and these occupations are heavily gendered, then there are downstream consequences for the number of women who can hope to become political candidates.

That said, to the extent that women candidates are still anomalous or disruptive, it is possible that they can take advantage of unique career pathways. For instance, many women in Latin America ran successful political campaigns based on their credentials as mothers, the trend

of so-called “supermadres” has continued to be an effective strategy in many cases (Chaney 1979; Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas 2016). The idea being that if a woman can run a household and raise children, she can also be a successful legislator. There are parallels here to the notion that successful businessmen have skills that are transferable to policy making. Both rely to some extent on gendered stereotypes about the qualities a mother or businessman has and assumptions about how those skills and attributes translate to effective policymaking. Women running successful campaigns as “mothers to the country” do have to lean into gendered stereotypes, but it is an example of using dominant gender norms as an asset on the campaign trail (Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas 2016).

1.4.3 Parliament Pathway

Changing the gendered makeup of an institution fundamentally changes the institution. This is the underlying logic of the parliamentary pathway. Legislative bodies, including their rules, norms, and procedures, were designed by the male elites that have historically dominated them (Wängnerud 2015; Chiva 2018). Legislatures are notorious for long hours and late nights. As McKay (2007, 2011) and others (e.g. Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Thomas and Bittner 2017) have pointed out, the schedules kept by elected representatives are only feasible if they have no young children and other care work responsibilities or if they have outsourced care responsibilities to either paid labor or unpaid (and usually female) spouses/family members (Teele, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018; Joshi and Goehrung 2021).

In addition to the long formal hours of work, many consequential decisions are solidified in informal spaces, which have historically been open only to men and remain male dominated, such as exclusive golf courses, bars, and clubs (McKay 2007). Similarly, consensus building or

coalition forming often happens through political networks and since male legislators have almost always held longer political careers, they tend to benefit more from such networks (O'Brien 2015; Barnes and Holman 2020). Thus, the working conditions as well as the use of informal spaces and political networks for decision-making and coalition building all tend to historically privilege male legislators and disadvantage or even exclude women.

Related to this is the tendency for women to be over-represented on congressional committees considered to be lower in prestige and with less consequential policy making authority (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005). Specifically, women tend to be over-represented on social welfare, gender equity, education, and health services committees, while being under-represented on committees that deal with economy, finance, and national security (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2009; Blumenau 2021). This trend may be partly a result of self-selection, whereby women are interested in representing "women's issues" and therefore seek out opportunities on such committees. Or it may be that male elites intentionally or unintentionally default to assigning women legislators to such types of committees. Whatever the mechanism the result is that women are generally under-represented on those congressional committees that are high-profile and highly consequential in regard to national policymaking. Thus, the gendered nature of legislative committee assignments must also be considered when evaluating the parliament pathway.

The gendered history of legislatures can also be seen in how the legislative process is conducted. For example, gendered dynamics pervade legislative debates. Several studies in Europe have found that women tend to speak less in legislative debates and give fewer floor speeches (Bäck, Debus, and Müller 2014; Bäck and Debus 2019). There are likely several reasons for these patterns. First, drawing on the social psychology literature, social role theory

argues that patterns of socialization based on biological sex and gendered divisions of labor result in men and women on average being taught to value and be valued for different behavioral characteristics and personality traits (Eagly 1987; Eagly and Wood 2012). The internalization of gendered social roles means that men and women tend to develop different styles of communication and leadership, with women typically being communal and collaborative, while men are more agentic, focused on their own achievements and advancement (Eagly and Johnson 1990; Carli and Eagly 2011).

Second, as Williams (2000) articulates, the deliberation process "favor[s] forms of expression which are not characteristic of marginalized groups" including women (135), especially in contexts where the gender balance of the deliberative bodies or institutional rules further disadvantage women. Lab experiments have demonstrated that while women often start from a disadvantaged position in group deliberations, with a higher likelihood of being interrupted and a lower baseline perception of authority and influence (including self-assessments), these disadvantages can be overcome in majority rule institutions when women account for a majority or when the rules of deliberation dictate unanimous decision making (Karpowitz, mendelberg, and Shaker 2012; Mendelberg, Karpowitz, and Goedert 2014; Mendelberg, Karpowitz, and Oliphant 2014). Relatedly, other studies have found that women legislators speak more frequently on topics relevant to women or coded as feminine (Clayton, Josefsson, and Wang 2017) and when women hold formal positions of power they may be empowered to speak more than men in debates (Wang 2014). The study of the parliamentary pathway therefore necessitates examining gendered speech patterns and observable changes to the gendered norms of policy specialization as expressed through speeches.

1.5 Overview

In order to examine each of these three potential causal pathways in turn, this project takes a tripartite approach to analyzing the link between descriptive diversity in the legislature and substantive outcomes for historically marginalized groups. The remainder of this project proceeds as follows.

In the next chapter, I explain why the Philippines is a useful case-study to shed new light on our understanding of the measurable consequences of increased gender diversity in national legislatures. I argue that the weakness of political parties and the hybrid political system of the Philippines effectively removes two of the most persistent intervening variables (party affiliation and electoral system) that complicate the relationship between women's presence and substantive representation in most other national contexts. I then trace the pre- and post-colonial history of some important social, economic, and political legacies that shape democratic institutions and electoral politics in the modern day Philippines. I conclude this chapter with an overview of the last thirty years of women's representation in the Philippines and levels of gender equality more broadly.

In Chapter 3, I focus on the policy pathway. I begin by employing an original dataset covering over 63,000 pieces of proposed legislation from 1992-2019 to determine whether women introduce more gender-relevant legislation than men. I then interrogate whether the steadily increasing number of women in the Philippines House of Representatives has translated into a measurable expansion of women's rights protections using a comprehensive women's rights index, which I argue is an improvement on efforts to measure policy outcomes that focus on a narrower set of "women's issues". In addition to this aggregate analysis, I consider women's

influence on policy by examining the types of legislation introduced by women compared to men and women's contributions specifically to laws on the subject of Violence Against Women.

In Chapter 4, I explore the population pathway by examining the extent to which more women in the legislature has resulted in improvements to the general social standing of women and perceptions of gender equality. I first examine descriptive trends in women's interest in politics, trust in institutions, and attitudes toward women leaders over time as women's presence in the legislature has steadily grown. I then use a comprehensive Women's Harm Index, to evaluate whether women's increased presence in the legislature has reduced harms to women as measured by levels of violence, male control in the household, economic marginalization, and a variety of health outcomes. Finally, I consider women's potential effects on society via policy proposals, by specifically determining whether women legislators are more likely than men to author and introduce legislation that fundamentally challenges hegemonic gender norms.

In Chapter 5, I focus on the parliamentary pathway. Here I explore the ways that legislative institutions might limit the efficacy of women through gendered norms, rules, and procedures, such as congressional committee assignments. I also consider how the increased presence of women might change the legislative institution over time either by gaining greater representation in consequential roles, such as committee chairs, or by influencing the legislative agenda through speech making. I then use an original dataset of over 711 privilege speeches extracted from over 10,000 pages of parliamentary transcripts to analyze the content of privilege speeches delivered by men and women. These gendered patterns of speech making, I argue reflect different levels of policy specialization and prioritization and support the theory that in addition to advocating more for women's interests, women legislators are also more likely to advocate on behalf of other marginalized groups (Prowse, Prowse, and Perrett 2022).

In the concluding chapter I begin by summarizing the main findings of this exploratory analysis. I argue that the least-likely nature of the Philippines case study offers powerful support for those areas in which I find women's increased presence in the legislature influencing outcomes. Positive findings in a least-likely case increase the generalizability of findings because they set such a high threshold for detecting measurable relationships. Thus, any positive findings, I contend are evidence that those theories or dynamics are likely generalizable to other contexts beyond the Philippines, and potentially even beyond the Southeast Asian region. I also identify several avenues for future research, and make the case that studies of gender and representation should take seriously the marginalizing effects of highly gendered institutions, like legislatures, when evaluating whether women contribute to substantive outcomes. With this in mind, I make the case that seeking out observable outcomes that are not heavily dictated by gendered power structures of the legislature can provide a useful window into the policy interests of women legislators and offers a more realistic view of what women can reasonably be expected to achieve when operating as a minority group in a male-dominated institution.

Chapter 2. The Philippines Context: A Least-Likely Case Study

2.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes the necessary historical, cultural, and political context for understanding the dynamics of women's representation in the Philippines and argues that, despite its steadily growing numbers of women in the legislature, it is a least likely case for the existence of a descriptive-substantive link. At first glance, the Philippines seems to be a success story in regard to women's political representation. The Philippines has had two women chief executives, ranks in the top twenty most gender equitable countries in the world according to several widely used indices (Alam and Goehrung 2023), and routinely achieves nearly 30% women's representation in the lower house without the help of national gender quotas. The Philippines is also the highest performing country in Asia as measured by a Women's Political Leadership Index, which ranks countries based on women's representation in the highest tiers of political leadership across all three branches of government (Joshi and Goehrung 2018). Finally, in 2016, the election of Geraldine Roman to the House of Representatives established the Philippines as one of the first countries in the world to elect an openly trans woman to the national legislature. All of these dimensions suggest that the Philippines is genuinely progressive, remarkable even, in terms of its levels of gender equality in politics, yet a deeper look beyond these metrics raises considerable doubts about just how well Filipino women's interest are represented in the legislature.

A significant portion of the women in the Philippines' legislature are members of elite dynasties (Salazar 1998; Veneracion-Rallonza 2008; Labonne, Parsa, and Querubín 2021; Encinas-Franco 2023). Such women are often accused of being "bench-warmer" candidates,

holding a seat temporarily until their male relatives are eligible to run for re-election (Derichs and Thompson 2013; Choi 2019). Whether they are rightly or wrongly construed as placeholders, the elite dynastic ties of so many women in the Philippines legislature suggests caution in assuming that they automatically represent the interests of women generally, particularly since allegiances to familial and class interests can trump advocacy for women as a group, especially when it comes to the interests of lower income women (Everett 2014; Labonne, Parsa, and Querubín 2021).

Because one of the objectives of this project is to evaluate a diverse range of theories on the potential substantive effects of women's increased presence in the legislature, selecting a least-likely case sets a high threshold for detecting such effects, but means that any measurable effects that are found contribute powerful evidence in favor of the theories' validity. As Koivu and Hinze (2017) explain, "a least-likely case is one that should not conform to the theory. Failing the test does not necessarily disconfirm the theory but passing provides strong support for it" (1024). Thus, the Philippines offers a rigorous testing ground of the descriptive-substantive links theorized in the gender and representation literature.

In addition, the Philippines provides a rare context to test these theories without the intervening influence of political parties, which I argue helps to better isolate the individual-level behaviors of legislators. Multiple studies have shown the political party affiliation strongly influences policy preferences and voting behavior of women in legislatures (Kittilson 2008; Hinojosa 2009; Espírito-Santo, Freire, and Serra-Silva 2020). These findings complicate the relationship between gender and representation since political party operates as an intervening variable in the theorized causal pathway between gender identity and observable political behavior. A context such as the Philippines, where political parties are exceedingly weak and do

little to shape the behavior or preferences of their membership (Salazar 1998; Hodder 2005), therefore provides a useful opportunity to observe the relationship between gender and acts of political representation without the intervening effects of party.

In addition, the Philippines' hybrid political system is a unique electoral context, which offers the opportunity to expand upon an emerging subfield of the gender and politics literature that examines the effect of electoral mandates on women's substantive representation (Shim 2021). The Philippines electoral system, which combines geographically bounded single member electoral districts with first past the post voting systems alongside a national level party-list system with proportional representation, means that it is possible to study the behavior of women elected through both systems simultaneously. Thus, far the literature suggests that individuals elected via party-tiers are more likely to act on behalf of national-level demographic groups, such as women, but this theory has been empirically explored primarily in Western contexts such as New Zealand and Germany (Coffé 2018; Höhmann 2019), with Shim (2021) being the only study of this dynamic in Asia, to my knowledge.

The rest of this chapter proceeds as follows. I begin by elaborating on the reasons that the Philippines' party and electoral systems make the identity of individual legislators more salient and help isolate the link between descriptive identity and substantive behavior. make the Philippines a particularly useful case study for evaluating the relationship between gender and political representation. I then expand on my argument that the prevalence of elite dynasties and the dominance of patron-client relations makes the Philippines a least-likely case study, which, if improvements to outcomes for women are observed as a result of the increased presence of women in this context, will add considerable support to those theories that posit a causal descriptive-substantive link. I then discuss the pre-colonial roots of several important features of

modern Philippines politics, and discuss historical patterns of women's political participation, before reviewing the modern state of women's political representation.

2.2 Removing the Effect of Political Parties

In the study of women's substantive representation, the intervening effects of political party affiliation often looms in the background. Those studies that explore this issue directly, have generally found that party affiliation strongly influences policy preferences and voting behavior, often exerting a stronger effect than gender (Kittilson 2008; Hinojosa 2009; Espírito-Santo, Freire, and Serra-Silva 2020). While controlling for political party can help to address this problem, the intervening effects of party affiliation still obfuscate the relationship that researchers are trying to isolate, namely, the link between a legislators' identity and the actions they take to represent and advocate for the policy preferences of their respective demographic groups.

There are two ways that political party can conceivably influence substantive representation. First, political parties can be effective sorting mechanisms based on pre-existing political preferences. Though women on average have been found to hold more liberal political preferences compared to men, those women with more conservative political ideologies may opt to become members or candidates for more conservative parties (Childs and Webb 2012). However, it is nonetheless important to consider that party membership, especially for women, can be strongly influenced by recruitment (Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Barnes and Holman 2020).

Political parties may make an active effort to recruit and elevate women candidates to a small number of high-profile positions in order to give themselves a veneer of democratic

legitimacy as a means of actually prolonging rather than disrupting male political dominance (Valdini 2019). This tactic may be particularly pronounced among conservative parties that wish to portray an image of gender inclusivity without actually threatening the status quo (Childs and Webb 2012). Thus, while party affiliation may be a direct indicator of genuine political preferences, in some cases it may be less about ideology than ambition, and which parties actively recruit and create opportunities for women candidates. While studies of this dynamic are still evolving, for the purpose of studies attempting to link women's presence in the legislature to substantive representation, it is arguably less important since it reflects women's choice to align with a specific party before they take on representational roles in the legislature and thus does not directly intervene in the theorized causal pathway.

In contrast, the second way that political parties influence substantive representation, via top-down control of its members, is very much an intervening variable in the link between women's descriptive and substantive representation. Political parties can and do exert a considerable degree of control over their members' actions, particularly their voting behavior (Willumsen 2017). This type of top-down pressure may shift the voting behavior of individuals in a way that obfuscates their true political preferences. Thus, it is this second mechanism that complicates studies of the link between gender diversity and substantive representation since party pressure can intervene in the theorized causal pathway, obscuring what might otherwise be the individual preference of a representative by forcing them to conform to the party's will.

For this reason, the Philippines case is particularly useful to the study of women's substantive representation because it effectively removes the influence of political parties from the equation. In the Philippines, political parties are exceedingly weak and have little ability to influence candidate selection or to dictate the voting behavior of their members (Hodder 2005).

As Salazar (1998: 173) explains, “the looseness of party affiliations in the country means that changing party membership is done as easily as changing one’s clothes… In the Philippines, there is no such thing as a party vote”. Indeed, political parties in the Philippines are quite openly regarded as electoral vehicles that are easily created, abandoned, or modified to suit candidates’ interests (Hodder 2005). It is not uncommon for Filipino politicians to switch political parties entirely from one term to the next.

Underscoring the weakness of political parties in the Philippines is the observation that it violates Duverger’s (1964) law. Despite the fact that 80% of seats in the legislature are elected under majoritarian rules in single-member districts, which Duverger (1964) predicts will lead to the emergence of a two-party dominated system, elections in these single-member districts have always been multi-party, involving several viable political parties. Because Philippine political parties do not have the organizational power to influence candidate selection or dictate voting behavior and can be easily abandoned if they no longer serve the preference and electoral ambitions of its members (Salazar 1998; Hodder 2005), I argue that the Philippines case study effectively removes the intervening influence of political parties on the pathway between women’s descriptive and substantive representation. Therefore, following Mechkova and Carlitz’s (2020) argument, I contend that the weakness of political parties in the Philippines makes the identity of individual legislatures more salient than in a system where party is a dominant factor in sorting candidates or directing votes and policy agendas.

2.3 Disaggregating the Influence of Electoral Rules

In addition to removing the intervening influence of political parties, the Philippines allows for studying the effects of legislative diversity in a hybrid political system, which offers

unique opportunities for comparing the behavior of women legislators elected through different electoral rules and with different representational mandates depending on whether they are tied to congressional districts or national party-lists. Most countries have either a single-member district or proportional representation system, therefore a majority of studies on diversity in representation have drawn conclusions based primarily on these two electoral systems.

A robust finding in the gender and representation literatures is that electoral systems influence not only the gender gap in political participation and voting (Beauregard 2014; Teele 2023) but also the likelihood that women will be elected to the legislature at all (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012). There is a general consensus that all else equal, proportional representation systems are more likely to produce greater levels of diversity in their legislatures (Joshi and Kingma 2013; Bernauer, Giger, and Rosset 2015). This is because single-member districts raise the stakes of running minority candidates. If, for example, women are viewed as generally less electable by party elites, they will be less likely to field female candidates because it risks losing the entire district to an opposing party. Conversely, in proportional representation systems there are multiple candidates per district, and it is therefore safer both from the perspective of party elites and voters to choose women candidates.

In contrast to most other countries of the world, the Philippines' hybrid electoral system is quite uncommon. The Philippine system combines elements of single-member districts and a party-list proportional representation system. Only a handful of other countries employ similar electoral systems at the national level. Bolivia, Mexico, and Lesotho are the closest analogs. The relationship between this type of electoral system and the substantive representation of historically marginalized groups is therefore understudied. Though Clayton's (2014; 2015; 2018) work on gender and representation in Lesotho is a notable exception. A majority (80%) of seats

in the Philippines are elected via single-member districts in a first-past-the-post system similar to that used in the United States. While the remaining 20% of seats are reserved for party-list representatives. Thus, the Philippines provides an opportunity to study legislative diversity in a highly unique electoral context, which helps move beyond the dichotomous understanding of either low gender diversity in single-member districts or high gender diversity in proportional representation systems. The mixed electoral system of the Philippines allows for the examination of both dynamics simultaneously.

Finally, the Philippines' party-list system provides an opportunity to contribute to an emerging literature on the relationship between electoral rules and women's substantive representation. Initial studies of these dynamics have found that party- and district-tier legislators tend to behave differently, with party-tier members often exercising a broader mandate (Shim 2021). While district-tier representatives may tend to prioritize the immediate needs of their geographic district, party-tier legislators are more likely to represent the interests of nationally represented demographic groups, such as women (Coffé 2018; Höhmann 2019). This may be particularly true in the Philippines, where the party list system was explicitly designed to ensure historically marginalized groups, such as farmers, the urban poor, and women, had an avenue to political representation.

In some cases, the Philippines' party list system has lived up to this promise, especially when it comes to increasing pathways for women's representation. When the party-list system was implemented in 1997, one of the first parties formed, *Abante Pinay* (Advance Filipino Women), was organized to represent women's interests and immediately succeeded in gaining a seat in the 1998 Congress (Encinas-Franco 2023). The GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) Women's Party has similarly

been successful winning at least one seat in the House in every Congress since 2004. Both parties have generally been viewed favorably by the electorate and have lived up to their mandates by organizing support for several consequential laws expanding women's rights and protections (Encinas-Franco 2023).

However, the party-list system has also been widely abused, particularly by elite dynastic families. There have been numerous cases of parties formed under this system, which purport to represent the interests of marginalized groups like the elderly, fisherfolks, and urban youth but in practice are electoral vehicles for members of dynastic families with no ties to any of those sectors (Tehankee 2019; Arao 2022). In the 2019 election there were at least 65 nominees under the party-list system who were members of political dynasties without any genuine ties to the marginalized groups they claimed to represent (Tehankee 2019). Similarly, the Philippines election watchdog group, *Kontra Daya* (Anti-Fraud), found that two-thirds of the party-list groups in the 2022 election had ties to dynasties or big business interests (Arao 2022). Thus, while the party-list system can be a means of marginalized groups gaining representation in the legislature, the extent to which it has been co-opted by elite dynastic families raises considerable doubt that it meaningfully improves political representation.

2.4 The Importance of Elite Dynasties and Patron-Client Relations

The prevalence of elite dynastic families and the importance of patron-client relationships in Philippines politics adds another unique dimension to this case-study. Among Asian countries, the Philippines has achieved one of the highest rates of women's representation in the legislature

without the use of gender quotas[3] (Alam and Goehrung 2023). Yet, a substantial portion of women in politics hail from elite political dynasties. As Salazar (1998) explains "the family continues to be a central actor in the Philippine political life, serving as the base of existing political parties, both locally and nationally" (175). The ubiquity of dynastic families in the Philippines is no secret. Politicians routinely run family-based campaigns, explicitly acknowledging their connections by blood or marriage to other well-known politicians and even invoking those ties as evidence of their fitness for office.

Related to the prevalence and success of hereditary dynasties is the importance of patronage relationships in Philippines politics. Western political scientists have long noted the significant influence and durability of patron-client relationships in shaping the behavior of Filipino politicians and voters (e.g. Nowak and Snyder 1974). However, the link between patronage relationships and hereditary dynasties are often overlooked. As Salazar (1998) demonstrates through her interviews of supporters of the Agbayani political dynasty of Pangasinan province, people have supported the Agbayani patriarch for over three decades because of a perception that he delivers for the province. In this sense, the dynasty has persisted because the Agbayanis are viewed as effective patrons for the people of Pangasinan.

When it comes to his other family members with political aspirations, "the people vote for his sons as well because they think that his sons may have inherited Aguedo Abgayani's intelligence and capabilities. They do not question the Agbayani children's entry to politics because they are perceived as capable and intelligent like their father" (Salazar 1998: 190-1). In

[3] In terms of percentage of women in its lower house, the Philippines ranks behind only Timor-Leste, Nepal, and Singapore in the Asian region. Notably both Timor-Leste and Nepal have constitutionally mandated gender quotas. While Singapore is likely an example of top-down authoritarian efforts to increase the country's democratic image by demonstrating its commitment to gender inclusivity.

the eyes of voters, the political aptitude of the father is hereditary to his children. But equally important is the strength of family kinship structures in the Philippines which view individuals as extensions of their families, and thus create the expectation that descendants uphold their family's patron-client relationship obligations. The notion of *utang na loob* (internal debt) is a powerful social force in the Philippines, and when combined with hereditary nortions of social obligation contributes strongly to patronage systems by perpetuating 1) the notion that favors require repayment and 2) that this internal debt is passed down through generations until it is satisfactorily discharged.

Voting for the same family for generations is thus an extended exercise in reciprocity. Voters demonstrate their allegiance to an elite family, the members of which are expected to continue providing for the patrons that keep them in power. Western political scientists view elections as an opportunity for voters to demonstrate their preferences based on party, policy, or ideology; however, as Salazar (1998) argues this view of democracy does not transfer well to the Philippines. In the Philippines, elections are better understood as "rituals of patronage…often viewed as festivals where candidates throw parties, give free food and transportation, and bring to town movie actors and actresses" (Salazar 1998: 173). As long as clients continue to receive benefits from their political patrons, they will continue to elect the family members of that patron since both political acumen and patronage obligations are considered hereditary.

Many Western observers conclude that these features are indicative a failure of democracy to take root in Philippines soil or a corruption of democratic institutions (Nowak and Snyder 1974; McCoy 1993). While many features of political dynasties and patronage relationships might rightly be critiqued as anti-democratic in some key ways, patron-client relationships and hereditary rule have important foundations in the pre-colonial culture of the

Philippines. Thus, to understand these dynamics in the modern democratic system it is important to understand the pre-colonial roots of these practices.

Prior to the arrival of Spanish colonial forces, nearly 200 distinct indigenous ethnic groups inhabited over 7,000 islands of the Philippines archipelago and organized themselves into localized systems of self-governance or loose confederations with agreements for mutual defense and cooperation among neighboring groups (Zaide 1949). With the exceptions of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago where Islam had already emerged as the dominant religion, the indigenous groups of the Philippines were primarily polytheists and animists (Jocano 1967). Given their different religions, languages, customs, and ethnic identities as well as the dispersed geographical distribution of indigenous groups across so many islands there was little sense of political or cultural unity among the peoples inhabiting the modern-day Philippines.

Most indigenous groups organized themselves into *barangays*[4]. These were small communities or villages established primarily on waterways including rivers, lakes, and seas, usually consisting of 30 to 100 families and led by a chieftain or *datu* (Zaide 1949). Some larger communities existed of up to 2,000 people along the mouths of big rivers or particularly rich bays, though these larger settlements were comparatively rare (Pisano 1992). In some areas more complex hierarchical and centralized systems of leadership emerged in which larger territories were ruled by a "rajah" with a network of subordinate *datus* overseeing the smaller *barangays* (Zaide 1949). In primarily Muslim regions, Islamic sultanates also existed with more complex administrative structures influenced by Islamic law (Jocano 1967). Though there was contact and

[4] The barangay is still the smallest unit of government in the Philippines. It is often translated as "village" and is equivalent in the sense of being a small, localized community often in rural areas. But modern barangays are run by elected councils and are considered formal units of government in the Philippines with ties to municipal, provincial, and national government.

trade relations among *barangays* or sultanates, they generally maintained distinct cultural identities and political autonomy from one another.

Though Spanish colonials characterized the *datu* as absolute monarchs, there is considerable evidence that their positions relied upon the support and consent of the barangay (Pisano 1992). *Datus* had the authority to establish laws governing the barangays, however they were primarily social rather than political systems of rule. Disputes were settled by the *datu* acting as a judge while the barangay elders operated as a jury (Jocano 1967). Kinship ties and the hereditary nature of leadership were central to indigenous systems of social and political organization. The *datu* and their family existed at the top, followed by a class of landed principal families, and a group of unlanded laborers akin to sharecroppers at the bottom (Zaide 1949). Though social class within the barangay system was hereditary, these hierarchies were not entirely fixed (Pisano 1992). For instance, individuals might be forced into the dependent class if they could not pay fines accrued for an offense. Similarly, they could move out of the dependent class through marriage, purchase, or by decree. This system of dependence of the unlanded laborers on the *datu* and landed principal families meant that patron-client relations were a key feature of power relations. And the fact that the *datu* relied on the support and consent of the *barangay* for their legitimacy by providing material support to the unladed laborers was fundamental to the preservation of the *datu's* patron status.

In terms of hereditary rulership, pre-Hispanic Filipino culture was bilateral, meaning family lineage passed through both the mother and father. Society was based on strong kingship ties and ancestor worship underlay indigenous religious beliefs (Zaide 1949). The barangay system reflected the importance of kinship ties as these settlements were formed by familial groups (Pisano 1992). The economic system of the barangays were individualized or familial

plots of land used primarily for subsistence agriculture. Status was based in part on the number of dependents each family had through the debt peonage and patronage systems as well as generational respect accrued through contributions in war and leadership (Jocano 1967; Pisano 1992).

Gender relations were considerably more egalitarian in pre-colonial Philippines society (Encinas-Franco 2023). Women could own and inherit property and engage in trade and industry. Even in marriage women retained property rights of wealth and possessions they had brought into the union even upon dissolution of the marriage. Elder women held important and highly regarded religious positions of *baylans* akin to priestesses, and were responsible for performing religious ceremonies and rituals connected to planting, harvesting, and other important activities (Pisano 1992). Most relevant to the current study, women could become the leaders of their barangays by inheriting the position of *datu* if there were no other male heirs (Zaide 1949; Pisano 1992).

The indigenous roots of hereditary rulership and the importance of patron-client relationships continued though in modified form through the Spanish colonial period. It is difficult to overstate the extent to which the Philippines' modern social, economic, and political systems were shaped by the country's colonial history (Encinas-Franco 2023). The Philippines was a Spanish colony for nearly 400 years. During this extended period of occupation, Spanish colonists imposed new systems of governance, introduced new forms of property ownership and labor relations, manufactured a social hierarchy based on indigeneity, and began the project of Christianizing and unifying the disparate ethnic groups of the archipelago into a single country and national identity. Spanish colonial forces also established considerable infrastructure to make

political administration more feasible and streamline Christianization, including implementing a mandatory system of universal education.

Spanish colonial forces established a governor system, which built upon the existing barangay system by creating larger administrative units. Under this system, the military captain of the Spanish forces was also the governor and the centralized leader of the colony. Provinces were established and *gobernadorcillos* were appointed to enforce the laws of the colonial governor in these large political units. Barangay leaders were the most localized Spanish authorities tasked with collecting taxes and tribute from the barangays that constituted each province.

This administrative system ran parallel to an economic system known as encomienda. The encomienda system was crucial to the expansion of Spanish control. Under this system large tracts of land and the indigenous groups that occupied it were granted to individuals known as *encomenderos*. The size, arability, and population density of encomiendas varied greatly and were distributed as political favors to Spanish soldiers, religious leaders, and elites. These grants carried with them the right of *encomenderos* to extract tribute and labor from the persons occupying the lands. In return, the *encomenderos* were expected to provide protection, construct settlements and churches, and appoint and pay priests and other clergy members. This system was superimposed upon the existing social organization of indigenous groups, which meant *datus* became responsible for collecting tribute and labor from their barangays and the familiar dynamics of a patron-client relationships between the *datu* and unlanded laborers persisted.

In the early 17th Century, the Spanish colonials began moving toward a system of landed estates especially in the areas surrounding Manila. Spanish colonists, *datus*, and Chinese merchants all sought to acquire landed estates as a source of status and wealth. The result of this

privatization of land was that Filipinos increasingly lost access to the communal lands on which they had traditionally relied for subsistence farming. Many native Filipinos were thus forced to work as *reservas* on estates, where they worked four days a week on the estate owners farm for a meager salary and a small allotment of their own land around the estate (Pisano 1992).

These Spanish colonial land policies thus had the effect of creating enormous wealth inequalities between a landed elite and unlanded laborers who were increasingly forced to move to population centers. Many modern Filipino dynasties trace their roots to these landed estates, which became a considerable source of generational wealth. In addition, the *encomienda* system created a more formalized version of pre-existing patron-client relationships. Thus, both hereditary political dynasties and patronage relationships, which trace their roots to indigenous social organizations, were deepened and made more unequal during the Spanish colonial policy. This is not to say that the political dynasties or patron-client relationships that dominate Philippines politics today are inevitable or necessarily produce good outcomes. Rather it is to point out that there are historical and cultural reasons for the prevalence of these practices, which should not be ignored.

2.5 The Influence of Hereditary Dynasties on Women's Representation

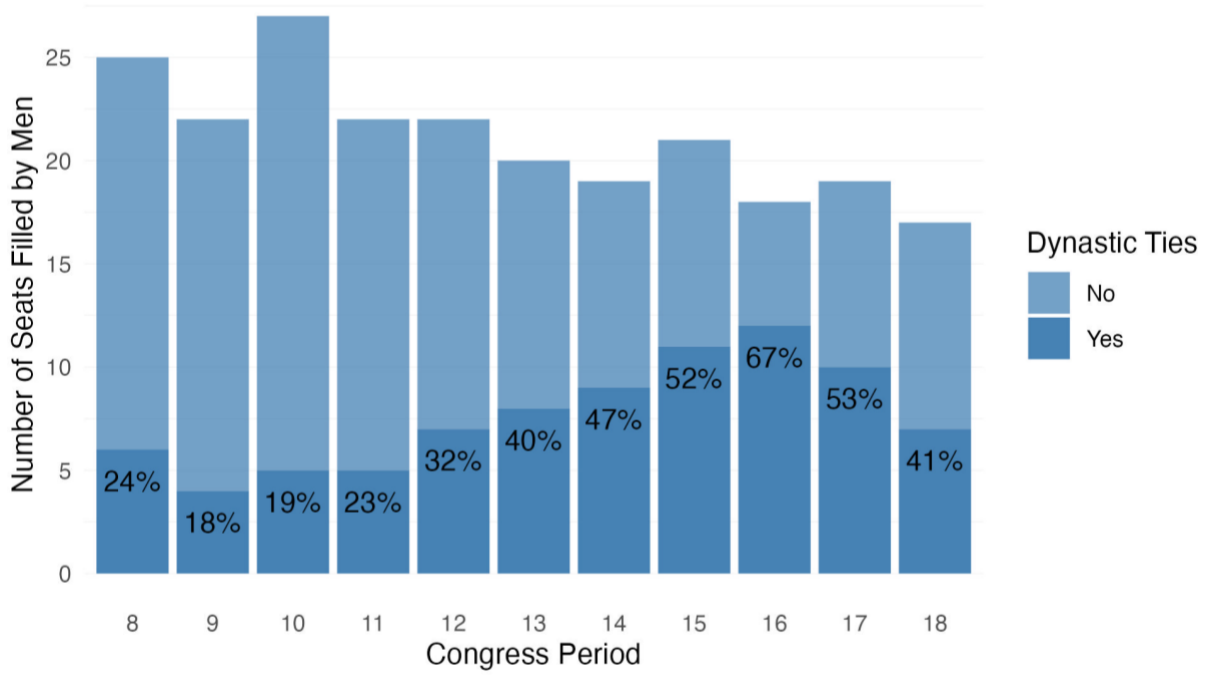
Having established the historical roots of these practices, I now return to a discussion of the significance of hereditary dynasties for the study of women's political representation in the Philippines. If it is true that dynastic elites are less likely to effectively represent the interests of women as a group, then it is important to establish the extent of dynastic representation. Estimates among scholars about the exact percentage of women in the Philippines legislature with dynastic ties vary, ranging from as low as 12% to nearly 50% of the legislature depending

on which time period is considered and the method used to determine dynastic ties (Fafchamps and Labonne 2017; Choi 2019).

To supplement these estimates, I calculate the extent of political dynastic connections in the Philippines Senate. As a data source, I use rosters of legislators gathered from the Philippines House of Representatives Archives in the summer of 2022, which contain the names of all Congressional representatives from 1907 to 2019. Focusing on the 283 individuals who were members of the Philippines Senate from 1987-2023 and following Fafchamps and Labonne (2017) who demonstrate the validity of using shared last names as a means of identifying familial relationships on account of Spanish naming conventions adopted in the Philippines, I used last names shared with any other representative from 1907 onward to create a potential list of Senators with dynastic ties. I then confirmed familial relations through secondary sources, including Tagalog and English newspapers, campaign and social media posts, and biographies to produce an estimate of the number of Senators from 1987 to 2023 that have clear dynastic ties.

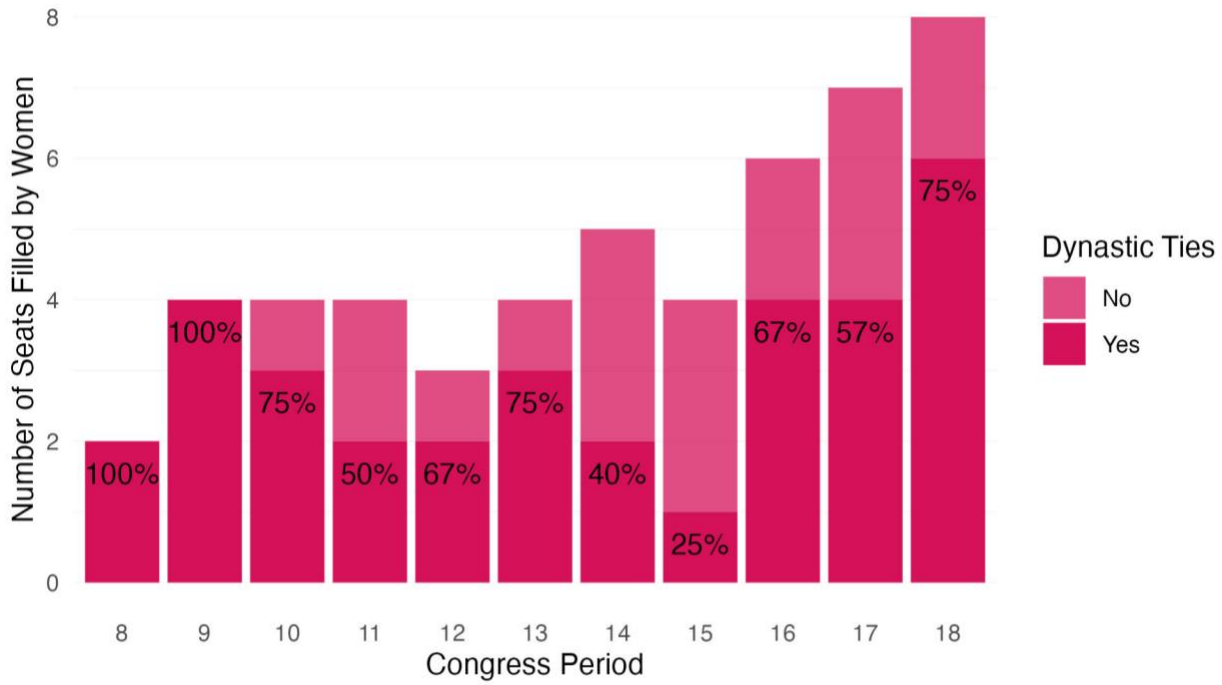
I find that in aggregate, 41% of the Senate between 1987 to 2023 had clear dynastic ties. This finding is similar to Choi's (2019) estimate that 45% of women in the lower house of the 12th Congress of the Philippines had dynastic ties. However, after disaggregating this data by gender, I find a pronounced difference between men and women Senators. Of only the men in the Philippines Senate 36.2% had dynastic ties on average during this time period, while for women Senators a majority (64.7%) had dynastic ties. Looking at the changes over time in the levels of dynastic ties for both men and women is also informative. I therefore plot the number of seats held by men and women in the Senate during each Congressional period and the proportion of those that had clear dynastic ties. The results are shown in Figure 2.1 for men and Figure 2.2 for women.

Figure 2.1: Proportion of Men in the Senate with Dynastic Ties (1987-2023)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

Figure 2.2: Proportion of Women in the Senate with Dynastic Ties (1987-2023)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 2.1 shows, for men there is a clear pattern of the proportion of Senators with dynastic ties increasing steadily until the 16th Congress (2013) and then declining. But for eight out of the 11 Congress periods those with clear dynastic ties account for less than 50% of the Senate. In contrast, as shown in Figure 2.2, 50% or more of women in the Senate had dynastic ties in all but two Congressional periods. There is not a clearly discernible trend over time for women's dynastic presence in the Senate from 1987-2023. While there is considerable fluctuation, ranging from a low of 25% in the 15th Congress to 100% in the 8th and 9th Congresses, overall dynastic women consistently account for well over half of the women who occupy the Senate. While the proportion of women with dynastic ties in the House may be lower than in the Senate, these findings demonstrate the extent to which elite dynasties are represented in the Philippines legislature, especially among women.

In addition to the fact that nepotism is unlikely to result in the most qualified candidates, there is also good reason to believe that legislators with dynastic ties will tend to prioritize their families' political and economic interests. Though this supposition applies equally to men and women, in the context of this study it means that dynastic ties could have another mediating effect on women's substantive representation. Having clearly benefited from the status quo in terms of their relative position in society, elite women in politics, particularly those with dynastic ties, have often demonstrated little interest in challenging social or institutional gender norms or substantively representing the interests of lower-class women (Veneracion- Rallonza 2008; Everett 2014; Encinas-Franco 2023).

Given the prevalence of elite dynastic women in politics, and the theoretical expectation that they will therefore be less likely to act on behalf of women, at least not over the interests of their family or class, I argue that the Philippines is a least-likely case study when it comes to

observing a link between women's descriptive and substantive representation. As described in Chapter 1, the theorized link between women's presence in the legislature and the more faithful and effective representation of women's interest as a group hinges upon the assumption that women legislators will have a gender mandate, or an internalized belief that they should represent the interests of women writ large. This connection becomes more tenuous when considering that elite dynastic women may be more likely to prioritize the interests of their class or family above women as a group. By the same token, if there is an observable improvement in policy, population, or parliamentary outcomes for women as a group, even in the context of such prevalent elite political dynasties, this lends powerful support to the argument that women's increased presence in the legislature, regardless of how they got there, matters. Before moving on to a study of these potential outcomes of women's increased representation in the next three chapters, I provide an overview of the current state of women's representation in Philippines politics.

2.6 Women's Political Representation in the Modern Philippines

The modern era of Philippines politics began with the establishment of the 5th Republic in 1987. Prior to this point, the Philippines political experience throughout the Twentieth century was dominated by brief flashes of democratic self-governance interrupted by long periods of colonialism under the Spanish and United States, military occupation by the Japanese during World War II, and autocracy under president-elect turned dictator, Ferdinand Marcos. The 1987 Constitution established the electoral rules and institutions currently in operation and established some key provisions for gender equality. It thus provides the most natural starting point to analyze the development of women's political representation in the modern-era.

Though women were active in Philippines politics long before 1987, they never made up more than 10% of formal legislative bodies, and thus there is limited variation for empirical analyses prior to 1987. In addition, the Philippines' struggle for democracy was frequently frustrated by colonial forces and resulted at times in dramatic and sudden changes to its political institutions and rules. Still, Filipinos persisted in their efforts to establish democratic systems of self-rule and women in the Philippines were equally committed to gaining a voice in the governments that were established. After declaring independence from Spain in 1898, revolutionary forces under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo called for the establishment of a new national legislature. The so-called Malalos Congress then drafted the first modern republican constitution in Asia, thereby establishing the First Philippine Republic in 1899. It was, however, a short-lived victory. American forces quickly took over colonial rule of the Philippines, disbanding the Malalos Congress and decreeing that American laws would instead rule the land.

This remained the American colonial policy until 1934, when US Congress passed the Philippine Independence Act, which called for the election of delegates in the Philippines to draft a new Constitution, contingent upon approval of President Roosevelt. In 1935 the Filipino people ratified their new constitution by popular vote of male citizens. The 1934 Constitution included a provision under Article V whereby women's suffrage would be granted if at least 300,000 women voted yes on a ballot measure to this effect. In 1937 nearly 450,000 women affirmed their desire for suffrage at the ballot box, making the Philippines one of the first countries in Southeast Asia to grant women the right to vote (Alam and Goehrung 2023).

Again, this was a short-lived victory for democracy in the Philippines and for women's suffrage, as Japan invaded the Philippines in 1942. However, after their defeat in World War II,

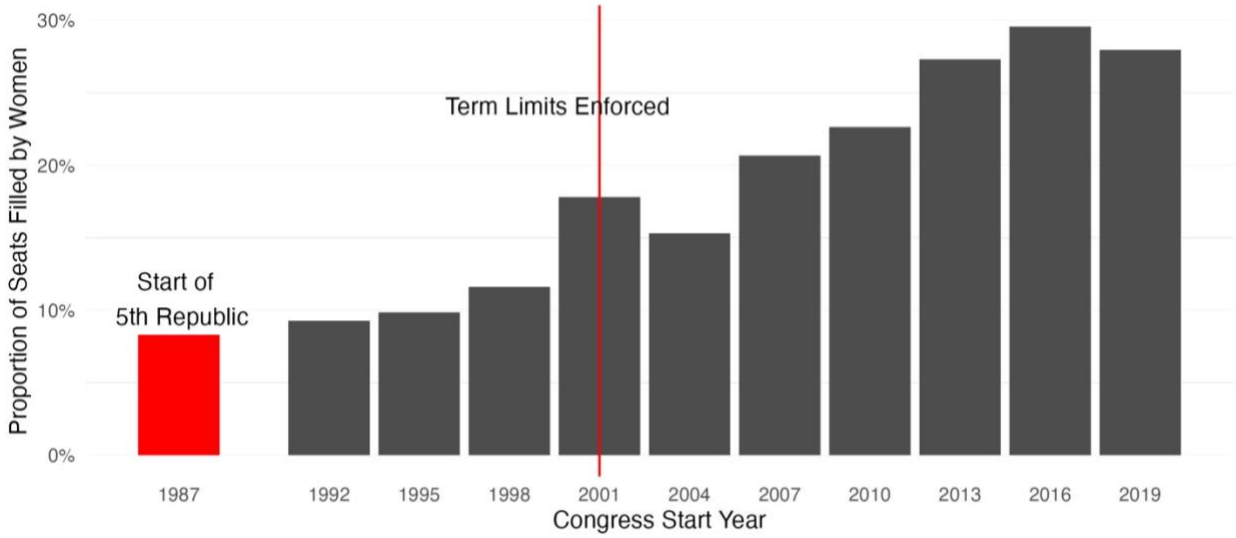
Japan withdrew their forces in 1945 and the 1934 Constitution was effectively reinstated until the declaration of martial law by President Ferdinand Marcos in 1972. The martial law period, which lasted for more than a decade, was characterized by a retrenchment of democratic norms and democratic participation in formal politics. However, it also promulgated a considerable increase in student activism and political organizing among youth, including many women, in protest of the increasingly authoritarian nature of the Marcos regime (Roces 2012). Women also rallied strongly behind Corazon Aquino who became the most viable challenger to Marcos after he had her husband, Ninoy Aquino – a vocal and well-respected critic of Marcos – assassinated (Encinas-Franco 2023). Women then participated extensively in the non-violent People Power campaign that ultimately succeeded in ousting Marcos in 1986.

The considerable participation of women in the People Power revolution contributed to the inclusion of a number of gender equality provisions in the 1987 constitution (Encinas-Franco 2023). The momentum of women's political organizing also helped to elect Corazon Aquino as the nation's first female chief executive and of several high-profile women to the newly formed national legislature of the 5th Republic. Since that time, women's presence in the legislature has been steadily growing, and while the Philippines still falls short of gender parity, women now routinely make up around 30% of the House of Representatives.

A major factor in propelling the entry of more women into politics was the imposition of term limits (Querubín 2016; Labonne, Parsa, and Querubín 2021). As Figure 1 shows, women's presence in the legislature increase by nearly 7 percentage points in the 12th Congress after term limits were first enforced. In many cases, women relatives quite explicitly ran to replace their husbands, fathers, or brothers and were successfully elected to the 12th Congress on this premise. By some estimates, as many as 45% of women representatives in the 2001 Congress were

effectively replacements for their male relatives (Choi 2019). The fact that term limits reset after sitting out one congressional period also helps to explain why the number of women in the legislature dropped by 5% in the 13th Congress. Rosters of legislators gathered from the Philippines House of Representative Archives make clear that many men simply retook the seats they had held before their term limits were reached while their women relatives stepped down after a single term.

Figure 2.3: Average % of Women in the Lower House of the Philippines (1987-2021)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

That said, while term limits and women placeholder candidates can explain the sudden increase in women representatives in 2001 these factors alone do not explain the continued growth of women's presence in the legislature after 2004. This trend suggests that women have genuinely been gaining ground in Philippines politics as competitive candidates for seats in the legislature. While many women have and continue to gain their positions of elected office with the financial and reputational support of their dynastic families, others have forged successful

political careers independent of these nepotistic benefits. It is therefore worthwhile to study in detail whether the steadily growing number of women in the legislature have led to substantive improvements for women as a group.

2.7 Conclusion

Despite having one of the most robust histories of women's formal political participation in the Asian region, the Philippines is a greatly understudied country in regard to women's political representation. As explained in this chapter there are a number of unique political, electoral, and cultural factors that make the Philippines a particularly useful case study when it comes to establishing support for the link between women's descriptive and substantive representation. In addition to those reasons, this case study also has the benefit of addressing two major critiques raised by Mackay (2008), which she argues permeate much of the gender and representation literature. First, given the nature of dynastic and clientelist politics in the Philippines, I make no assumptions that women legislators will automatically choose to represent the interests of women as a group. In fact, I expect most women in the legislature will prioritize the economic and political interests of their dynasties above all other policy objectives. Second, given the extremely weak nature of political parties in the Philippines (Hodder 2005), I mitigate, if not remove, the influence of political party on individual legislative behavior. The Philippines as a case-study therefore helps to isolate the effect of gender diversity on legislative outcomes without the mediating effect of political parties and in a scenario where there is no assumption that women automatically legislate with the interests of women as a group in mind.

Despite the impressive levels of gender diversity, there is good reason to be skeptical that women's increased presence in Philippines' national legislature has led to substantive

improvements in policy, population, or parliamentary outcomes. In the Philippines, like many other Asian region countries, a considerable number of women in political office hail from dynastic families often facing the criticism, rightly or wrongly, that they are stand-ins for their male relatives rather than independent political representatives (Jalalzai and Krook 2010; True et al. 2012; Derichs and Thompson 2013; Choi 2019). By my own calculations 67% of women in the Senate from 1987-2023 have had clear dynastic ties. In the House of Representatives, as many as 45% of women representatives in the 2001 Congress of the Philippines were effectively replacements for their male relatives, and as recently as 2010 this proportion might still be upwards of 15% (Choi 2019). Having clearly benefited from the status quo in terms of their relative position in society, elite women in politics, particularly those with dynastic ties, have often demonstrated little interest in challenging social or institutional gender norms or substantively representing the interests of lower-class women (Veneracion- Rallonza 2008; Everett 2014).

In addition to the mediating effects of class and dynastic ties on women's substantive representation, institutional norms of the legislature and efforts of male elites to hold on to scarce political resources may mitigate the potential positive impacts of having more women in parliament by constraining their abilities to substantively represent the interests of their group (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor Robinson 2005; Liu 2018; Loring 2018; Choi 2019). These observations regarding the potential constraints women in parliament face are not intended to undermine the capabilities, qualifications, or commitment of the many women who have won elected office through hard fought battles, often facing harassment and violence due to their perceived transgressions against traditional gender roles or for threatening male political dominance (Krook 2015; Krook and Sanín 2020). Rather, it is intended to take a critical lens to

the supposition that women's numerical presence in parliament should be taken as de facto evidence that women's interests are therefore better represented or that this alone signals greater gender equality.

Indeed, it is possible that, as Valdini (2019) argues, the concession of seats in the legislature to women might be a rational calculus on the part of male-led political parties and institutions as a means of preserving rather than fundamentally challenging men's political dominance. This is particularly likely in the context of the Philippines where the increase in women's presence in the legislature coincides precisely with the imposition of term limits (Querubín 2016; Labonne, Parsa, and Querubín 2019). Given that most women representatives in the Philippines are dynastic elites, there is good reason to suspect that they are not interested in representing the interests of women by default (at least not above their families' economic interests), but it may also be true that women inherently bring a different perspective or style to governing and decision making. I explore these questions in more detail throughout the next three chapters.

Chapter 3. The Policy Pathway: Legislative Outcomes of Increased Gender Diversity

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines in-depth the Policy Pathway through which increased gender diversity in the legislature might lead to a more comprehensive web of equality rights and protections for women as a group. In the language of Pitkin's (1967) canonical conceptualization of representation, which has powerfully shaped the gender and politics literature, this chapter focuses on the link between women's descriptive and substantive representation. Meaning, how does the increased presence of women in the legislature contribute to the more effective and faithful representation of women's policy interests. The policy pathway as I characterize it is a broad approach to the myriad ways that greater gender diversity might shift the policy agenda, priorities, and outcomes of the legislature. I take seriously the barriers that a minority in the legislature faces when attempting to pass policies in a majority rule institution (Thomas 1991) and the reality that women may be marginalized within the legislature in ways that can inhibit their ability to successfully pass legislation (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor Robinson 2005; Barnes 2016; Senk 2021).

Thus, rather than looking only at the legislation that is passed by an increasingly diverse legislature, I also consider how women's presence can measurably shift the policy agenda or influence legislative priorities as they relate to the more equitable treatment of women as a group. Following Senk (2021), I also consider the patterns of marginalization within the legislature which might disrupt the theorized causal pathway between women's increased presence and substantive changes in policy outcomes. Several scholars (e.g. Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013) have drawn a useful distinction between

process and *outcome* in regard to women's representation. While policy outcomes achieved by more diverse legislatures is the primary focus of this chapter, I also consider changes to the policy process that women's increased presence might engender.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I review the theoretical arguments that support a link between gender diversity in the legislature and substantive progress in the number and quality of policies that protect or expand the rights of women writ large. I then introduce an original data set, which I use to examine whether the steadily increasing presence of women in the legislature is associated with a measurable change in the proportion of proposed bills that focus on women and gender equality issues. After establishing that women are more likely than men to introduce gender-relevant legislation onto the policy agenda, I interrogate whether these processual changes lead to a more extensive web of rights and protections for women writ large. I employ weighted least squares (WLS) regression in differences to determine whether gender diversity in the legislature is meaningfully associated with an increase in the rights and protections for women as a group as measured by a comprehensive index on women's rights.

I then focus on the most highly prioritized substantive policy area, laws on violence against women (VAW), to take a more nuanced look at the gendered dynamics involved in passing such laws. By evaluating the history of policy related to violence against women I gain insights on the dynamic role between 'critical actors' (Childs and Krook 2009) and civil society in the passage of this type of legislation. I find evidence that international law diffusion is an important driver of gender legislation in the periods before women gained a substantial level of seats in the House, but that as more women enter the legislature there is a push for more nuanced and effective laws.

3.2 Linking Gender Diversity and Policy Outcomes

Several political theorists make compelling cases as to why we should expect historically marginalized group members to represent the policy interests of their groups better than others. These scholars cite mutual interests and similar experiences by virtue of shared ascriptive identities or socialization and with it an ability to understand unique needs and preferences specific to their group, which non-group members might have difficulty discerning (Pitkin 1967; Phillips 1995; Young 2000). This expectation of unique perspectives, principles, and priorities as artifacts of gendered identities and experiences underpins the argument that descriptive diversity matters; that the increased presence of women in the legislature will naturally lead to women's substantive representation.

The proposed mechanism through which increased gender diversity translates into improved substantive representation hinges upon the following assumptions. First, women bring different priorities to the policy making table, which in turn influences where women direct their policy making energy and efforts. This may be driven by different perspectives and values, or by the fact that some issues, such as reproductive rights, have more salience for women. Second, as a result of their shared identities and experiences of being a woman in society, we should expect women, in general, to show more affinity for women as a group and to have a sense of duty to represent the interests of other women in a way that men, generally speaking, do not. Third, we should therefore expect women in the legislature to act differently than their male counterparts, introducing, advocating, voting for, or otherwise supporting policies that advance the interests and protect or expand the rights of women as a group. Finally, there is an assumption that women are efficacious as policy makers, able not only to navigate the legislative process but also to build sufficient support for the policy issues they prioritize. Notably this final postulate

requires that male-dominated institutions, characterized by rules, norms, and cultures that privilege masculinity (Lovenduski 2005), treat women as equals and do not marginalize women legislators or otherwise stymy their policymaking efforts.

3.2.1 Gendered Policy Preferences

A considerable and growing empirical literature has explored the degree to which these theoretical assumptions bear out. The first assumption, that women legislators hold different policy preferences than men, is one of the most robustly supported findings in the gender and representation literature. Studies in the U.S. and Europe have consistently found that women legislators tend to exhibit more liberal policy preferences on average compared to men (e.g. Wängnerud 2009; Campbell, Childs, and Lovenduski 2010; Barnes 2016). The same is true for other historically marginalized group members in the legislature compared to men of the dominant social class, which lends further credibility to the claim that socialization measurably influences policy preferences (Saalfeld 2011; Bird 2014).

Though a majority of the gender and representation literature still focusses on Western countries, scholars have more recently begun extending these studies to the Global South with similar findings. Studies in Argentina (Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013) and Honduras (Taylor-Robinson & Heath, 2003), for instance, find measurable gender gaps in policy preferences. Two cross-national studies of African democracies also demonstrate a gendered differences in policy priorities (Gottlieb, Grossman, and Robinson 2018; Clatyon, Josefsson, Mattes, and Mozaffar 2019). Several recent country-level studies in East Asia discern differences in policy preferences among legislators based on gender as well, including in Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, and China (Tam 2017; Shim 2021; Jiang and Chen 2023). Overall, these numerable studies across

diverse national contexts find that women legislators tend to prioritize social policy areas, such as public health, education spending, child and maternal welfare and environmental issues, to a higher degree than men on average.

However, another robust finding, which complicates the ways that gender identity shapes policy preferences, is that, in many contexts, political party affiliation seems to be a stronger influence than gender on determining legislators' views social policy areas and women's rights issues (Reingold 2000; Htun and Power 2006; Childs and Webb 2012). Thus, while gender certainly plays a role in shaping the policy preferences of legislators, it does not operate in isolation. Identities are complex and often intersectional with multiple forces shaping how an individual conceives of themselves, their positionality, priorities, and values (Crenshaw 1991). Moreover, political parties influence the incentives of their members, often rewarding loyalty, which can translate to more support and resources come re-election time. These findings underscore the significant intervening effects of political party on legislator behavior and preferences, further supporting the argument of Chapter 2 that the Philippines is a particularly useful case study since it effectively removes the mediating influence of party affiliation. Even with these caveats in mind, the balance of evidence indicates that gender exerts a considerable influence on policy preferences. Thus, the first assumption in the theoretical mechanism linking descriptive and substantive representation seems to be borne out by studies around the globe.

3.2.2 The Gender Mandate

There is also some support for the second assumption that women legislators will feel a unique obligation to represent the interests of women writ large. Mansbridge (1999) refers to this phenomenon as "surrogate representation," when a legislator acts on behalf of a specific group

even if they are not their direct constituents. In interviews with women legislators, at least in the U.S. context, a majority indicated that they felt compelled to act on behalf of women (Reingold 1992; Carroll 2000). In the UK, Sarah Childs (2004) and Fiona Mackay (2001) have similarly found through surveys and interviews that women legislators feel a duty to represent women's substantive interests, especially when it comes to violence against women and issue around childcare and child welfare.

The actions of women legislators also seem to reflect this trend. Multiple U.S. studies demonstrate that women are more likely than their male counterparts to engage in legislative activities to support policies that disproportionately affect women, including initiating or cosponsoring bills and making speeches (Thomas 1991; Swers 2002, 2005; Payson, Fouirnaies, and Hall 2023). The same patterns of women legislators being more likely to support women's issues have been found in Latin America as well (Schwindt-Bayer 2006, 2010). Additionally, in both the U.K. and the U.S. minority legislators tend to support legislative efforts pre-specified by researchers as being in the interests of their groups more faithfully than non-group members (Celis and Wauters 2010; Wallace 2014). This further supports the notion that legislators are likely to act on behalf of their in-group members, whether out of obligation, a sense of duty, or fear of electoral censure.

3.2.3 Acting for Women

The third assumption that women legislators will consistently act on their policy preferences to better represent women and thereby shape policy outcomes is perhaps the most difficult to convincingly demonstrate. This is largely due to a lack of consensus regarding how best to conceptualize and measure women's substantive representation (Dahlerup 2006b).

While some scholars have proposed potential frameworks for defining women's issues (e.g. Celis et al. 2008; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Mackay 2008; Htun and Weldon 2010), no single approach has taken root as a viable standard in the field. The lack of consensus on this key question has meant largely mixed results when it comes to empirically demonstrating whether women's policy interests are better represented when more women are present in the legislature.

Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) usefully draw a distinction between the *process* and *outcome* of representation. Process-based representation entails elevating the policy interests of women to the political agenda, while the outcome-based representation involves measurable changes to policy areas that directly affect women, including reproductive rights, gender-based violence or harassment, and gendered discrimination (Joshi 2023). But at both the process- and outcome-based stages there is still considerable room for debate about which policy areas are rightly considered "women's issues."

The most expansive definitions include those policy areas that women are more likely to identify as priorities, such as education, public health, child/maternal health, social welfare, and environmental policies. Taking this understanding of women's issues there is evidence that changes to the gender composition of legislatures can shift policy outcomes in these areas. Clayton and Zetterberg (2018), for instance, find in a study of 139 countries from 1995-2012 that large, sudden increases in women's parliamentary representation due to the adoption of gender quotas are correlated with increased government spending on public health and a concomitant decrease in infant and child death rates. Other empirical studies in Sub-Saharan Africa and India similarly support the finding that having more women in the legislature tends to correlate with greater public health expenditures particularly on antenatal and child healthcare and the provision of clean drinking water infrastructure (Bhalotra and Clots-Figueras 2014;

Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Mechkova and Carlitz 2021). These studies indicate that increased gender diversity can shift legislative outcomes to better align with women's policy priorities; however, the question of whether this means that the increased presence of women in the legislature results in better policy outcomes for women as group remains unresolved (Celis et al. 2008; Urbinati and Warren 2008; Wängnerud 2009).

3.3 What Counts as Women's Issues?

Because a central objective of this study is to determine whether women's policy interests are better represented when more women are present in the national legislature, defining those policy outcomes that count as improving women's interests is key. In the aforementioned empirical studies, some outcomes like improving maternal health and mortality, quite obviously and directly improve the lives of women (at least those who choose to bear children). While improvements to public health, infant mortality, and child welfare certainly benefit women, it's less clear that those are inherently or uniquely "women's issues." Though women near universally take on a disproportionate share of child rearing and care work and therefore improvements to child welfare and community health more directly impact their immediate lived experiences, public health generally and maternal/infant survival benefits all of society, not just women.

As Shim (2021) notes, there is a risk that "defining women's issues broadly can make them indistinguishable from general social policies" (147)**.** While at the same time too narrow of a definition risks imposing an essentialized identity onto women and assuming that all group members have the same political interests (Mackay 2008; Catalano 2009). Yet even while acknowledging that gender is only one facet of identity and women's experiences, political

ideologies, and policy preferences can vary widely, it is reasonable to conclude that there are some issues that uniquely or differentially affect women compared to men by virtue of reproductive biology, social norms around gender roles, or subordination under deeply entrenched systems of patriarchy. Such issues are likely to be more salient to women generally, even if individual preferences among women on those issues do not always align.

With these critiques in mind, I approach the definition of women's substantive interests in two ways. First, following Shim (2022), who builds upon Celis (2008), I take an understanding of women's issues "as ones that, for either social or biological reasons, affect women disproportionately more compared to men, or address a condition in which women are particularly more disadvantaged vis-à-vis men" (541). As I explain further in the next section, I apply this concept by using a comprehensive women's rights index as the outcome variable, which only includes policies that conform to this definition of women's issues. Furthermore, when deciding which policies proposed or passed by legislature should be considered women's issues, I use congressional committee referrals as a means of classification. This approach overcomes Mackay's (2008) critique that studies of substantive representation introduce bias from researchers by pre-specifying which issues are rightly considered women's issues. Importantly, it also acknowledges that those issues most directly and disproportionately affecting women may depend on the social and cultural context and can even vary over time (Reingold and Swers 2011). These measurement and identification strategies, I argue, strike a balance between encompassing the diversity of women-specific policy interests without being too broad and avoids the trap of imposing a biased perspective on what constitutes "women's issues."

3.4 Data Collection Methods

In order to empirically evaluate the effects of a more gender diverse legislature on the policy agenda, I employ an original data set covering over 63,000 pieces of legislation, which were introduced in the Philippines Congress from 1992 to 2019. I compiled this dataset using congressional records from the Philippines' House of Representatives archives during several months of fieldwork in the summer (July-September) of 2022 in metro Manila. During daily visits to the archives, I identified relevant documents and archival staff scanned them as part of a larger ongoing effort to digitize the archival resources. The archival materials I collected relevant to this chapter include a complete roster of legislators in the House from 1907 to 2019, partial transcripts of committee debates surrounding the drafting and passage of two consequential laws on violence against women (RA 8353 and RA 8505), as well as the legislative history of every bill proposed in each Congressional session from 1992 to 2019.

The legislative history data encompasses the complete universe of bills submitted by individual legislators in the Philippines' House of Representatives during the 9th through 17th Congresses. This data includes the title and a summary of each bill proposed, the primary author, and details on the bill's progress or outcome of the legislation in a given congressional cycle. I use committee referrals as a means of categorizing each piece of legislation by topic and coded for the fate of each bill through each legislative cycle, indicating if the bill was tabled by the committee (or otherwise killed), moved onto the next stage in the legislative cycle, or was passed into law. This approach is both systematic and exhaustive. Every bill introduced into the House is referred to at least one congressional committee after its first reading on the floor. After a bill is drafted and introduced into the House, committee referral is the first step in the legislative process. The committee referral provides a clear signal as to the substantive alignment of the

proposed legislation. In cases where a bill spans multiple issue areas over which more than one committee has jurisdiction a secondary committee referral may occur. In my dataset 15,164 bills had a secondary referral, accounting for 24% of all bills. By tracking both primary and secondary referral I am able to determine the general topic of each bill even if it is multifaceted and falls under the purview of more than one committee.

Using this categorization method, I begin with the most fundamental question: does the steadily increasing presence of women in the legislature during this 28-year period coincide with an increase in gender-relevant legislation? I define gender-relevant legislation as any bill that was referred to the committee on Women (later called the Committee on Women and Gender Equality) at some point in the legislative process. The Committee on Women and Gender Equality has a broad mandate covering gender relations, including marriage and family law, as well as all facets of women's rights, such as gendered violence, workplace discrimination, and civil and political rights. Thus, any bill that touches upon issues relating to women and gender results in a referral to this committee. This categorization strategy has the advantage of avoiding pre-specification of "women's issues," which might introduce bias from the researcher in determining what falls under this category (Mackay 2008). I refer to legislation that passes through the Women and Gender committee at some point in its legislative life-cycle as gender-relevant or gendered legislation.

Given the fact that the legislative process often takes several years, it is not feasible to track each piece of legislation on an annual basis. Instead, the unit of observation is each three-year congressional period. I focus only on standing committees, which "have jurisdiction over measures relating to needs, concerns, issues and interests affecting the general welfare and which require continuing or comprehensive legislative study, attention and action" (House Rules 2023:

24). As opposed to special committees which focus on a narrow set of urgent needs and often exist for short periods. I also drop from this analysis the procedural committees, which manage affairs of the House rather than introducing or deliberating upon substantive policies. These procedural committees are the Appropriations, Rules, and Ways & Means Committees.

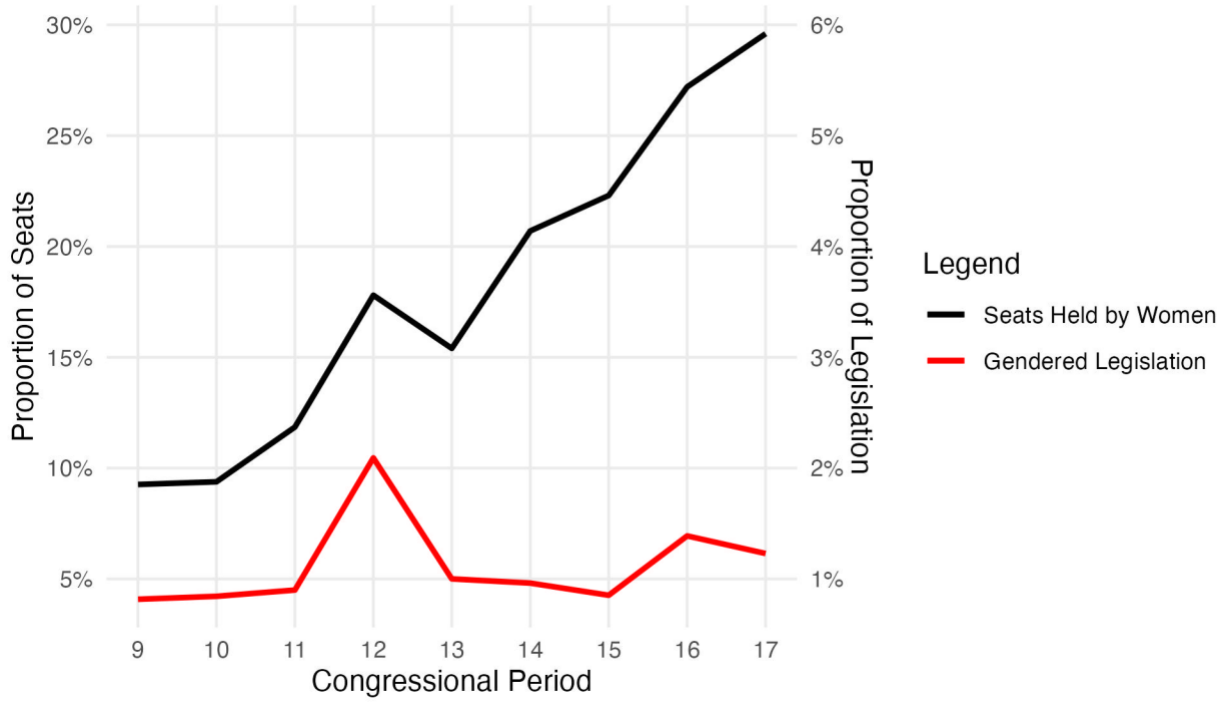
In contrast to all other substantive committees, these three committees oversee procedural elements of congress. They thus receive an outsized number of referrals, which do not signal anything about the topic area of the bills. For instance, every bill that advances beyond the primary referral stage wherein the topical committee recommends moving the bill forward is then referred to the Rules committee, which handles scheduling for the period of debate and subsequent floor vote. I also drop those standing committees that were not present in all 9 Congressional periods.[5] A small number of standing committees are added, disbanded, or changed each congressional cycle as new issue areas arise or become irrelevant. After finding there were only a small number of referrals to these short-term standing committees and that none handled any gender relevant legislation, I decided to only include committees that were present throughout the entire 28-year period of analysis. Even after removing all of the procedural committees and this small number of temporary standing committees, my dataset still covers over 93% of all legislation proposed between the 9th-17th Congresses.

[5] Non-procedural standing committees not included are as follows: Aquaculture & Fisheries Resources; Dangerous Drugs; Information & Communication Technologies; Metro Manila Development; and Visayas Development.

3.5 Gender Diversity and Proposed Policies

To start, I plot the proportion of gender-relevant legislation among all substantive bills proposed in each Congressional period alongside the percent of women in each successive Congress to visualize their relationship. The plot is shown in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1: Seats Held by Women & Gendered Legislation Proposed (1992-2019)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

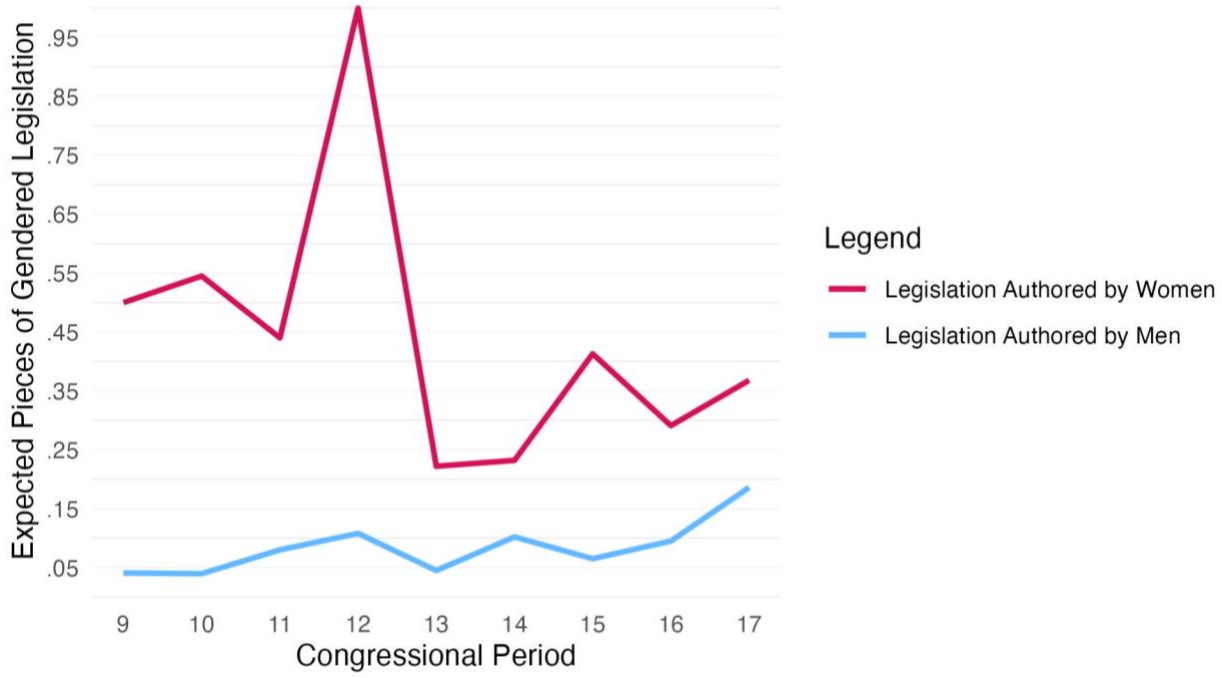
Figure 3.1 suggests there may be a connection between sudden increases in the number of seats held by women and the percent of all proposed legislation that is gender-relevant, particularly in the 12th and 16th Congresses. Indicating that, at least in the case of the Philippines during this time period, when there is a notable increase in the number of women present in the

legislature, it coincides with a concomitant increase in how much of the legislation proposed during that same congressional period relates to gendered issues.

The overall proportion of gender-relevant legislation introduced out of the total number of bills considered during this time period ranged from 0.82% to 2.1%. This proportion is similar to the findings of Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi (2013) in their study of women's rights bills introduced into the Argentinian legislature between 1983-2007, where they determined 1.8% of proposed legislation on average fit this categorization using an automated keyword search to identify bills with women-related language in their title and description. This further supports the use of committee referral as an effective and accurate means of categorizing bills substantively. The patterns revealed by this graph of the relationship between women's increasing presence in the legislature and more gender-relevant legislation being proposed, concurs with much of the recent literature on gender diversity and shifts in the policy agenda in other Asian contexts (e.g. Tam 2017; Shim 2021, 2022; Jiang and Chen 2023).

To determine whether women are driving these trends, I then calculate for each session the rate at which individual women introduced gendered legislation and compare that to the average rate at which individual men in the legislature introduced gendered legislation. If this rate is higher for women than men, women in the legislature can be expected to introduce more gendered legislation, and the proportion of such legislation in the overall agenda reflects, to at least some extent, the presence of women in the legislature. To the extent these rates are the same for men and women in the legislature, it suggests that source of change in the introduction of gendered legislation depends on something other than (or more complex than) the simple presence of women in the legislature. Figure 3.2 below shows the trends revealed by this analysis.

Figure 3.2: Expected Proportion of Gendered Legislation by Author's Sex (1992-2019)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 3.2 clearly demonstrates, women are much more likely to author gender-relevant legislation compared to men. The difference between men and women is substantial in every period, reaching its most extreme point during the 12th Congress. In the 12th Congress, the average woman introduced one piece of gendered legislation each, a higher rate than any other period. Interestingly, there is also a clear trend toward convergence, in which the difference between men and women's rates of introducing gender-relevant legislation declines over time. Women start out introducing ten times as much gendered legislation than men per member, but by the 17th Congress women introduced just under twice as much gendered legislation per member compared to men.

3.6 Gender Diversity and Policy Outcomes

Having established that increasing women's presence in the legislature correlates with a measurable increase in gender-relevant legislation, I now turn the question of substantive policy outcomes. Does the steadily increasing presence of women in the Philippines' national legislature over a 28-year period (1987-2014) lead to a more expansive web of women's rights and protections, as measured by a comprehensive women's rights index? I hypothesize that as the presence of women in the lower house increases over time, so too will the women's rights index score.

3.6.1 Independent Variable

The independent variable of interest is the proportion of seats in the House of Representatives held by women each year from 1987 to 2019, which covers the 8^{th}-17^{th} congressional periods. Precise data on the number of women in the lower house comes from rosters of legislators collected from the Philippines' House of Representatives archives. Because the proportion of seats held by women can vary year to year due to retirements, resignations, death, assignments to cabinet and other offices, or court outcomes resolving contested elections, I gathered annual data for the number of seats held by women. The unit of observation is therefore congressional years.

3.6.2 Dependent Variable

To measure policy outcomes that benefit women writ large, I use a comprehensive index of women's rights developed by Karim and Hill (2024). This women's rights index combines 75 variables covering a range of legal rights and protections unique to women by virtue of their

ability to bear children, their social and legal relationships with male relatives or spouses within the household structure, and their relative rights, protections, or degrees of autonomy in society vis-à-vis men (Karim and Hill, 2024). A full list of the variables and their respective data sources can be found in Appendix A (Table A1).

The 75 variables that make up this women's rights index come from the World Bank's Women, Business and Law data set and Varieties of Democracy. The index was constructed by Karim and Hill (2024) using Bayesian mixed factor analytic models of the presence and quality of formal laws pertaining to women including property rights, freedom of movement, and domestic violence laws to supply a latent variable scale. The scale ranges from -4 to 4, though most countries at most times fall in the -2 to 2 range, and the authors provide standard deviations of their estimates for each year the scale is calculated (1960-2019).

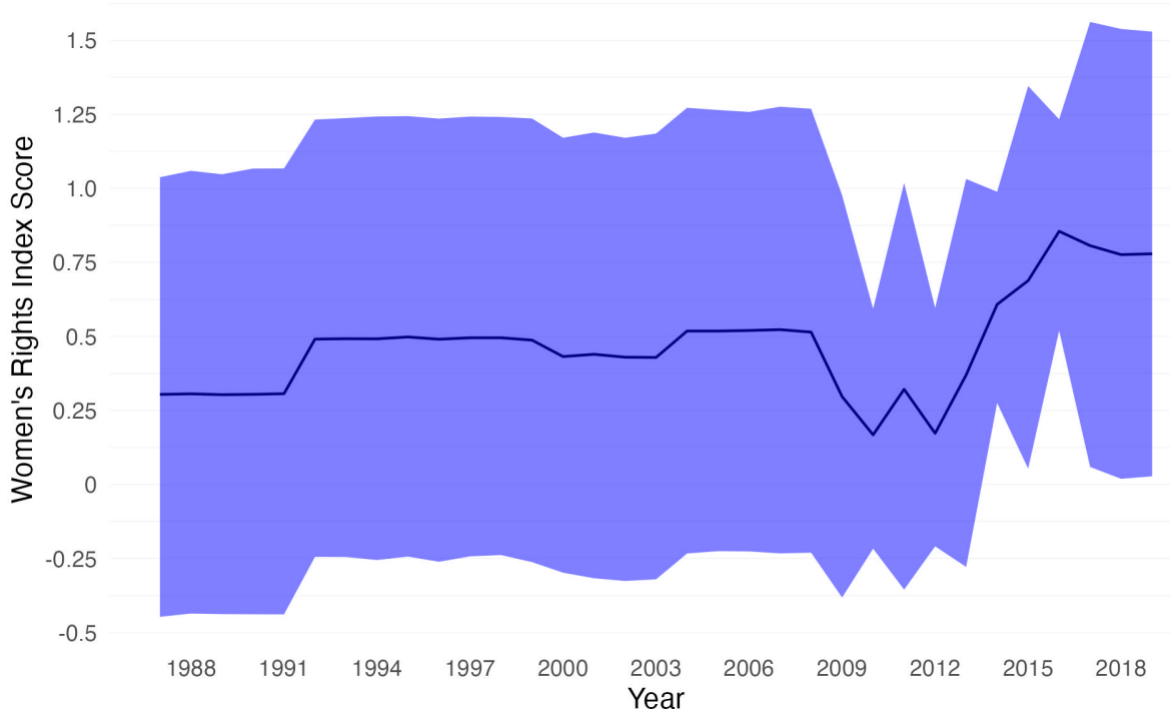
This choice of a dependent variable for substantive outcomes addresses a major set of critiques by Mackay (2008) and others (e.g. Celis et al. 2008; Catalano 2009), who argue that measuring substantive outcomes too often rely on overly narrow conceptions of "women's interests," arbitrarily pre-specified outcomes, or essentializing women as a group. In this case, however, these variables include a diverse set of law and policy outcomes that uniquely affect women's lives but are not limited to any single interest area or specific gender role, such as wife, mother, or care work provider.

While there are a number of laws pertaining to the relative status of women in marital relationships or the rights of nursing mothers, which are most relevant to women who are heterosexual, choose to marry, or bear children, the index also includes laws on the rights of unmarried women, on women's ability to inherit property, and to receive equal pay for equal work, which do not assume that motherhood or marriage are important issues to all women. By

combining a variety of metrics that substantively shape women's lives at various stages and in various capacities, not just as wives or mothers, but also as independent property owners, household decisionmakers, and working professionals, without assuming any single role or set of policy preferences for all women, this measure is a notable improvement on prior efforts to measure policy outcomes that affect women writ large.

For the time period of interest (1987-2019), the women's rights index ranges from 0.17 to 0.86. Figure 3.3 plots the index score with confidence intervals for each year's estimate.

Figure 3.3: Women's Rights Index Score for the Philippines (1987-2019)



Source: Compiled by the author using Women's Rights Index data supplied by Karim and Hill (2024)

While there was clearly an increase in the overall women's rights score from 1987 to 2019, the growth is not monotonic and there is a sudden decrease in the index score in 2009.

There are a few potential issues with this measure that warrant discussion. First, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Philippines is quite progressive compared to similar countries in Asia when it comes to its legacy of women's rights and gender equality laws. For instance, the Civil Code of the Philippines (RA 386) passed in 1949 established a framework for inheritance that is gender neutral, meaning male and female heirs have equal claims to inheritance. Similarly, the 1974 Labor Code included provisions on gender discrimination in the workplace. In addition, the 1987 Family Code accounts for the fair and equal distribution of assets following the dissolution of marriage and the 1987 constitution establishes a commitment to gender equality under the law. Combined these provisions, which pre-date the start of this study period, means that the Philippines already scored relatively highly compared to countries of similar development levels in 1987.

The sudden drop in 2009 is not indicative of any serious regression in terms of women's rights, rather it is an artifact of the scale's measurement method. As Karim and Hill (2024) explain, some of the indicators included in the index do not have recorded values for some countries before 2009, including the Philippines. Because those indicators had null values until 2009, they did not negatively affect the index score prior to 2009. When the values for the indicators were first reported in 2009, and were then factored into the index score, it could have the effect of considerably dropping the index score, especially in the case of binary indicators for which a country scored 0 on these newly reported metrics, as was the case in the Philippines. Despite these potential shortcomings of the index, it still shows an overall upward trend in the women's rights index score over time and is a more comprehensive measure of policy outcomes compared to many other studies, which I argue is important to gain a more holistic picture of the potential policy impacts of increased descriptive representation of women.

3.6.3 Controls

There are several alternative explanations that should be considered and which I attempt to address via the use of controls. First, is that over the past several decades most countries around the world have considerably narrowed the gender gap in areas of education and health as well as political and economic opportunities (Stotsky et al. 2016). Some scholars (e.g. Inglehart and Welzel 2005) have argued that this is indicative of a modernization trend wherein economic development leads to greater equality and inclusion for women. Though this theory has its critics (e.g. Adams and Orloff 2005) and implies that there is a "one size fits all" model of economic and social development, it is nonetheless plausible that economic development might spur the development of women's rights independent of the numbers of women in the legislature.

To proxy for modernization, I use women's labor force participation in my baseline model. Women's labor force participation captures multiple dimensions of both economic and social development. It signals increased employment opportunities for women in the formal sector, which in turn is an indicator of economic development and integration into the global economy. It also suggests that there are more opportunities for women to engage in formal work, which usually means lower birth rates, delayed pregnancy, and greater social acceptance of women's roles outside of the household. I also estimate the model using GDP per capita as an alternative proxy for modernization. Both women's labor force participation and GDP per capita data are sourced from the World Bank.

Related to modernization theory, it is possible that a process of global norm diffusion (see Finnemore and Sikkink 2005; Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006) is responsible for improved women's rights protections. The spread of liberal democratic values and norms, such as greater equality and inclusion for women, may put pressure on non-Western countries to

conform to these values independent of women's political representation at the domestic level. This is particularly likely for countries that have a vested interest in integrating into the international liberal order by appeasing donor countries or transnational bodies like the UN. Given the Philippines' history as a US colony, close diplomatic relations, and consistent beneficiary of US foreign aid dollars, I theorize that the Philippines is particularly likely to tailor its social policies, such as gender equality rights, to the US model. Where appropriate, I include the US scores on the women's rights index (Karim and Hill 2024) as a proxy measure for norm diffusion.

Finally, the "critical actors" model of women's substantive representation (Childs and Krook 2009) suggest that a few key actors might be capable of substantially driving policy outcomes. It is therefore possible that the development of women's rights policies might be more top down, driven by the executive branch's policy agenda. This is particularly likely in the Philippines, which has elected two women presidents (Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo). Women occupied the president's office for 15 out of the 33 years of my study period. I therefore control for the gender of a president to account for the fact that a woman executive might drive women's policy initiatives.

3.6.4 Methods

My hypothesis posits a relationship wherein women's growing presence in the legislature pushes the women's rights index score to increase over time. I therefor construct a time series dataset covering 33 years (1987-2019) that includes annual values of the women's rights index, the percent of seats in parliament held by women, and relevant controls. I lag the independent variable and relevant controls to account for the fact that any potential effect of women's

presence in the legislature on policy outcomes will take time to manifest in the index score. Because there is no clear theory about the nature of this time-delay, I include lags of 1-4 years and present results for each model. Because the index of women's rights is itself an estimate from a Bayesian factor analysis, I use Weighted Least Squares (WLS) Regression models with weights given by the inverse squared standard errors of the index.

There are two significant threats to the validity of my time series analysis, which I address through differencing: 1) spurious correlation due to shared trends and 2) serial correlation. The apparent correlation between women's numbers in the legislature and the women's rights index score over time may be due to a common unmeasured trend. A naïve time series regression is likely to produce a false positive due to coincidental co-movement of these two variables over time. Similarly, given the nature of these variables, their past values largely determine their future values, which violates a core assumption of regression that error terms are independent and identically distributed (IID).

In order to remove the effects of common trends and address the problem of serial correlation, I use a differenced model as my baseline. Differencing can transform a (potentially) non-stationary time series into a stationary one by subtracting the previous observation from the current observation. Using a differenced model mitigates the effects of spurious correlations caused by coincidental co-movements of the two variables over time and allows me to isolate the short-run effect of explanatory variables on outcome variables. The results of the baseline model are shown below in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: WLS Regression of Women's Rights on Women's Presence in Legislature, in Differences with 1-4 Year Lags

	Dependent variable:			
	Change in Women's Rights Index Score			
Delta % Women t-1	0.018			
	(0.013)			
Delta % Women t-2		-0.018		
		(0.015)		
Delta % Women t-3			0.002	
			(0.013)	
Delta % Women t-4				0.013
				(0.016)
Change in Labor Force Participation t-1	-0.001	0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.015)
Woman President	-0.032	-0.033	-0.037	-0.039
	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.059)	(0.059)
Constant	0.022	0.050*	0.037	0.032
	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.031)
AIC	-30.69	-28.16	-24.5	-23.27
Observations	31	30	29	28
R^2	0.089	0.074	0.020	0.044
Adjusted R^2	-0.013	-0.033	-0.098	-0.076
Residual Std. Error	0.391 (df = 27)	0.401 (df = 26)	0.420 (df = 25)	0.424 (df = 24)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Counter to expectations, and indeed many of the previous findings reported in the literature, this analysis does not find any statistically significant relationship between women's growing presence in the legislature and increases to the women's rights index score. I perform a number of robustness checks with alternative model specifications to ensure the validity of these results. First, I run the same model as above using changes in GDP per capita as proxy for

modernization instead of women's labor force participation, but still find no discernible relationship. Second, to account for any potential outsized effects of the aforementioned drop in the women's rights index score in 2009 as an artifact of the latent variable measurement process, I run the same model as above omitting the index score for 2009.

Finally, I include global norm diffusion as an alternative control and estimate an Autoregressive (AR) model of order 1 in levels[6]. The AR(1) model is an alternative approach to dealing with serial correlation by directly estimating the dependence of the present level of rights on its prior value. The results of these three robustness checks, 1) using GDP per capita as a proxy for modernization, 2) omitting the 2009 index score, and 3) running an AR(1) model with a norm diffusion proxy, can all be found in Appendix A (Tables A2, A3, and A4, respectively). All three alternative model specifications similarly show no relationship between women's increased presence in the legislature and women's rights index score outcomes at the 0.05 level of statistical significance. I thus find no compelling evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

Still, some caveats are warranted with these findings. While the results are robust to multiple model specifications, the analysis is limited to only a 33-year period, which may be too short of a time period to detect a significant and non-spurious relationship between these two variables. Given the aforementioned limitations of the women's rights index, it is also possible that this measure of women's policy outcomes for this time period has traded one measurement problem for another. In other words, while it provides a more comprehensive and inclusive measure of policy outcomes relevant to women, it may be too broad or too generalized such that there is insufficient variation in this time period. The women's rights index measures core rights

[6] Global norm diffusion is included in an AR(1) model of the level of rights, as opposed to a differenced model, because I expect norm diffusion to be a more gradual process and thus less detectable as a response to short-run changes.

protections and gender equality measures, many of which the Philippines had already codified into law before 1987. Thus, there was limited room for improvement in this measure, which makes it harder to estimate the effect of descriptive representation on this outcome variable. With these limitations in mind, it is difficult to draw any robust conclusions about the consequences of increased gender diversity in the Philippines national legislature during this 33-year period on policy outcomes for women, as measured by this comprehensive women's rights index. While there was no measurable effect of women's increased presence in the legislature on the women's rights index, it may be because the index was ultimately not a good measure for this time period.

These findings indicate that further studies are necessary to better understand when and where gender diversity leads to improved rights protections and equality measures for women as a group. It would therefore be rash to conclude from this analysis that women's increased presence in the legislature does not have substantively meaningful impacts on policy outcomes simply because the aggregate outcomes related to women's rights and protections as measured by this index did not improve. Given the short time period of my data, it may be too limited to infer the relationship of women's increased presence to substantive representation on this time scale even with a more nuanced measure of women's rights outcomes. Thus, the conclusion is likely that the index and/or time period of this study is insufficient. Indeed, the limited time scale is a persistent issue in the study of women's substantive representation since most countries only began meaningfully including women in their national legislatures in the 1990s, meaning at best there are only 35 years' worth of observations from which to discern a statistically significant relationship.

Afterall, Figure 3.2 clearly shows that women introduce gender-relevant legislation at a considerably higher rate than men indicating that women are still acting for women through their legislative behavior. In addition, the trend toward convergence might suggest that women's increased presence in the legislature also exerts a positive influence on men, encouraging them, for one reason or another, to introduce more gender-relevant legislation as well. In the next section, I explore other ways that women's presence can measurably influence the policy process rather than focusing only on aggregate policy outcomes.

3.7 Gender Diversity and the Policy Process

Thus far, I have considered the impacts of gender diversity on the aggregate policy outcomes that protect and extend the rights of women broadly as measured by the comprehensive index on women's rights. While the prior analysis does not support the conclusion that increasing gender diversity in the legislature improved aggregate policy outcomes, this does not mean that women's presence in the legislature is not meaningful in other important ways. As discussed, there may be a number of reasons why women legislators as a minority group might be structurally disadvantaged within the legislature in a way that could hinder efforts to produce better policy outcomes for women even if they earnestly desire to do so (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor Robinson 2005; Liu 2018; Loring 2018; Choi 2019). Thus, rather than looking solely at outcomes, it is worth examining in more detail the process of substantive representation to determine whether men and women approach policy making differently. Are there measurable differences between men and women legislators in the types of legislation they introduce? Do women's perspectives in the policy deliberation process help shape the final policy?

3.7.1 Data and Methods

To answer this set of questions, I create a subset of data focusing on the 330 pieces of legislation that were referred at some point to the Committee on Women during the 9th to 17th Congressional periods (1992-2019). By following the House of Representatives' own classification strategy using committee referrals, I capture the entire universe of proposed bills that directly relate to women and gender equality. I then classify each bill based on general policy topic and identify 11 distinct categories into which each piece of gender-relevant legislation can be sorted. These include legislation related explicitly to gender relations, such as marriage, motherhood, LGBTQ+ rights and reproductive rights, as well as legislation related to women's autonomy regarding employment, empowerment, recognition, and representation in government. There are also several categories of bills related to physical and sexual security, including laws on harassment, sexual and physical violence against women (V.A.W.), and human trafficking/commercial sexual exploitation (Trafficking/C.S.A.).

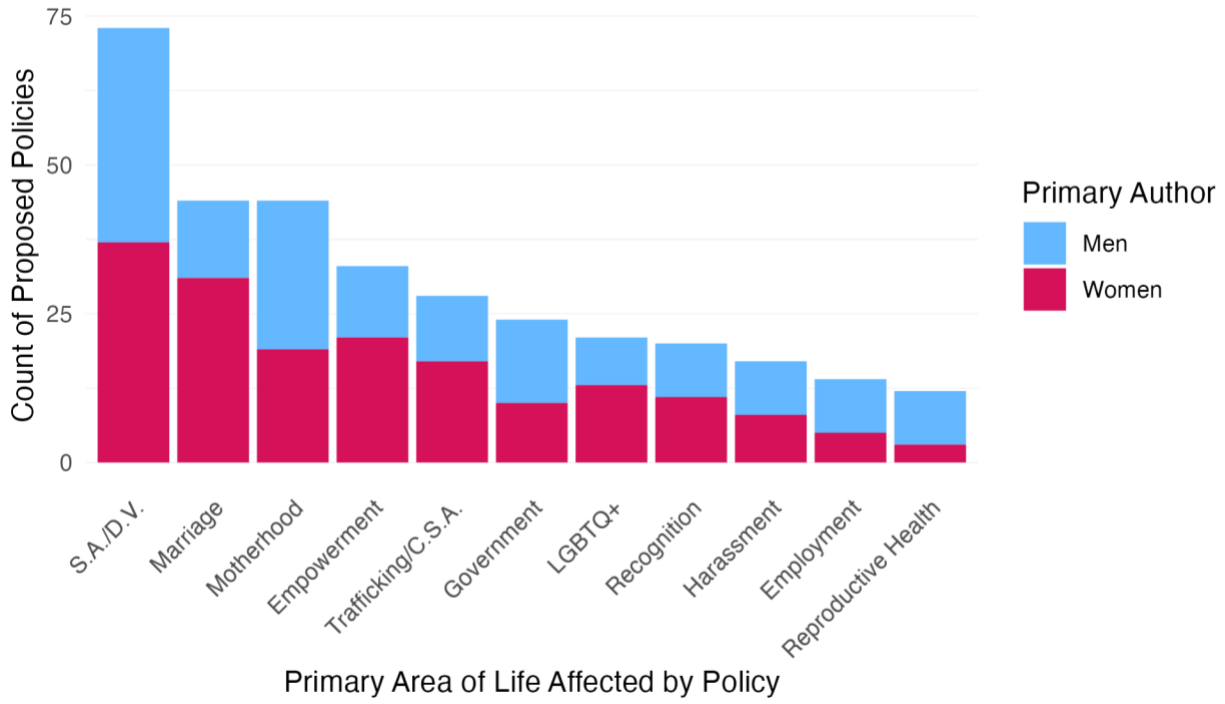
After categorizing the legislation by topic, I code for whether each bill is a novel text (or a modified version of previously introduced bill), and the ultimate status of the bill. The measure I use for status is whether the bill was ultimately incorporated via substitution or combination into another bill that was eventually passed into law. I also code for the primary author's sex. Primary authorship is a useful indicator of a legislator's commitment to a policy issue. It demonstrates that a legislator is willing to put time and energy into drafting and proposing a bill, that they are willing to tie their name publicly to a piece of legislation. Primary authorship indicates that a legislator is either personally invested in an issue or that they wish to claim credit for legislating on that topic, and it can be a means of signaling to constituents the policy issues

they will prioritize (Shim 2022). Theoretical expectations, therefore, are that women will be primary authors of more gender-relevant legislation compared to men.

3.7.2 Findings

The total number of gender-relevant legislation by category with a breakdown of whether each bill was authored by men or women legislators can be found below in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Gendered Support for Legislation by Policy Topic (1992-2019)

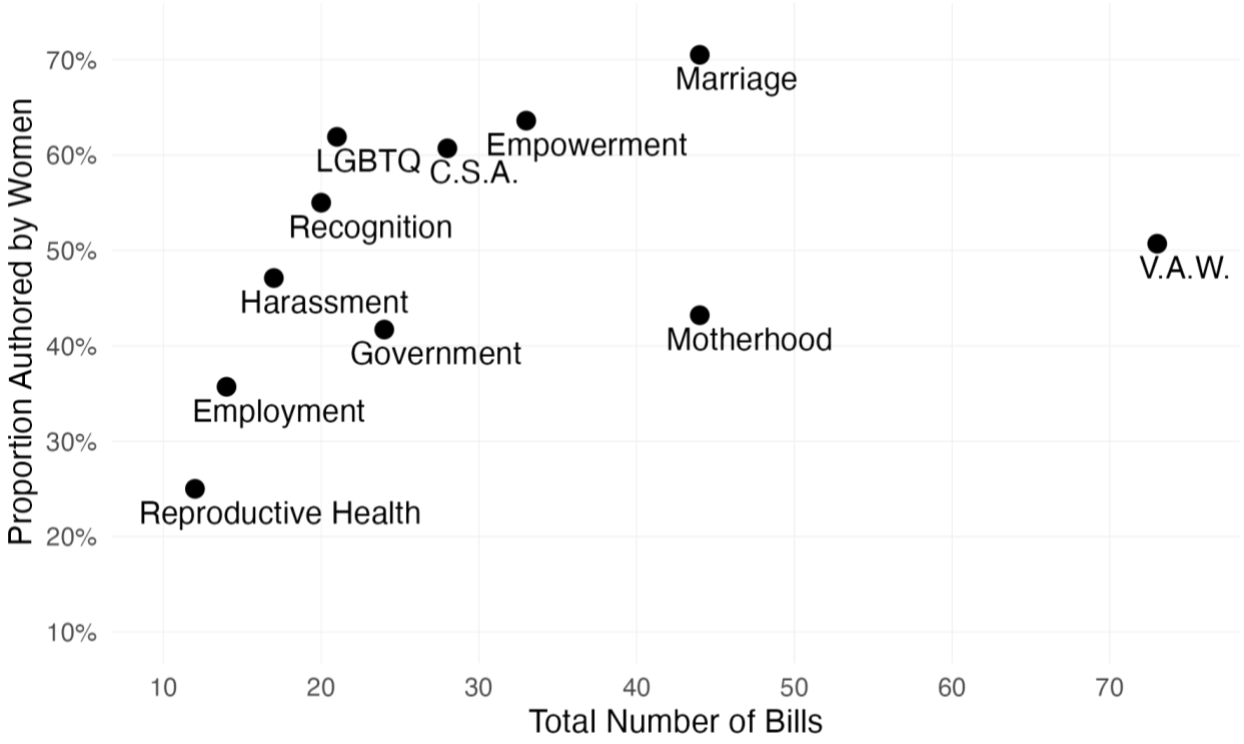


Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 3.4 shows, the expectation that women will author more gender-relevant legislation proved true in both relative and absolute numbers. In absolute terms, women proposed more pieces of gender-relevant legislation, acting as primary authors on 175 pieces of

gender-relevant legislation, while men authored 155. Though this gender gap initially appears modest, given that women made up only 18.6% of the legislature on average during this study period, women actually authored a far outsized proportion of the gendered legislation relative to their numbers. To better visualize women's contributions in this regard, I plot the percentage of bills on each topic authored by women and the absolute number of bills on each topic below in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5: Proportion of Gendered Legislation Authored by Women by Topic



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 3.5 shows, women were primary authors of greater than 50% of the legislation pertaining to Recognition, LGBTQ+ Rights, Trafficking/Commercial Sexual Exploitation, Empowerment, Marriage, and Violence Against Women. Legislation on Marriage and

Reproductive Health had the greatest difference in terms of the relative number of bills authored by men versus women, with women authoring over 70% of the legislation related to Marriage. In contrast, women authored only about one quarter of the legislation pertaining to Reproductive Health. A perhaps surprising finding, though there is certainly a history of male efforts to control reproductive rights of women through legislation in many other contexts, including the United States. Notably as both Figures 3.4 and 3.5 clearly show, bills on Violence Against Women were the largest single category of gender relevant legislation during this time period representing 73 individual bills introduced into the House of which men and women authored a nearly equal share. The next most common categories were laws pertaining to Marriage and Motherhood, with 44 bills introduced in each category

There are also clear gender differences regarding the patterns of authorship by individual legislators based on gender. Women were much more likely to be repeat players in this sense, with the same legislators authoring multiple pieces of gender-relevant legislation, while men much more frequently authored only a single piece of legislation. Of the more than 2,000 representatives spanning the 9th-17th Congresses, 136 members (about 6.5%) of the legislature were primary authors of at least one gender-relevant piece of legislation. In total, 78 men authored at least one piece of gender relevant legislation in the lower house, accounting for just 5% of all male legislators during this time period. Of those, most (58%) authored only one piece of gender legislation during their tenure in office. Only 34 male legislators ever proposed more than one piece of gender-relevant legislation, while just five men authored five or more pieces of legislation, and only two[7] ever authored more than five.

[7] The most notable outlier among men was Narciso Santiago III, who authored 13 pieces of gender relevant legislation during his single term as a member of the 14th Congress (2007-2010). His prolific bill authorship was not confined to gender. In fact, he authored 451 bills total in this single congressional period, far more than any other

In contrast to the one-off nature of most men, a majority of women who authored gender-relevant legislation introduced multiple bills during this time period. Out of the 428 total women in the legislature over this time period, 58 of them (13.6%) were the primary authors of at least one piece of gender-relevant legislation to the lower house. Of the 58 women who authored any gender-relevant legislation, most (67%) authored more than one such piece of legislation. Nine women legislators introduced five or more pieces of legislation and four women authored 10 or more gender-relevant bills. Two of those most prolific legislators when it came to authoring gender-relevant policies, Liza Maza and Luzviminda Ilagan, were party-list members for the GABRIELA women's party. This supports Shim's (2021) findings that party-list members when elected on the premise of representing certain demographic groups have a clear mandate to advocate for those groups, in this case women. Interestingly, the other two highly productive authors of gender-relevant legislation, Bellaflor Angara-Castillo and Linabelle Ruth Villarica, both have dynastic ties to family members in government; however, rather than being single-term "bench warmers," both have had successful and distinguished political careers in their own rights.

Over 9% of women, therefore, specialized in authoring gender-relevant legislation, demonstrating a sustained commitment to these issues through their repeated efforts to introduce such legislation. In contrast, the one-off nature of men's primary authorship suggests they only selectively engage with gender-relevant legislation. While the repeat player nature of women's authorship indicates they are more committed to this policy area and are even willing to sponsor

representative. Much of the legislation he introduced was novel, never previously introduced by other legislators, including 12 of the 13 gender relevant bills he introduced. Notably, his mother was the famous Miriam Defensor Santiago, called "The Iron Lady of Asia," she was the first Asian judge on the International Criminal Court and a long-term Senator, and member of President Corazon Aquino's cabinet. It is ultimately unclear what motivated this unique legislative strategy, but he was clearly an outlier among all legislators men and women in terms of bill introductions and not just in terms of gendered legislation but across multiple policy areas.

the same types of bills in multiple congressional sessions in order to make progress. With these differences in mind, I now turn to an analysis of the largest category of gender-relevant legislations: laws on violence against women. This category encompasses laws on sexual assault and domestic violence as well as human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation.

3.8 Laws on Violence Against Women

Given that the largest overall category of gender-relevant legislation proposed during this time period pertains to violence against women, it is worthwhile to examine the policy outcomes on this topic in more detail. The number of bills introduced on this topic signals that it is an important policy area in the eyes of legislators. Moreover, laws that guarantee and protect the bodily autonomy of women are foundational to a more comprehensive gender equality policy agenda. To evaluate the gendered dynamics involved in the conceptualization, introduction, and passage of laws on violence against women I draw on secondary sources that describe the legislative history of these laws and primary sources in the form of congressional committee reports and transcripts both from committee meetings and floor deliberations in the lower house, which I collected from the House or Representatives Archives.

Prior to 1995, the only laws on violence against women in general and rape in particular were codified in the Revised Penal Code of 1930. This penal code, which remains the primary criminal law code of the Philippines, was passed during the American colonial period without any substantial input of women representatives. The code had no explicit prohibitions against sexual harassment or less overt forms of sexual assault and made no prohibitions against marital rape (Llarinas-Angeles 2002). Only violent forms of rape were criminally sanctioned, and rape was categorized as a Crime Against Chastity. This categorization meant that it was not

considered a crime against a rights bearing individual, but rather an assault on her chastity, which was as much the concern of her male relatives as it was of the women herself. This framing of sexual crimes as moral rather than criminal implicitly placed the burden on women to protect their chastity instead of placing the onus on men not to engage in acts of sexual violence against women. Moreover, there were provisions in this law that allowed for the complete forgiveness of the crime and an end to any criminal prosecution if the woman's family forgave the perpetrator, which was usually predicated on the rapist marrying the woman he had assaulted.

Given that the Criminal Code of 1930 went little updated in regard to sexual assault, domestic violence, and rape for over half a century, it is somewhat remarkable that seven landmark pieces of legislation related to VAW were then passed in the relatively short period between 1987-2019. Table 3.2 below outlines the most notable national laws related to violence against women (VAW) during this 28-year period.

Table 3.2: Laws Pertaining to Violence Against Women Passed from 1987-2019

Year	Republic Act (RA)	Title
1995	7877	Anti-Sexual Harassment Act
1997	**8353**	**Anti-Rape Law**
1998	8505	Rape Victim Assistance and Protection Act
2003	**9208**	**Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act**
2004	**9262**	**Anti-Violence Against Women and Their Children Act**
2009	9710	The Magna Carta of Women
2012	10364	Anti-Human Trafficking in Persons Act

Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

The laws in bold most explicitly address the prevention of violence against women and establish mechanisms for punishing perpetrators of such violence. Those laws that clearly define the crime of VAW as a punishable offense with clear consequences are of particular interest

because men are the most frequent perpetrators of VAW. Although male legislators with little interest in gender equality can and do often advocate for laws on VAW out of a paternal desire to protect women, there may also be a disincentive for male legislators to support VAW laws that might put them at risk of punishment. Even if men do not consider themselves as potential subjects of these laws, they are likely to target only the most violent and overt forms of VAW while potentially shying away from more comprehensive laws that protect women from unwanted sexual advances in less overt and violent forms.

As evidence that male legislators may be reticent to pass punitive laws on violence against women because they fear it might be used against them, debate transcripts and committee reports detailing the deliberations on The Anti-Rape Law, are illuminating. These transcripts show male legislators as leery to include definitions of marital rape with some expressing skepticism at the very concept of marital rape, making clear that they viewed marriage as a contract that granted men sexual access to their wives. Some congressmen also expressed concerns about false rape accusations being leveraged against men for petty reasons. One congressperson, said the following about including provisions on marital rape in the law:

> Mr. Chairman, this is very dangerous if we will include marital rape for a man and a woman still living together. But I will go for [the inclusion of] marital rape if in fact they are already separated or there is legal separation. But if they are still staying in one bed, it's quite dangerous for us, Mr. Chairman (San Buenaventura, 1996: 9-10).

The same legislator went on to state their concerns that women might use allegations of marital rape simply because they were unhappy in their marriage or if they were desirous of a new lover and wanted their husband out of the picture. In articulating their concerns about women making false accusations of marital rape or opening the door for men to be prosecuted, male legislators invoked gendered notions of purity and impassivity, arguing that women often

demurred in the face of sexual advancements, and so the law should be very careful in how it defines resistance. One male legislator's argument captures this sentiment as follows:

> There is here a very important word that I think on Section 8, Evidentiary Requirements – physical or verbal resistance in any degree on the part of the complainant. By nature, Mr. Chairman, culture of the Filipina women, they normally resist. And that is a culture that we have to face. There are even times that we like women who resist initially. So, why will we deprive women of their culture of their initial resistance. And "verbal", I think, will be very dangerous, because normally the women will say no, but they want yes. How will we do… So I think, we should remove "verbal", Mr. Chairman, but "physical", yes, but "verbal", I think we should not include this because.. for the entire Section 8, Mr. Chairman (San Buenaventura, 1996: 7-8).

Though the congressman's intention is clearly to protect men from, in his view, unwarranted accusations, the argument's justification centers on the "culture of Filipina women," making the case that the law would not allow women to be demure. Though the above quote is the most explicit encapsulation of this viewpoint, multiple male legislators in the debate voiced this opinion and were clearly extremely wary of enshrining in law the concept of marital rape.

The importance of having women's perspective represented in this debate are made clear by the fact that women legislators were quick to offer opposition to these views. In direct response to the above quote, one congresswoman asserted the following perspective:

> Our colleague from Camarines Sur has been saying about what a Filipina is traditionally when he would say that traditionally Filipinas are silent. Because I think that's what Filipinas are, most are silent victims. And contradicting your view that you know, the wife would just go to court and accuse the husband of raping her. I don't think that's the nature of a Filipina. And thus, that's why there are so many silent victims of the Filipina women. And if you say that they're just doing it to blackmail a husband because they can entertain new boyfriends, I think that's not a traditional, again Filipina, you were the one who started talking about the traditional Filipina. So I think that the marital rape even put into law, it would be very limited. The victims who will speak out would be very limited, I think putting it into law would encourage real victims to speak out (Villareal, 1996: 12).

Interestingly, she does not reject the notion of a "traditional Filipina woman" outright. Instead, she leverages the notion that there is such a traditional women to make the case that the same traits of impassivity would in fact mean that unfounded rape allegations are unlikely to be lodged by such women.

Another theme that clearly comes out in these debates is the fact that women and other supporters of this legislation have responded to those common arguments leveled by men and strategically adapted the legislation to increase its likelihood of success. For instance, multiple references are made to the experience in the 9th Congress in which male opposition to the proposed definitions of rape in general, and the marital rape clause in particular, proved so great that they effectively killed the bill. The debates in the 10th Congress demonstrate that women legislators learned from this experience and modified the language to make it more palatable to male opposition in the legislature.

This strategy ultimately led to the successful passage of Republic Act (RA) 8353, "The Anti-Rape Law", though in a substantially watered down form to the bills that were originally proposed on this topic. It did however result in a fundamental shift in the legal understanding of women as rights bearing individuals since it reclassified rape as a Crime Against Persons. This shift placed the central emphasis on rape as a violation of women's human rights and made it clear that rape should be considered a public crime rather than a private one (Llarinas-Angeles 2002). RA 8353 also expanded the definition of rape to include all forms of forcible penetration, clarified that women can also be perpetrators of rape, and laid out the conditions for consent, a subject entirely absent from the original penal code.

Though women legislators played an important role in its drafting and passage, the primary author of House Bill 6265, which became part of RA 8353, was a man, Jose De Venecia

Jr. and the bill was signed into law by a male president, Fidel Ramos. At this time, Jose De Venecia Jr., was the speaker of the house, so having him be the primary author was likely a strategic choice to improve the likelihood of garnering support. In addition, women made up less than 10% of the lower house during the 9th and 10th Congress when the bill was debated and ultimately passed. This raises the question why would a predominantly male legislature prioritize and pass this piece of legislation?

First, while RA 8358 was still an important legal victory for women, and powerfully acknowledged women's fundamental right to bodily autonomy and freedom from sexual violence, the final version of the law had considerable shortcomings, which reflected the men's hesitancy toward codifying marital rape as a criminal offense and empowering women to make unfounded rape accusations. For instance, in its final form RA 8358 focused only on rape perpetrated through force, threat, or intimidation, ignoring acts of coercion completely, and it failed to explicitly criminalize marital rape (Llarinas-Angeles 2002). The law only mentions marital rape by saying that if the offender is the legal husband "the subsequent forgiveness by the wife as the offended party shall extinguish criminal action or the penalty" (RA 8352, Paragraph 2 Art. 266-C). This was arguably still a victory since it, for the first time, implied the existence of marital rape in the law, but ultimately male opposition succeeded in preventing the concept from being explicitly codified.

International legal norm diffusion (Finnemore and Sikkink 2005; Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006) was also an important part of the The Anti-Rape Law's ultimate passage even in the face of considerable opposition in the male-dominated legislature. The passage of this law closely follows the U.N.'s 1995 Beijing Conference on Women, which laid out an agenda for increased gender equality across the globe, including improved laws on violence against women.

The US played a central role in this particular conference, with then first-lady Hillary Clinton making a high-profile speech that included the now famous line "women's rights are human rights". As a former US colony and a country that has a history of demonstrating responsiveness to international pressures, especially when tied explicitly or implicitly to aid funds, it is plausible that the Philippines prioritized this legislation to conform to the priorities outlined in the Beijing Platform for Action.

Indeed, Gianella and Yamin (2018) show a similar link between the Beijing Conference and the diffusion of sexual and reproductive rights in Peru. Similarly, Cichowski (2004) demonstrates how policy platforms adopted by supranational bodies like the UN can result in changes to national laws on gender. While both Cichowski (2004) and Gianella and Yamin (2018) illustrate this process through judicial activism, it is feasible that a similar process might be voluntarily undertaken by lawmakers. Such legislative activism, perhaps at the behest of the executive, might be an attempt of lawmakers to conform to international standards especially if there are implicit or explicit incentivizes to do so. This is particularly likely in instances where countries that rely heavily on international aid, like the Philippines, believe that conforming to international law and policy priorities might result in additional aid dollars.

As evidence of this, parliamentary debate transcripts retrieved from the House of Representatives archives show at least one Congressperson, Luz Cleta Bakunawa, explicitly makes the connection between the passage of the RA8583 and international treaties on violence against women:

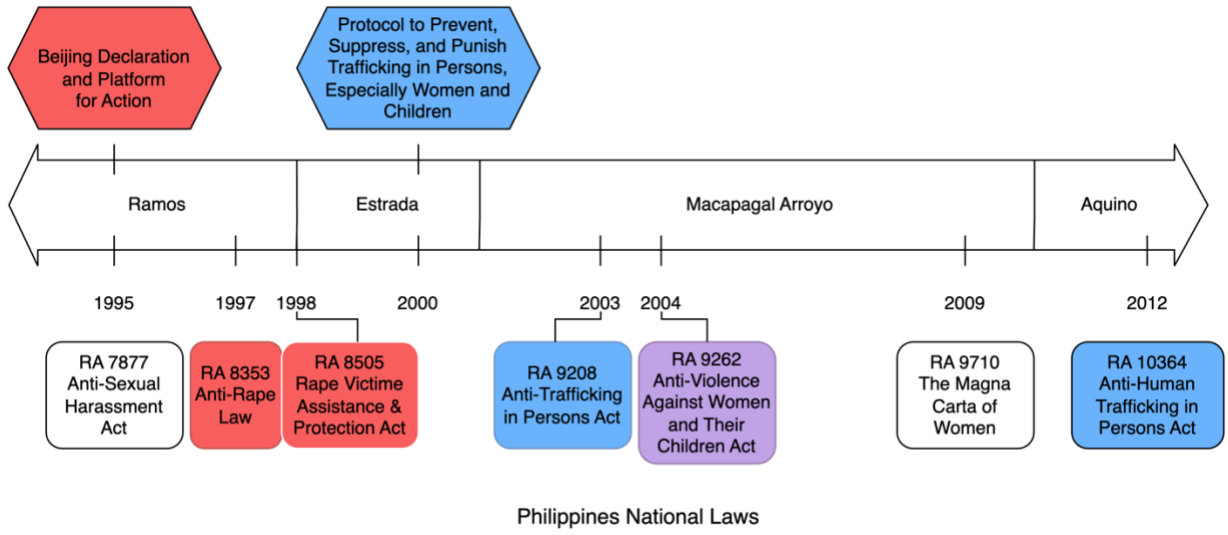
> The recent enactment into law of Republic Act No. 8583 or the Anti-Rape Law is a welcome [if] significant sign that this society of ours has indeed matured and grown to the league of the civil societies of this world. As the policy-making body of the government, this Congress not only has displayed a broad-minded concern for the gender-sensitive matters, but *most importantly, it has affirmed unequivocally the constitutional mandate of guaranteeing equal protection of*

> *Filipino women under the laws of this land and the international treaties and covenants on women to which this country of ours has been a signatory* (Bakunawa, 1997: 270, emphasis added).

This quote indicates that conforming with international treaties was at least one consideration involved in the passage of RA8583.

As further evidence of this potential trend, another landmark piece of legislation on VAW passed on the heels of a high-profile international summit is the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act. In 2000, the UN convened a Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, often called the Palermo Conference, with human trafficking as one of its central issues. In addition to establishing the first international laws against human trafficking, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, the Palermo Convention also provided a framework for countries to adopt their own anti-trafficking laws (Goehrung 2019). A year later the United States established its own legal framework on human trafficking and signaled its commitment to addressing this issue on the international stage, including with the targeted use of foreign aid dollars. It is, therefore, likely no coincidence that the Philippines passed its Anti-Trafficking in Person's Act in 2003. Figure 3.5 shows a timeline of VAW legislation passed during this period and its coincidence with international declarations that contain explicit provisions encouraging countries to conform with legal standards.

Figure 3.6: Temporal Patterns of International Legal Norm Diffusion



Source: Author's compilation

In contrast to the previous two examples, the Anti-Violence Against Women and their Children Act of 2004 (RA 9262) is not directly tied to international legal frameworks or aid dollars and appears to have been a more organic, inclusive, and comprehensive effort to address VAW. While both the preceding international frameworks and republic acts may have helped to lay important foundations for RA 9262 it nonetheless offers the most expansive definition of violence against women of any law in the Philippines, including clauses that define sexual, psychological, and economic violence.

Women legislators and women's groups were instrumental in laying the foundation for RA 9262 as early as 1995. Much of the originally proposed language of the Anti-Rape Law, which did not make it into the final version was resurrected to become part of RA 9262. In addition to the role of women legislators, civil society groups were key to the drafting of this policy and building of support. Most significantly, a network of 10 NGOs that united their efforts

on the topic of VAW under the umbrella of Women Working Together to Stop Violence (WWTSVAW, 2009). These civil society groups collectively waged a decade long campaign to build support for VAW laws engaging in education, consciousness raising, and advocacy efforts to lay the foundation for a successful legislative push (WWTSVAW, 2009). As a result of this more inclusive process, Republic Act 9262 offers the most expansive definition of violence against women of any law in the Philippines, including clauses that define sexual, psychological, and economic violence. Importantly, the Supreme Court has generally upheld and even expanded the legal provisions of RA 9262. For instance, in 2023, the Philippines Supreme Court clarified that mothers can also be held criminally liable when it comes to violence and emotional abuse of their children and upheld a lower court decision, which found that in some circumstances marital infidelity qualifies as a violation of the mental and emotional abuse clause of RA 9262.

The passage of RA 9262 demonstrates the importance of women's civil society groups in building popular support for gender-relevant legislation. But it is also indicative of the impact that a small number of highly committed women legislators can have. Several women acted as repeat players introducing the same or similar bills multiple times, learning from prior experiences and strategically adapting both the language and approach to ultimately get a version of the legislation passed. It is also, likely important that compared to the congressional periods when the Anti-Rape Law and Anti-Trafficking in Person's Act were passed, women held nearly twice as many seats (18%) in the legislature – the highest proportion of women committee members of any congress up to that point – when RA 9262 was passed. Thus, circumstantially at least, women's presence in congress as a whole and on committees in particular seems to be an important factor for the passage of more comprehensive and progressive legislation on violence against women.

Though further study is needed to make more definitive causal arguments about the relationship between women legislators and the passage of this and other laws protecting the physical integrity rights of women, this initial analysis suggests that greater gender diversity in the legislature may be important for drafting more comprehensive laws on VAW. At the same time, it makes clear the importance of civil society groups in addition to women inside the legislature and the role that international legal diffusion can play in encouraging even male-dominated legislatures to adopt laws that protect women's physical integrity rights. In total, this initial analysis suggests that there is no clear line between increased gender diversity and more gender responsive laws. Though evidence suggests more gender diverse legislatures is an important piece of the puzzle and may improve the quality and comprehensiveness of laws, such as those criminalizing VAW.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter sheds additional light on the relationship between more gender diverse legislatures and policy outcomes that support women and gender equality. Like much of the previous literature it demonstrates that the links between gender diversity in the legislature and policy outcomes advancing women's interests are complicated and mediated by a number of institutional, individual, and contextual factors (Celis and Childs 2014; Espírito-Santo and Freire 2020). When it comes to developing the most comprehensive and inclusive laws, the role of women legislators and civil society groups may be critical.

Though women consistently proposed more gender relevant legislation compared to men, this did not translate to a measurable expansion of women's rights protections in aggregate as measured by a comprehensive women's rights index. However, there were also observable

differences in the types of gender policy areas that women targeted through legislation, and in the nature of how men and women approached the introduction of gender-relevant legislation. Most notably, women were more likely to be repeat players introducing multiple bills and new iterations of the same bill, demonstrating a sustained commitment to women's policy issues. These findings indicate that although increased gender diversity of the Philippines legislature does not necessarily translate to improved policy outcomes for women writ large during this time period, it does coincide with a measurable shift in the legislative agenda. In short, as the proportion of women in the House of Representatives increased, so too did the overall proportion of gender relevant legislation.

However, it also supports more pessimistic arguments about the potential limitations of the extent to which policy impacts can be directly attributed to increased gender diversity. Indeed, these findings seem to support the supposition that institutional norms and male elites dominating the legislature may undermine the policy effects of increased gender diversity by stymying in the efforts of women legislators to pass gender responsive policies even if they desire to do so (e.g. Kittilson 2008; Espírito-Santo and Freire 2020). Finally, a cursory analysis of a subset of laws passed during this time period aimed specifically at preventing and prosecuting VAW, indicates that while gender diversity may be important to drafting and passing more comprehensive laws on VAW, other factors, including external pressures to conform to international laws may drive even relatively male-dominated legislatures to adopt VAW laws.

These findings indicate the need for further studies to try and disentangle the causal linkages between diversity in the legislature and policy outcomes. They also point to the fact that substantive representation is a complex phenomenon, and we should not necessarily conclude that simply including more women in the legislature will automatically translate into women's

interests as a whole being better represented. In fact, greater attention to intersectionality of identities is important for both the drafting of more inclusive laws, as Crenshaw (1991) points out, and for developing a more complete understanding of what true diversity in representation entails.

Chapter 4. The Population Pathway: Society-level Outcomes of Increased Gender Diversity

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores what I call the Population Pathway to determine whether the increased presence of women in the national legislature improves the life outcomes, treatment, and perception of women in broader society. While the previous chapter focused on the direct legislative consequences of gender diversity through the policy pathway, the present section will focus on the more indirect societal level changes that women's greater numbers in the legislature might drive. The theoretical mechanism is that the increasingly common presence of women visibly represented in formal positions of political power shifts broader perceptions of women's role and status in society. One dimension of this proposed by other scholars (e.g. Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Carroll 1985) is increased political participation among women via a "role model effect" (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006). But I contend there may be broader and more diffuse improvements to women's lives more generally as their social standing improves and regard for their capabilities as leaders rises.

The chapter is organized as follows. I begin by reviewing the theoretical arguments supporting a link between women's presence in the legislature and population level changes, including to the well-being and life outcomes of women as a group, and women's political engagement. I begin by evaluating the available gender disaggregated data on the interest levels in politics, confidence in legislative institutions, and regard for women as political leaders to shed light on the changing patterns of gendered attitudes towards political institutions and women's capabilities as leaders, which coincide with the increased presence of women in national parliaments. Due to considerable limitations in this data, this is primarily a descriptive

analysis of trends between 1995 and 2017. The descriptive data provides a useful picture of the way that gendered attitudes toward politics have changed during this period of steadily growing representation of women in politics.

I then conduct an aggregate analysis evaluating whether and to what extent life outcomes for women – as measured by a comprehensive Women's Harm Index – have improved as more women have entered the national legislature. I model both short-run changes in the harm index using a differenced linear regression, and long-term levels of the harm index using an autoregressive time series models to determine whether there is a measurable relationship between women's growing presence in the legislature and reduced harms to women. Between these two models, I find limited support that women's presence in the legislature is linked with women's freedom from harm.

Finally, I use an original data set gathered through archival fieldwork from the Philippines' House of Representatives to take a more detailed look at the measurable differences between the types of gender-relevant policies introduced into the legislature by women as compared to men. This data set covers 330 distinct pieces of gender-relevant legislation put forth in the lower house of the Philippines between the 9th to 17th Congresses (1992-2019). I apply the theoretical frameworks developed by Htun and Weldon (2010) and Molyneux (1985) to categorize gender legislation based on whether it fundamentally challenges dominant gender norms. I then calculate the rate at which women legislators are the primary authors of such strategic gender legislation compared to men. I find that women are consistently more likely to be the primary authors of legislation that challenges gender norms.

This study contributes to the literature on feminist institutionalism and male dominance as well as broadening our understanding of where and how gender diversity in national

legislatures might contribute to meaningful changes in the social and political landscapes of the countries they govern. In moving beyond an aggregate analysis of all gender-relevant policies or a narrow subset of pre-specified "women's issues," I take both a more holistic and more granular approach to understanding the gendered dynamics of legislative processes and the potential ripple effects associated with having more women in the legislature. Following Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001) as well as Campbell and Wolbrecht (2006), I take seriously the possibility that women's increasingly visible and normalized presence in the legislature might have transformative effects on society. Drawing on the insights of Chiva (2018) and Valdini (2019), I acknowledge the need to expand our view of the substantive effects of gender diversity in legislatures beyond the direct policy impacts, since women's legislative effectiveness may be impeded by male elites who maintain a majority in political institutions.

4.2 Linking Gender Diversity and Population Outcomes

There is growing support among scholars of diversity and representation for the need to look beyond policy outcomes alone to evaluate other pathways through which women's increased presence in legislative institutions might effect change (Celis, Childs, Kantola, and Krook 2008; Mechkova and Carlitz 2021). This shift in focus is not only due to the persistent challenge of linking women's descriptive presence to specific policy outcomes, but also because there is good reason to expect that women as a minority in the legislature might have limited direct effects on policy. Dominant group members may frustrate the ability of minority representatives to exercise legislative power effectively once in office (Bjarnegård and Murray 2018; Childs and Hughes 2018) by relying on informal channels to make consequential decisions and appointments (Chiva 2018), relegating them to low power committees (Heath, Schwindt-

Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005), or even through more overt strategies of harassment, ostracization, or intimidation (Krook and Sanín 2020). It is therefore possible that women's legislative agendas may be hampered by the actions of male representatives who are still a clear majority or by parliamentary rules and norms that limit women's policy making abilities. Thus, in many contexts it may simply not be feasible for women legislators to substantively influence policy outcomes in a measurable way. As shown in Chapter 3, there appears to be some truth to this in the Philippines context.

There are, however, a variety of other potential downstream consequence of women's increased presence in the legislature beyond direct policy changes by virtue of their visible presence in high-profile positions of authority. As women visibly hold political offices with more frequency and in greater numbers, there may be a transformative effect on public perceptions of political institutions and leaders. Through a process that Lovenduski (2005) refers to as "feminizing politics," when women's presence in the legislature becomes more normalized the public's understanding of who fits the image of a political leader and who has a rightful place in politics might begin to shift. Similarly, if women are seen more often and more visibly as leaders with equal power in political decision making, this might also gradually elevate the standing of women outside of politics as well. Women's more prominent representation in formal political office might exert a positive influence on men's perceptions of women in other spheres as well and make it more likely that women are viewed as equals. In theory this could contribute to an equalizing of decision-making power in the household, a reduction in instances of harassment and violence against women, and an equalizing of gendered divisions of labor. Women in both the private and public sphere might then feel more empowered to challenge formal and informal barriers to gender equality or engage in efforts to equalize the dynamics of gender relations.

4.2.1 Feminizing Politics

By this logic, the very presence of more women in elected offices may itself be transformative with the potential to have ripple effects throughout the population. For instance, several studies have demonstrated that increasing the numbers of women in the legislature increases political engagement among women (Reingold and Harrell 2010; Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012; Hinojosa and Kittilson 2020; Mechkova and Carlitz 2021). One proposed mechanism is a "role model effect" (Campbell and Wolbracht 2006), whereby seeing oneself represented in politics encourages political engagement or even an aspiration to run for office among women. Beaman et al. (2012) has found evidence for this effect in India, demonstrating that women's representation in local government positively influences educational attainment and career goals for women and girls, including fostering an aspiration to enter politics.

However, this increased political engagement effect has not proven to be consistent across different contexts. Some quantitative cross-national studies in Latin America (Schwindt-Bayer 2011; Zetterberg 2009) and Europe (Bühlmann and Schädel 2012) as well as several country-level studies in Southeast Asia (Choi 2019; Liu 2018), find either no measurable impact or a widening of gender gaps in political participation when more women are elected to national legislatures. In one cross-national study of Asian countries, Liu (2018) finds that more women in the legislature may even deter other women from participating in politics, though the reason for this effect is unclear. Similarly, Clayton (2015) finds no evidence that the increased representation of women at the local level in Lesotho via quotas increases women's political engagement or produces a role model effect for young women. In the Asian region particularly, these dynamics are still not well understood (Liu 2020), indicating that further exploration into

the potential relationship between women's formal political representation and broader political engagement is needed.

Another potential consequence of the feminization of politics is increased trust in political institutions. Arnesen and Peters (2018) have found that increased gender diversity lends more legitimacy to legislative bodies in the eyes of voters. Similarly, there is evidence that women's presence in the politics can improve trust in political institutions due to the belief that women politicians are more trustworthy, honest, and less corrupt (Barnes and Beaulieu 2019; Piazza and Diaz 2020). In a recent analysis of the 2017 Eurobarometer survey Toshkov and Cretti (2023) demonstrate that trust levels are significantly higher for women representatives compared to men throughout the EU. The perceived trustworthiness of women might plausibly transfer to political institutions as well when women are present in high enough numbers.

In addition to the perception that women are less corrupt, which has been demonstrated in diverse contexts including India, Italy, and China (Beaman et al. 2009; Decarolis et al. 2021), there is also some evidence that women leaders actually engage in less corruption as well. In a study of bureaucratic corruption in Italy, for instance, scholars found that women procurement officials were 34 percent less likely than men in equivalent positions to be investigated for corruption (Decarolis et al. 2021). While a recent study in Brazil using outcomes of random government audits and a regression discontinuity approach to compare otherwise similar municipalities found that women mayors were significantly less likely to have engaged in corrupt behavior (Brollo and Troiano 2016). Combined these studies indicate there is good reason to expect that women's increased visible presence in political office may engender greater trust in political institutions by virtue of the perception that women are less corrupt.

A third potential downstream effect of the feminization of politics through women's growing presence in the legislature is an increased regard for women's capabilities as leaders. Social role theory argues that in societies with sex-based divisions of labor, men and women will not only be socialized differently but will also tend to develop different skill sets and personality characteristics (Eagly, Wood, and Diekman 2000). This socialization and sex-based division of labor in turn creates gender stereotypes around what jobs and activities men and women are best suited for. The presence of women in positions of political leadership challenges many of these long-standing gender stereotypes and thus may itself have the potential to change views about women's capabilities and the appropriateness of their role as political leaders. As more women demonstrate their capacity for leadership in a high profile and public way through holding political office, it stands to reason that social perceptions of women's abilities as leaders will also begin to shift over time. Based on these three potential downstream consequences of the feminizing presence of women in politics, I develop the following hypothesis:

> *H1: Women's increased presence in the legislature will contribute to a feminizing effect on politics, increasing levels of women's interest in politics, trust in political institutions, and regard for women as leaders.*

4.2.2 Women's Freedom from Harm

Another potential ripple effect of women's greater political representation is reduced instances of violence and oppression of women. Two separate studies in Brazil using regression discontinuity designs to help isolate the causal effects of women's political leadership on domestic violence rates, found that the election of a woman mayor was attributable to an average reduction in violence against women of more than 50% over a four-year term (Delaporte and Pino 2022; Bochenkova, Buonanno, and Gallettaa 2023). While another study in India, which

takes advantage of state-level variation in the roll out of reserved seats for women in local government, found that "an increase in female representation in local government induces a large and significant rise in documented crimes against women" (Iyer et al. 2012: 165), the authors persuasively argue that this effect is due to increased reporting of gendered violence rather the increased prevalence. The authors use survey evidence to show that women express a greater willingness to report crimes to police where the village council is led by women and separately show that police are more responsive to crimes against women when more women are represented in the local government (Iyer et al. 2012).

In addition to potentially reducing instances of violence against women, it is also possible that the feminizing of politics will increase women's relative status in the private sphere, exerting an empowering or equalizing effect on the gendered dynamics of household decision making, including sexual and reproductive health decisions. Theoretically women's growing presence in politics could contribute to a shift in gender roles in the household as well. When women increasingly take on visible positions of leadership in the public sphere, this might empower women in the private sphere in their roles as decision makers. I understand women's freedom from violence and freedom from subordination to be two primary components of freedom from harm. This leads me to the following hypothesis regarding the relationship between gender diversity and women's freedom from harm:

H2: Women's increased presence in the legislature will coincide with improvements in women's freedom from harm, as measured by decreases in a comprehensive women's harm index.

4.2.3 Re-shaping Gender Relations

Relatedly, I theorize that women's increasingly normalized presence in positions of formal political power, itself a transgressive act that deviates from socially prescribed roles in a patriarchal society (Eagly and Karau 2002; Eagly, Wood, and Diekman 2000), will empower women, including legislators, to challenge traditional gender roles. Building on Molyneux's (1985) conception of "strategic gender interests" and Htun and Weldon's (2010) concept of "gender status policies," I argue that women legislators will be more likely to challenge dominant gender norms in the policies they propose.

Molyneux's (1985) framework distinguishes between two broad categories of women's policy interests, which she calls "practical gender interests" and "strategic gender interests." The first category of practical gender interests revolves around the immediate needs of women by virtue of the social and material conditions that result from a generally subordinated position in the social and economic structure of patriarchal societies characterized by gendered divisions of labor and the unequal share of reproductive/care work (Molyneux 1985). Since women shoulder a disproportionate burden of child rearing and care work activities, policies that support the education and welfare of children, the wellbeing of families and communities, and the provision of state support networks may all be more salient to women and more immediately consequential to their lived experiences. Thus, practical gender interests include policies on children and families, health care, education, social welfare, and the environment (Tam 2017)

Strategic gender interests, on the other hand, focus on the subordinated position of women in society. As Tam (2017), referencing Molyneux's (1985) theory, explains, strategic gender interests "aim to overcome women's subordination by restructuring gender relations and eradicating obstacles to gender equality, such as abolition of the sexual division of labor, the

removal of institutional forms of discrimination, and the introduction of measures against male violence and control over women" (48). These policy areas that directly address women's subordination include women's political and civil rights, reproductive rights, and policies addressing gender-based violence or harassment. They also include policies addressing economic equality such as equal rights to employment and compensation, inheritance and property ownership laws, and freedom from workplace harassment and discrimination. As opposed to Chapter 3, which focused on policy outcomes, this analysis centers on the types of gender status policies that women propose regardless of whether or not they are adopted into legislation. I argue that the very act of introducing legislation that challenges gender norms is potentially transformative. I therefore hypothesize the following:

H3: Women legislators will be significantly more likely to introduce policy initiatives that fundamentally challenge hegemonic gender relations compared to men

4.3 Women's Presence and Changes in Attitudes

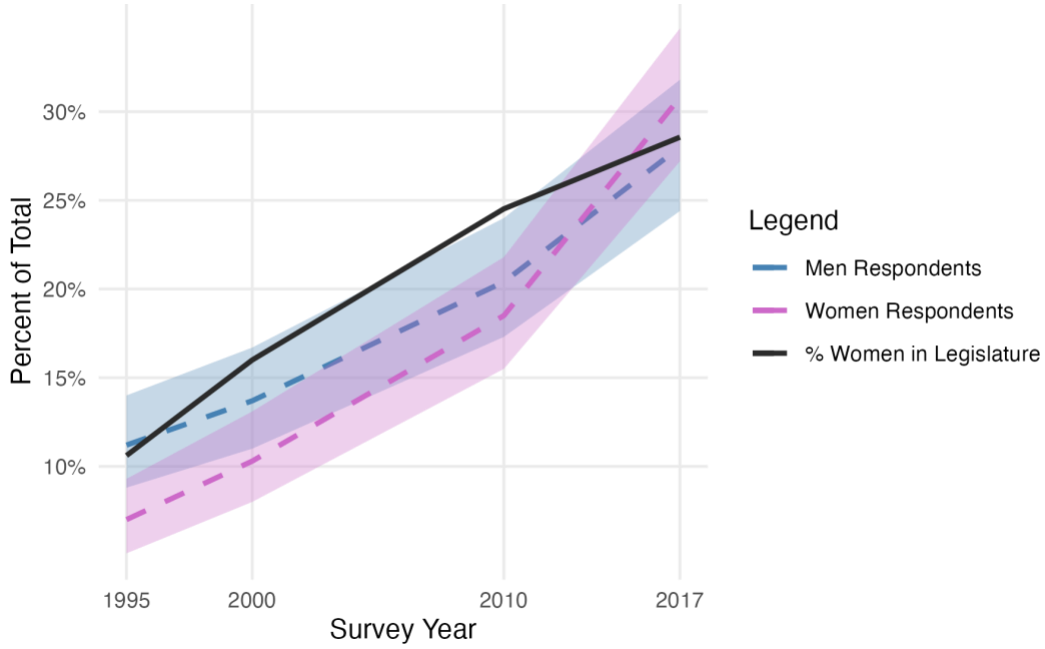
To evaluate whether women's growing presence in the legislature coincides with increases in women's interest in politics, trust in political institutions, and faith in women as political leaders, I employ data from the World Values Survey (WVS). The World Value Survey's network of social scientists and trained enumerators administer a common questionnaire every 5 years through face-to-face interviews in the local language in an effort to get an accurate sense of changing values and norms in each of the 100 countries that participate (Haerpfer et al. 2020). Data on the Philippines is available from four survey waves spanning 1995-2017. Each survey wave included 1200 respondents from a representative sample of the population. The limited number of data points preclude the use of regression analyses, but nevertheless provides a useful

descriptive snapshot of these trends and correlational evidence of the relationship between women's increased presence in the legislature and changes to women's political engagement levels, trust in institutions, and regard for women as leaders. Evidence of positive change in these areas supports the case that women's political engagement and status as leaders in the eyes of voters has improved as more women are represented in congress.

4.3.1 Gender Diversity and Interest in Politics

I begin with the question of whether a positive relationship exists between gender diversity in the legislature and women's interest in politics. I plot the percent of women in the legislature from 1995-2017, alongside the point estimates and 95% confidence intervals of the percent of respondents disaggregated by gender who when asked "How interested would you say you are in politics" responded with "very interested" (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Women in Legislature & Interest in Politics (1995-2017)



Source: Compiled by the author using WVS survey data (Haerpfer et al. 2020)

As this plot shows, the trends in interest levels in politics are consistent with some effect of women's increased presence in the legislature, but due to very limited data it is not clear evidence of a relationship. There is also considerable overlap between men and women's responses, so if women's presence in the legislature does exert an effect on interest levels in politics it would appear to do so uniformly for both men and women. I run a series of Chi-squared tests to determine whether men and women have significantly different proportions in their responses. The largest measured gap in responses, and the only year for which responses for men and women were significantly different ($p = 0.02$) were in 1995 when 11.2% of men expressed being very interested in politics, compared to only 7.0% of women. In all other survey years the difference between men and women's responses were not statistically significant.

I therefore find little evidence of any appreciable gender gap in interest levels in politics and while interest in politics seems to trend alongside women's presence in the legislature it is unclear if this is anything more than a chance correlation. Reverse causality is also plausible. As more women have become interested in politics this could lead to more women running for office and increased electoral support for women if women are more politically engaged. There are also alternative explanations unrelated to women's presence in the legislature that might partially explain these observed trends.

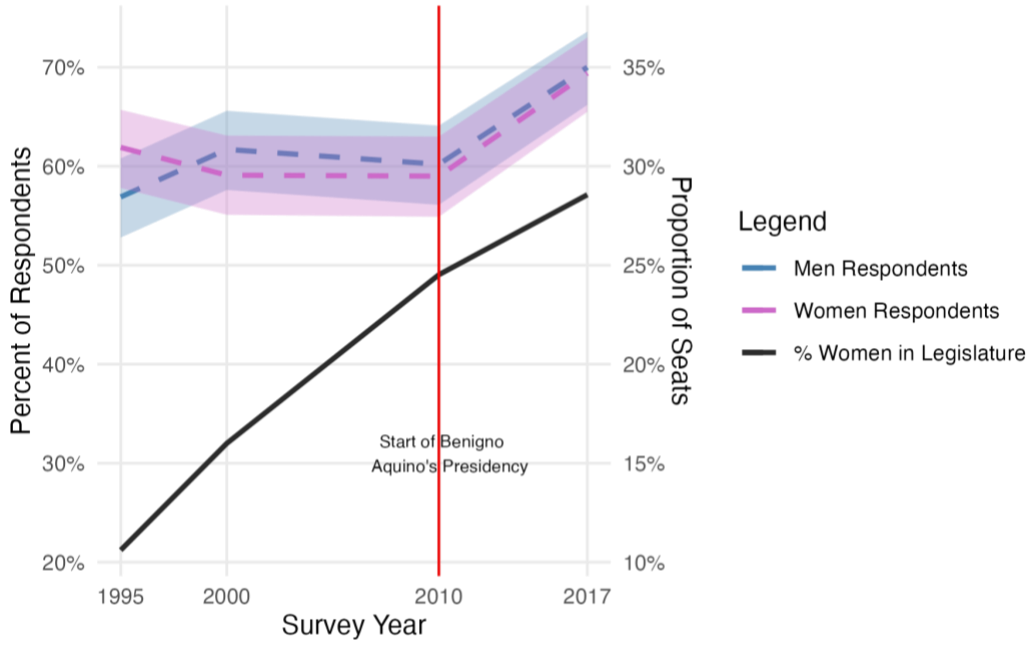
For instance, the high-profile 2016 presidential and vice-presidential elections were likely significant drivers of political engagement for both men and women and may be responsible for the notable rate of increase in interest levels in politics between 2010-2017. Rodrigo Duterte's populist presidential bid in 2016 received international attention, with commentators drawing frequent parallels to Donald Trump due to his bombast, demagogic rhetoric, and overt misogyny including publicly joking about raping women. At the same time, the vice-presidential campaign

of Maria Leonor "Leni" Robredo, became the feminist foil to Duterte's misogyny greatly increasing her popularity in the process among young and liberal voters. The polarizing nature of these candidates and the high-profile nature of this election in general may have exerted activating and energizing effects on both men and women, prompting higher levels of interest in politics generally during this time.

4.3.2 Gender Diversity and Trust in Political Institutions

Next, I examine the correlation between women's growing presence in the legislature and trust in political institutions. The WVS includes dozens of questions about respondents' confidence in local, national, and international institutions (Haerpfer et al. 2020). The question wording is as follows: "I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them." I combine the responses of those who, when asked about their level of confidence in parliament as an institution, responded with "a great deal" or "quite a lot". I plot the percent of women in the legislature from 1995-2017, alongside point estimates and 95% confidence intervals of those respondents disaggregated by gender who expressed a high degree of confidence in parliament (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Women in Legislature & Confidence in Parliament (1995-2017)



Source: Compiled by the author using WVS survey data (Haerpfer et al. 2020)

In this case, there is no hint of even a correlative relationship between women's presence in the legislature and confidence levels in parliament for either men or women in Figure 4.2. There also appears to be little difference in men and women's confidence levels in parliament. As confirmed through a series of Chi-squared tests, there is no significant difference in the proportion of men and women who express a high degree of confidence in the legislature at any point when this data was collected. For both genders, rates of confidence in parliament were generally high and remained fairly steady from 1995 to 2010. After 2010, both men and women's confidence levels increased significantly in near perfect unison, climbing 10%.

A plausible explanation for this increase in confidence unrelated to women's presence in the legislature is that the presidency of Benigno Aquino III had a positive effect on trust in government institutions. Benigno Aquino III ran his presidential campaign on an anti-corruption platform and had the gravitas of his lineage to make his claims to the moral high ground

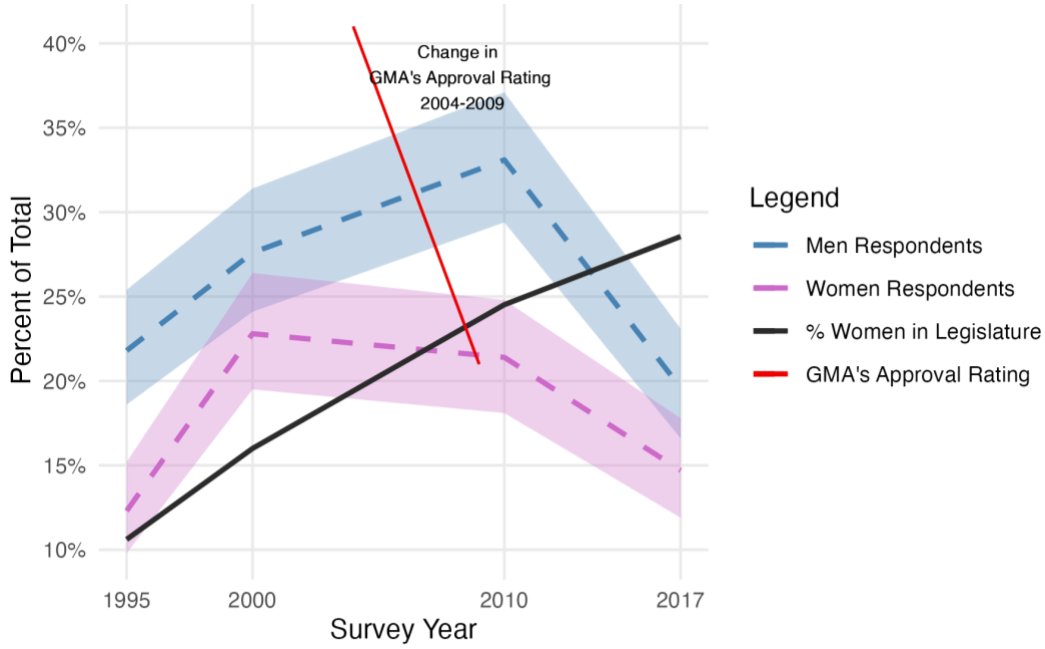
credible[8]. Several highly publicized arrests and prosecutions of high-level officials on corruption charges combined with marked improvements in several widely used measures of corruption solidified the public image that Benigno's regime was the least corrupt in decades and could therefore plausibly account for the increase confidence levels in parliament among both men and women between 2010 and 2017.

4.3.3 Gender Diversity and Regard for Women as Leaders

Next, to evaluate whether a relationship exists between women's increased visible presence in the legislature and regard for women as leaders, I use responses to the statement: "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do." WVS respondents were asked to state how strongly they agree or disagree with the statement. I plot the percent of women in the legislature from 1995-2017, alongside point estimates and 95% confidence intervals of those respondents disaggregated by gender who said they strongly agree with the statement that men make better political leaders (Figure 4.3).

[8] Benigno was the son of Ninoy Aquino Jr., a popular Senator whose return from exile in United States for his staunch criticism of the Marcos regime was punctuated by an assassin's bullet the moment he set foot on the tarmac in Manila. Ninoy's martyrdom turned him into a political hero and catapulted his wife, Corazon Aquino, to the role of figurehead for the anti-Marcos movement, the momentum from which led her to become the nation's first woman president (Alam and Goehrung 2023).

Figure 4.3: Women in Legislature & Regard for Women Leaders (1995-2017)



Source: Compiled by the author using WVS survey data (Haerpfer et al. 2020)

As Figure 4.3 shows, there is no clear relationship between women's presence in the legislature and attitudes toward women's political leadership abilities compared to men's. In contrast to interest levels in politics and confidence in parliament, however, there is a more pronounced difference in responses based on gender. Men consistently agree strongly with the statement that men make better political leaders at a higher rate than women across all time periods for which data is available. A series of Chi-squared tests confirm that these observed differences in the proportion of men and women's response rates are statistically significant for nearly all survey years. The year 2000 was the only year in which the p-value was greater than 0.05, and even then only by a small amount ($p = 0.06$). Averaged across this time period women were 7.9% less likely to strongly agree that men make better political leaders.

In 2010 this gendered difference in attitudes toward women leaders reached its highest level of divergence with nearly a third of all male respondents strongly agreeing that men make

better political leaders, and women being 11.8% less likely to hold the same view. After this peak, biases toward women leaders precipitously declined with just 19.6% of men and 14.7% of women strongly agreeing that men make better political leaders than women in 2017. But given the variability of this measure and the limited number of data points it is impossible to say if this is indicative of downward trend that is likely to persist. Though it is possible that women's presence in the legislature exerts some influence on attitudes toward women's political leadership abilities vis-à-vis men, the limited data here do not clearly support that conclusion.

An alternative explanation is that perceptions of women's leadership abilities were driven by the rapidly falling support for Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (GMA) and the highly publicized allegations of corruption that mired her first full term as president.[9] GMA was held up as the feminine answer to endemic male corruption following the ouster of President Estrada. When she assumed the presidency in 2001, she enjoyed an approval rating of 63% (Pulse Asia, 2001). However, after her controversial decision to run for re-election in 2004 followed by a prolonged and widely covered scandal in which she was accused of rigging the election, her popularity precipitously declined. Corruption allegations persisted throughout the rest of her presidency and between 2004 and 2009, her approval rating plummeted further from 41% to 21%. It is therefore plausible that the disappointing performance and considerable unpopularity of GMA's second term is at least partially responsible for the notable increase in bias against women leaders among men and the limited decline in bias among women from 2000 to 2010.

[9] The 1987 Constitution limits presidents to a single six-year term, however, it implies that if a President serves a partial term that they can still run for and serve a subsequent full term. After President Joseph Estrada was ousted on corruption charges, then vice-president GMA assumed the presidency in 2001. Not without controversy, GMA decided to test this interpretation by running for and ultimately winning the presidency in 2006, making her the longest serving chief executives since Ferdinand Marcos.

An examination of these descriptive trends is informative albeit ultimately inconclusive. While women's reported interest in politics appears positively correlated with women's increased presence in the legislature, which aligns with several other scholars' findings (Campbell and Wolbracht 2006; Reingold and Harrell 2010; Hinojosa and Kittilson 2020; Mechkova and Carlitz 2021), in this case the data is too limited to infer anything other than a correlative relationship. And the fact that there is not a statistically significant difference based on the gender of respondents for most of the survey periods, casts some doubt that women's presence in the legislature is driving the concomitant increase in levels of interest in politics, as theory would suggest the effect should be more pronounced for women than men.

At the same time, there is no evidence that women's presence in the legislature negatively impacts political participation, as Liu (2018; 2020) has observed in other Asian contexts. Though the Philippines may be an outlier in the region as it is one of few countries in Asia with a reverse gender gap in political engagement, at least as far as voter turnout is concerned (Alam and Goehrung 2023). For example, women in the Philippines turned out to vote in higher numbers than men in 20 out of 26 elections between the 1940s and 1970s (Rallonza 2009). And, since 2004, women have consistently turned out at higher levels than men in national elections (Alam and Goehrung 2023). This, again, potentially supports a case of reverse causality wherein women's historically high levels of political engagement could drive women's increased presence in the legislature.

There is also no evident correlation when it comes to confidence in the legislature or attitudes toward women's leadership abilities vis-à-vis men. Only in the case of attitudes toward women leaders was there a clear and consistent difference in gendered response rates, which is interesting but not necessarily surprising. This suggests a persistent bias among men toward

women's political leadership abilities. Though I theorized that attitudes toward women in politics would improve as their presence in leadership positions is normalized, the limited evidence does not clearly support this conclusion. Instead, men's bias toward women leaders increased from 1995 to 2010 despite the consistently growing presence of women in political leadership positions. I speculate that the poor performance of GMA's presidency could be at least partially responsible, effectively confirming and strengthening men's suspicions that women are ill-suited for leadership, but data limitations preclude more definitive conclusions, and more studies are necessary to better identify the mechanisms at play.

4.4 Women's Presence and Freedom from Harms

4.4.1 Data

To address H2, I use a comprehensive women's harm index developed by Karim and Hill (2024) as the dependent variable of interest. The women's harm index combines 28 variables related to women's autonomy in household decision making, women's access to reproductive and maternal healthcare, infant and child mortality rates, as well as freedom from gendered violence. The 28 variables that make up this women's harm index come from the World Bank, United Nations, World Health Organization, Demographic and Health Surveys, and Woman Stats Project. A full list of the variables and sources can be found in Appendix B (Table B1). The index was constructed by Karim and Hill (2024) using Bayesian mixed factor analytic models on the life outcomes associated with women's harm to supply a latent variable scale. The scale ranges from 2 to -2 with more negative values indicating greater freedom from harms.

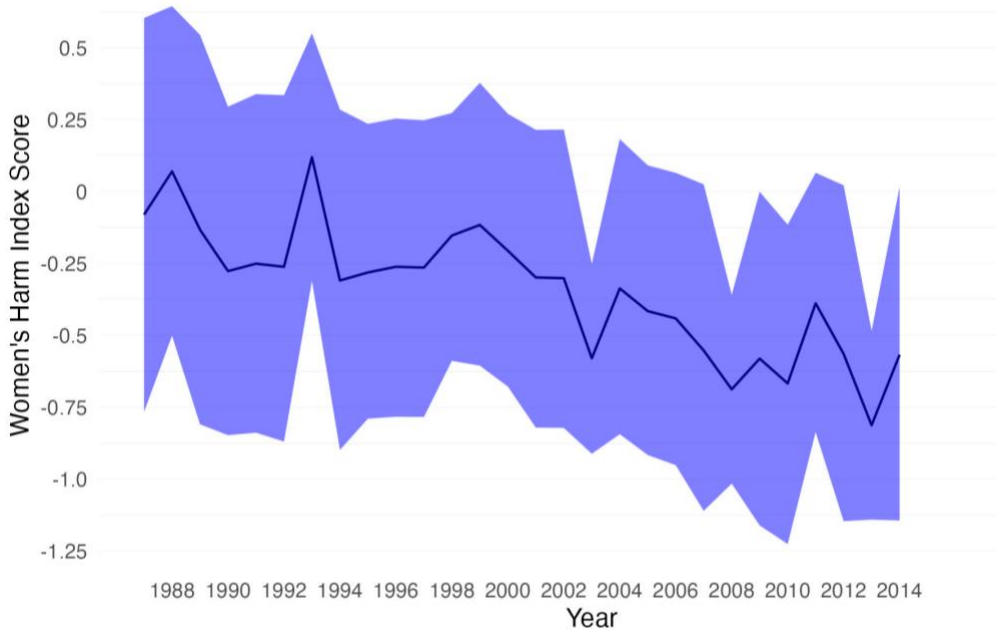
As with the women's rights index, the choice of this dependent variable addresses critiques raised by Mackay (2008) and others (Celis et al. 2008; Catalano 2009), who make the

case that measuring substantive outcomes too often rely on overly narrow conceptions of "women's interests," arbitrarily pre-specified outcomes, or essentializing women as a group. The women's harm index does arguably focus disproportionately on the lives of heterosexual women who choose to marry and bear children, in that 9 of the 28 variables involve women's capacity to give birth, such as infant and child mortality rates, pre- and antenatal care access, and maternal mortality rates. Another 5 of the 28 variables are specific to the conditions of women in marriage, such as the dynamics of household decision making, women's autonomy from their husbands, and freedom from physical or sexual violence at hands of spouses. However, there are also several variables that apply more broadly, regardless of women's marital or childbearing status. For example, measures of life expectancy, access to women's healthcare, freedom from violence, and freedom from male control are incorporated into the women's harm scale, which are relevant to women more broadly regardless of sexuality or marriage. While not perfect, I argue the women's harm index is still an improvement on many prior efforts to measure life outcomes for women in a more narrow or limited capacity.

For the time period of interest (1987-2014[10]), the women's harm index scores range from 0.12 to -0.81. Figure 4.4 plots the index score with confidence intervals for each year's estimate.

[10] The women's harm index is calculated only through 2014 for all countries. In correspondence via email the authors confirmed that the data sources they used to calculate the harm index stopped being collected in 2014. Thus the index does not currently continue past this point.

Figure 4.4: Women's Harm Index Score for the Philippines (1987-2014)



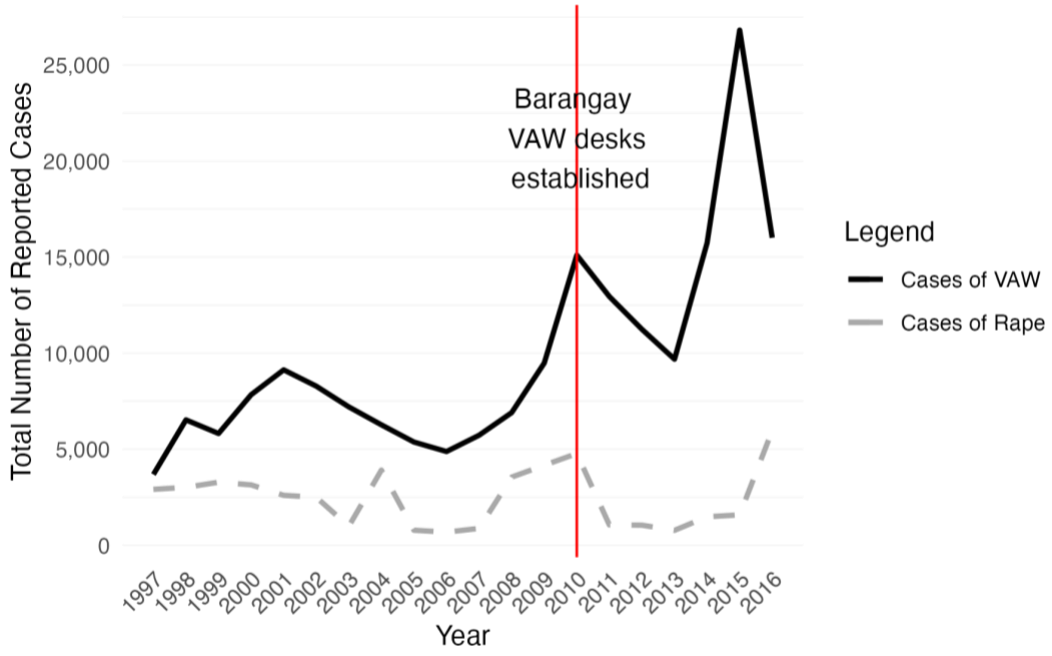
Source: Compiled by the author using Women's Harm Index data supplied by Karim and Hill (2024)

There is clearly a general downward trend to the harm index during this period, which indicates that the social status and security of women, as measured by freedom from harm, is improving over time. However, the improvements are not monotonic and there appear to be some notable instances of regression (i.e. sudden increases in the harm score index). But given how wide the confidence intervals are relative to the trend, the instances of regression could be less dramatic than they appear. Moreover, one of the largest increases to the harm index, in 2011, is likely driven by an uptick in reports of violence against women due to improvements in reporting infrastructure and is not necessarily indicative of increased instances of VAW, but the harm index would not differentiate between the two.

In 2010 the Philippines Commission on Women issued guideline requiring that every barangay (the smallest administrative unit similar to a township or "village") establish a VAW

desk (IRIN 2012). By the end of 2011, 66% of barangays had already complied with this order. The establishment of these barangay-level VAW desks greatly increased the opportunities for reporting instances of VAW and coincided with a significant increase in reports of VAW and rape as recorded by the Philippines National Police (PNP). Iyer et al. (2012) find that improvements to reporting infrastructure and processes greatly increased reports of VAW in India but were not indicative of actual increases in instances of VAW. Though I cannot definitively say that instances of VAW did not also increase in 2010, plotting PNP data on reports of VAW from 1997 to 2016, suggest a similar trend in the Philippines to that found by Iyer et al. (2012) in India. Figure 4.5 below demonstrates just how dramatic the increase in VAW reports were after the barangay level VAW desks were established in a majority of communities.

Figure 4.5: Trends in Total Reported Cases of VAW and Rape (1997-2016)



Source: Compiled by the author using Women's Harm Index data supplied by Karim and Hill (2024)

The considerable increase in reported cases of VAW in 2010 as shown in Figure 4.5 is likely responsible for the sudden increase in the women's harm index score in 2011. Because the women's harm index incorporates four measures of violence against women, including rape, marital rape, murders of women, and the proportion of women subjected to violence in the past year, it is likely that the sudden increase in reports of VAW and rape in 2010 caused the harm index to go up. Though I could not find reliable data on rates of VAW before 1997, it is possible that a rise in violent crimes is responsible for the 1993 increase in the harm index as well. Crime rates in the Philippines in 1992 and 1993 were notoriously bad, including VAW, rape, and murder. It was a significant enough issue that one of Fidel V. Ramos' 1992 presidential campaign pillars was re-instatement of the death penalty as a remedy to rising crime rates. After his victory, he made good on the promise by re-establishing the death penalty in 1993, which had been banned under the 1987 Constitution. So, it is plausible that an actual uptick in crime, including VAW, rape, and murder in 1992 and 1993 drove the earlier increase in the harm index as well.

4.4.2 Methods

I again construct a time series dataset covering 28 years (1987-2014) that includes annual values of the women's harm index as the dependent variable and the precent of seats in parliament held by women as the independent variable. I model the first difference in the women's harm index as a function of the lagged count of women in the legislature as well as a set of controls for modernization and the presence of a woman chief executive. Because there is certainly a time delay between women's increased presence in the legislature and changes to the harm index, but no clear theory to guide how long this delay might be, I include lags of 1-4 years and present results for each. I estimate the model using Weighted Least Squares (WLS)

regression to account for uncertainty in the dependent variable, which is an estimate from a Bayesian factor analysis.

Importantly, with time series data like this an observed correlation between women's increase presence in the legislature and the harm index score might be due to a common unmeasured trend. In addition, given the nature of these variables, their past values largely determine their future values, which violates the IID assumption of regression modelling. I therefore use a differenced model as my baseline, which transforms a potentially non-stationary time series into a stationary one by subtracting the previous observation from the current observation. This approach helps to avoid false positives due to spurious correlations and coincidental co-movement driven by a common unmeasured trend. However, it also creates a very high threshold for detecting significant short-term effects of changes in the independent variable on the dependent. The results of the baseline model are shown below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: WLS Regression of Women's Harm Index on Women's Presence in Legislature, in Differences with 1-4 Year Lags

	Dependent variable:			
	Change in Harm Index Score			
Delta % Women t-1	0.013			
	(0.019)			
Delta % Women t-2		-0.025		
		(0.020)		
Delta % Women t-3			0.009	
			(0.027)	
Delta % Women t-4				0.016
				(0.022)
Change in Labor Force Participation t-1	-0.019	-0.012	-0.018	-0.026
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Woman President	-0.096	-0.065	-0.078	-0.071
	(0.074)	(0.076)	(0.081)	(0.083)
Constant	0.002	0.020	0.005	0.003
	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.058)	(0.057)
AIC	-5.21	-5.7	-2.97	-2.47
Observations	26	25	24	23
R^2	0.140	0.176	0.117	0.140
Adjusted R^2	0.023	0.058	-0.015	0.004
Residual Std. Error	0.764 (df = 22)	0.760 (df = 21)	0.802 (df = 20)	0.811 (df = 19)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Counter to expectations, this analysis does not find any statistically significant relationship between women's increased presence in the legislature and improvements to the women's harm index. I perform a number of robustness checks with alternative model specifications to ensure the validity of these results. First, I run the same model as above using changes in GDP per capita as proxy for modernization instead of women's labor force

participation, but still find no discernible relationship. The results of this robustness check can be found in Appendix B (Table B2). Second, I run a modified version of the baseline model with the harm index score for 2011 omitted, in case the uptick in the women's harm index due to greatly increased reports of VAW in 2010 biased the overall results. Here too, I still find no discernible relationship. The results of this robustness check can also be found in Appendix B (Table B3).

As an additional test, I estimate a model in levels without taking the differences. I account for serial correlation by using an Autoregressive (AR) model of order 1, which directly estimates the dependence of the present level of the women's harm index on its prior value. This approach allows me to incorporate an additional control for global norm diffusion (Finnemore and Sikkink 2005; Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006). I use the women's harm index score for the United States as a proxy for norm diffusion. Because I expect norm diffusion to be a more gradual process and thus less detectable as a response to short-run changes, an AR(1) model in levels is a better choice. The results of this analysis are shown below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: AR(1) Model of Women's Harm on Women's Presence in Legislature, in Levels with a Proxy for Global Norm Diffusion

	Dependent variable:
	Women's Harm Index
AR1	-0.335
	(0.222)
Intercept	-0.723
	(0.764)
% Women t-1	-0.033***
	(0.005)
Women's Labor Force Participation t-1	0.017
	(0.014)
US Women's Harm Index t-1	-0.052
	(0.366)
Woman President	-0.030
	(0.043)
RMSE	0.13
Observations	27
Log Likelihood	17.456
$sigma^2$	0.016
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-20.912
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

4.4.3 Findings

In contrast to the baseline model, the AR(1) model in levels with a control for global norm diffusion indicates a statistically significant negative relationship between women's presence in the legislature lagged by 1 year and the women's harm index. Because the AR(1) model accounts for the influence of past values on present values, these results suggest that a genuine correlation exists between women's presence in the legislature and the women's harm index. Moreover, because none of the other covariates exert any statistically significant influence on the DV, it indicates that the correlation is not a spurious result of modernization, as measured

by women's labor force participation, global norm diffusion, as measured by the US score on the women's harm index, or due to the top-down influence of a woman president.

While this does not entirely rule out the possibility that other unmeasured variables are driving the concurrent trends, it is clear that as the percent of women in the legislature increased the women's harm index decreased during this time in a genuinely correlative manner, which was not driven by any of the controls in this model. The autoregressive coefficient (AR1 = -0.335) indicates only a weak negative correlation between consecutive observations. However, comparing the estimated variance of the error term (0.016) to the standard deviation (0.22) indicates that the model fits the data reasonably well and explains around 40% of the variation in the women's harm index over this time period. The results of the AR(1) model, therefore, provide suggestive but not definitive evidence of a correlative relationship, but does rule out the control variables as drivers of the relationship.

That said, the results are not particularly robust, especially given the conflicting findings from the differenced model. The differenced model and its associated robustness checks provide no support for rejecting the null hypothesis; however, the differenced model is a much more demanding test. The AR(1) model is less exacting and more vulnerable to spurious correlations due to omitted variables, but it effectively rules out spurious correlation due to the controls included in the model and provides weak support that women's presence in the legislature is associated with reductions in the women's harm index. An enormous number of factors contribute to women's freedom from harm and while I find evidence that the percent of women in the legislature is likely one of those factors, cutting through the noise will always be a considerable empirical challenge and it may not be possible to show robustness with such a limited number of observations. These models set a high threshold for detecting statistical

significance and while there is weak evidence of a relationship, it is not enough to confidently say that the increasing presence of women in the legislature is a definitive driver of changes to the harm index.

4.5 Women's Presence and Challenging Gender Norms

4.5.1 Data and Methods

To address H3, I employ the original data set described in Chapter 3, which includes the entire universe of gender-relevant legislation introduced in the Philippines House of Representatives from 1992 to 2019. After collecting and initially coding the data as discussed in Chapter 3, I then draw on Molyneux's (1985) conception of strategic gender interests and incorporate the notion of gender status policies developed by Htun and Weldon (2010) to classify legislation based on whether it challenges dominant gender norms.

Htun and Weldon (2010) argue that one useful framework for categorizing gender-relevant legislation are those that meet the criteria of gender status policies, meaning policies that challenge the subordinated status of women. As they explain, gender status policies "attack those practices and values that constitute women as a subordinate group and prevent them from participating as peers in political and social life" (Htun and Weldon 2010: 209). Such status policies fundamentally challenge dominant gender norms, which "privilege men and the masculine, a sexual division of labor that devalues women and the feminine, and the institutionalization of normative heterosexuality" (Htun and Weldon 2010: 208). The basic premise then, is that status policies fundamentally challenge the dominant gender norms that maintain or contribute to women's subordination under patriarchy.

In order to add specificity and transform this notion into a more concrete coding scheme, I combine Htun and Weldon's (2010) concept of status policies with Molyneux's (1985) theory of strategic gender interests. Molyneux's (1985) articulation of strategic gender interests provides several more concrete indicators useful for classifiying policies and is worth quoting at length.

> Strategic gender interests are derived deductively, that is, from an analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist. These ethical and theoretical criteria assist in the formulation of strategic objectives to overcome women's subordination, such as the abolition of the sexual division of labor, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare, the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination, the attainment of political equality, the establishment of freedom of choice over childbearing, the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women (Molyneux 1985: 232-3).

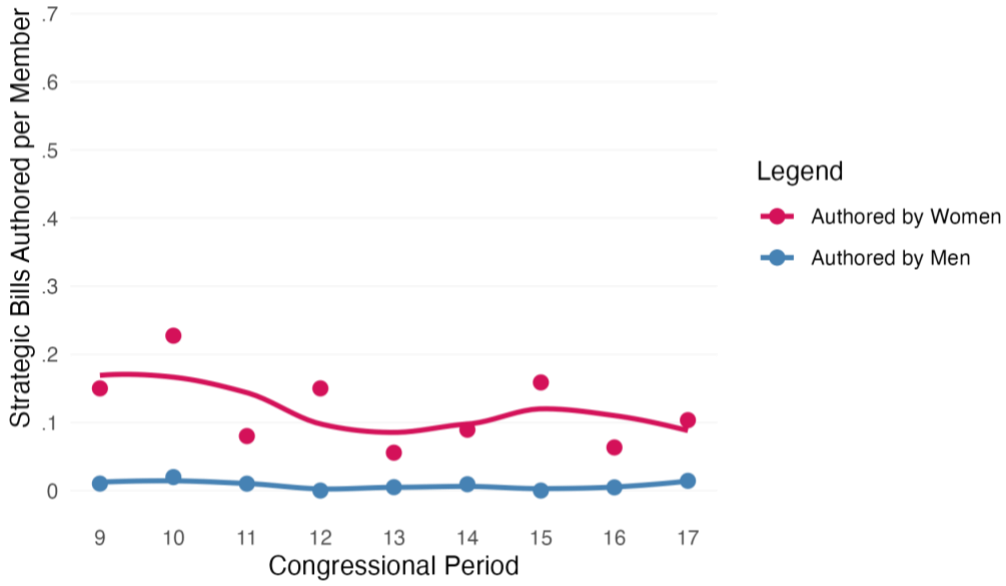
I therefore, understand policies to challenge dominant gender norms if they meet any of the following criteria: 1) advance women's political equality and inclusion; 2) reduce gender-based discrimination and remove barriers to equal employment/pay; 3) empower women as equal decision makers and rights holders in marital relations or otherwise challenge traditional heteronormative conceptions of marriage; 4) implement protections from violence in public or private places with clear enforcement mechanisms; 5) increase women's rights to abortions and contraceptives or otherwise empower women and girls in their reproductive choices.

Applying this framework, I categorize each piece of gender-relevant legislation in my data set on a binary scale, coding a 1 for those that challenge dominant norms (strategic legislation) and a 0 for those that do not, and are therefore considered practical gender legislation. By this metric, 62 pieces of proposed legislation (about 18% of the total) fit the criteria of fundamentally challenging gender norms. This aligns with Molyneux's (1985) conception in that she argued a majority of legislation on women could be categorized as

"practical gender interests" and only a minority of policies would fit the criteria of gender status policies.

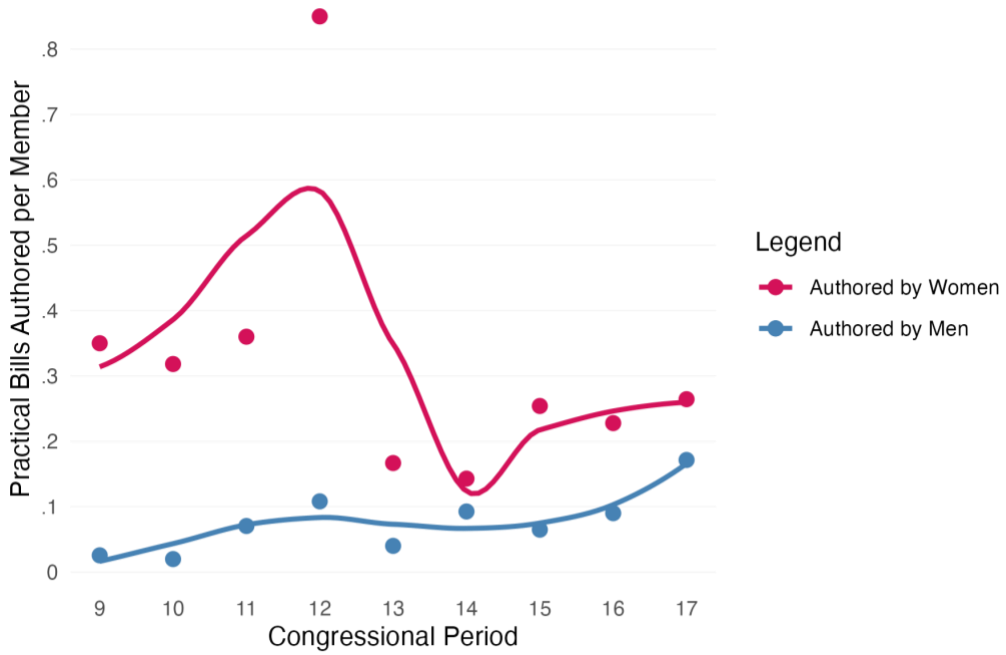
After coding each piece of gender-relevant legislation as meeting the criteria of a status policy or not, I then compute for each congressional session and bill type (strategic or practical) the average number of bill types introduced by men and women in each session divided by the total number of men and women legislators in each congress. This provides the relative rates at which women author strategic (or practical) gender legislation compared to men. The primary theoretical expectation is that women will consistently author strategic gender legislation at a higher rate than men. Secondarily, while I expect women to author a majority of gender relevant legislation in both cases, I expect men will only rarely author strategic gender legislation and a majority of gender relevant legislation authored by men will be practical gender legislation. I plot the results below showing the rates of authorship by gender for strategic gender legislation (Figure 4.6) and practical gender legislation (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.6: Rate of Strategic Gender Legislation Authorship by Sex (1992-2019)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

Figure 4.7: Rate of Practical Gender Legislation Authorship by Sex (1992-2019)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 4.6 demonstrates, women were consistently more likely to introduce strategic gender legislation compared to men. Men's rate of introducing strategic gender legislation is very low throughout the study period and exhibits little variation. Proportion of all men in the legislature who primarily authored strategic gender legislation ranged from a low of 0 in the 12th and 15th Congresses to a high of 0.02 in the 10th Congress. The average rate at which men authored strategic gender legislation was 0.008 with a median rate of 0.009. Thus, the overall rate for men was low throughout all Congress periods observe, never exceeding 0.02. In contrast, the rates of strategic gender legislation authorship for women were consistently much higher and slightly more variable. The rate at which all women in the legislature introduced strategic gender legislation ranged from a low of 0.06 in the 16th Congress to a high of 0.23 in the 10th Congress. The average rate at which women authored strategic legislation was 0.12 with a median rate of

0.11. On the whole, this means that women authored strategic legislation at 15 times the rate of men on average.

Similarly, Figure 4.7 shows that while women are consistently more likely to introduce practical gender legislation, their rates of authorship are much more variable. Though men still author practical gender legislation at a lower rate than women, they are much more likely to introduce practical gender legislation compared to strategic gender legislation. The average rate at which men introduced practical gender legislation was 0.08 with a median of 0.07. Meaning men were ten times more likely to introduce practical gender legislation than strategic gender legislation. There was a general trend upward in the rate of practical gender legislation for men and the range covered 0.02 in the 10th Congress to 0.2 in the 17th Congress. The range for women's authorship rates of practical gender legislation was much more variable fluctuating with no clear temporal trend from a low of 0.14 in the 14th Congress to 0.85 in the 12th Congress. The average rate of practical gender legislation authorship among women was 0.3, with the same median value. While there was more variation over time, the average gap between men and women's authorship rates of practical gender legislation was therefore much smaller, with women being 3.5 time more likely to author practical gender legislation (as opposed to 15 times more likely to author strategic legislation). These findings thus support the hypothesis that women will be much more likely to author legislation that challenges dominant gender norms compared to men.

4.6 Conclusion

Though a majority of studies on the effects of gender diversity in legislatures focus on the substantive policy impacts, this chapter takes a more expansive look at the potential

consequences of women's political representation. Taking seriously the possibility that, by nature of being a minority in the legislature, women's ability to pass gender-relevant policies may be impeded by men (Chiva 2018; Valdini 2019), I examine the more diffuse population-level impacts of increased gender diversity in the legislature, including encouraging women's political engagement, improving the standing of women in society, reducing vulnerabilities to harm, and challenging dominant gender roles.

On the whole, I find mixed evidence in support of the hypotheses that the growing presence of women in the legislature has these spillover effects. While there is correlative evidence that gender diversity in the legislature might encourage women's interest in politics, other domestic political factors, like the energizing effects of an especially polarizing president, could plausibly be responsible for the observed trend. I am similarly unable to isolate the reasons for increased confidence in parliament or the changes in beliefs about women's capabilities as leaders compared to men. While confidence in parliament was ultimately at its highest observed level when more women were in the legislature, and belief that men make better political leaders than women was lowest for men when more women were in legislature, these trends were not monotonic and not clearly correlated with women's growing presence in the legislature. At best it is suggestive of the possibility that when women achieve an appreciable presence in the legislature, it might exert some positive influence on trust in institutions and regard for women leaders, but these trends could equally be driven by changes in the executive branch. The suppositions that gender diversity in the legislative branch positively contributes to women's political engagement, trust in parliamentary institutions, and shifts in beliefs about women's capabilities as political leaders all have support in the literature, and this study arguably lends

some circumstantial support to existing theories of a role model effect, but the data is too limited and the correlations too weak to make any definitive conclusions in this regard.

Similarly, using a comprehensive index on women's harm, I find mixed support for the hypothesis that gender diversity in the legislature improves outcomes for women in terms of freedom from violence and male control in the domestic sphere. It may be true that women's lives improve along some of these dimensions as a direct or indirect result of women being more represented in politics, but that the effects are weak or too diffuse to rise to the level of statistical significance in these models. It might also be the case that these downstream effects, if present, will take much longer to manifest than could be observed in this relatively short study period. Some scholars have also found evidence of backlash effects against women entering high profile positions of power, which could lead to increased instances of violence towards women and a retrenchment of traditional gender norms, both of which would undermine the relationship I hypothesized (Graff, Kapur, and Walters 2019; Krook and Sanín 2020).

With an original data set on gender-relevant legislation proposed between 1992 and 2019, I also find support for the hypothesis that women are significantly more likely than men to author legislation that is transformative in nature and challenges existing gender norms. Though both men and women authored some legislation challenging dominant gender roles, women were 15 times more likely on average to introduce such legislation. This finding lends powerful support to the notion that gender diversity in the legislature contributes to a more diverse and potentially more transformative policy agenda.

In the next chapter I focus on the parliament pathway to explore the ways that women's increased presence in the legislature affects institutional norms and procedures. Specifically, I consider the gendered nature of congressional committee assignments and how the norms and

procedures for making assignments might limit women's efficacy as policy makers in the legislature. I employ an original data set created through the content analysis of Privilege Speeches delivered in the 13th-16th Congresses to determine the policy topics that women focus on in their speeches, which I argue provides a window into their true policy priorities not mediated by gendered rules and norms.

Chapter 5. The Parliament Pathway: Institutional Outcomes of Increased Gender Diversity

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on what I call the Parliament Pathway. It investigates the dynamics of women's representation within the legislature as an institution. While the previous chapters have examined the ways that women's presence in the legislature might shape outcomes in policy or on the status of women more broadly, this chapter assumes a more bi-directional relationship, wherein women might influence and be influenced by the legislative institution itself. I consider how changes to the gendered makeup of the legislature might influence the dynamics of the institution, and take seriously the possibility that, as a highly gendered institution, legislative norms and procedures might disproportionately constrain or marginalize women. I also explore several pathways through which women might express their priorities and preferences even under institutional constraints that may hinder women's ability to operate as equals within the legislature.

This chapter is organized as follows. Drawing on the feminist institutionalism literature, I review the reasons we might expect historically male-dominated institutions like legislatures to (re)produce gendered rules, norms, and procedures, which might in practice disadvantage women who are entering these institutions as minority members. I then build on Erikson and Josefsson's (2022) "Gendered Workplace Approach" to studying legislatures to review gendered patterns of congressional committee assignments as a specific example of how institutional processes may follow gendered patterns in the division of labor. I offer descriptive statistics of these patterns of congressional committee assignments and compare them to findings from other contexts. I then turn to a novel analysis of privilege speeches drawn from congressional transcripts covering the

13th to 16th Congresses (2004-2016). I evaluate both gendered patterns in the use of privilege speeches as a form of political behavior and in the topics that they cover, which I argue provides a window into the genuine policy interests of those who deliver privilege speeches.

5.2 Legislatures as Gendered Institutions

Douglass North (1991: 97) famously defined institutions as "humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic, and social interactions," which "consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights)." Building upon these central insights that institutions shape and constrain behavior and are upheld and re-produced through informal social processes and interactions (e.g. March and Olson 1989), a relatively new thread of scholarship has begun to explore the extent to which institutions are gendered in their design, modes of reproduction, and consequences. This feminist institutionalism contends that the "rules of the game" (Krook and Mackay 2011: 1) that shape and constrain behavior are not gender-neutral (Childs and Webb 2012). Rather, norms, traditions, rules, and procedures can be, and often are, highly gendered in their design, implementation, and effects. Institutions traditionally dominated by men, like legislatures, will tend to re-create the practices and norms that uphold and enact masculinity, which may in turn disadvantage women who are entering this space and obstruct their ability to engage as effectively in political work (Lovenduski 2005).

For instance, norms around working conditions and even ostensibly gender-neutral procedures might in practice disadvantage women more often than men. The long hours, late nights, and frequent travel required of legislators means the conditions of work are typically only feasible if they have no young children or can outsource care work obligations to paid labor or

unpaid (and usually female) spouses or relatives (McKay 2007, 2011; Thomas and Bittner 2017; Teele, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018). Because deeply entrenched sex-based divisions of labor mean that the majority of housework and care work still falls up women, these norms around working conditions are likely to disproportionately disadvantage women. As evidence of this, Joshi and Goehrung (2021) find persistent gaps in the marital and child status of legislators across 25 diverse parliaments with women legislators being significantly more likely to be unmarried and without children, which they argue is because deeply entrenched gendered divisions of household labor place a disproportionate burden on women making them less able to feasibly pursue careers in politics while also being married or having children.

Similarly, parliamentary procedures could disadvantage women more often than men in multiple ways. For instance, policymaking requires coalition building, which necessitates working with other legislators and building social networks. The lingering effects of women's historical exclusion from the legislature has long-run effects in this regard. Even as women gain an appreciable share of seats it may take decades for them to reach parity in seniority and to develop the types of robust networks that may be necessary for effective policy making (O'Brien 2015; Barnes and Holman 2020). In addition, social psychologists have found that individuals tend to have higher trust in members of their own sex and tend to believe they can better predict the behavior of members of their own sex more reliably (Bjarnegård 2013). This "homosocial capital" benefits men in male dominated spaces and disadvantages women who will have a harder time building the same level of trust when a majority of their colleagues are of the opposite sex (Bjarnegård 2013).

As another example, the type of behaviors required to engage in floor debates are often socially coded as traditionally male traits. To be recognized on the floor, legislators must "catch

the eye" of the speaker by asserting themselves (physically, verbally, or both) in what might be a heated debate with much competition for speaking time (Wang 2014: 369). According to gender role theory, the internalization of behavioral expectations through socialization based on biological sex means that in general women may be less prone to assert themselves in such a situation (Eagly and Karau 2002; Hargrave and Langengen 2021). Asserting oneself into a debate requires a certain sense of status, a belief that the speaker is entitled to take the floor and take up time at the expense of others who want to participate (Fiske 2010). When women are both a numerical minority and still largely regarded as outsiders in political institutions, they are likely to perceive themselves as being lower in status and may therefore be less inclined to contribute to debates (Puwar 2004; Karpowitz, Mendelberg, and Shaker 2012). This is substantiated by studies of congressional speech data in several Western European contexts, which have found that women tend to speak less in legislative debates and give fewer floor speeches (Bäck, Debus, and Müller 2014; Bäck and Debus 2019).

While only a limited number of studies have explored the gendered dynamics of parliamentary debates in non-Western contexts, those that do have cast some doubt on the primacy and universality of social role theory as a determinant of speech making behavior. For instance, in a study on gendered dynamics of speech making in the Ugandan parliament, Wang (2014: 374) concludes that "Female and male MPs do not display significantly different speech trajectories on the floor of the House, defying expectations based on social role theory." Though Wang (2014) also finds that women in leadership positions are the most likely to speak, which suggests that positionality within the institution matters, perhaps imbuing women with a sense that they have more right to speak on the floor, compared to those without the benefit of a leadership role to bolster their position. The conflicting findings on gender and speech making

depending on context also imply that institutional norms and rules may matter a great deal in this regard.

The combined insights that institutional norms and rules shape and constrain behavior, that institutions are not gender-neutral, and that a long history of male domination in politics means that legislatures have been primarily designed by and for men of the dominant social class, indicates that scholars should take seriously the possibility that legislative institutions themselves are likely to disadvantage women, or indeed any group not of the historically dominant social. A number of empirical studies have indeed found evidence that women legislators and their efficacy as policy makers are negatively impacted by gendered norms and practices of the legislative institutions in which they operate (Swers 2005; Crawford and Pini 2011; Wängnerud 2015; Rai and Spary 2019).

Puwar (2004) uses the term "space invaders" in reference to women entering male dominated institutions, intentionally underscoring the notion that women's very presence in these historically male-dominated spaces is anomalous. The mere existence of female bodies in highly gendered spaces, Puwar (2004) argues, is a deviation from the norm, which visibly marks them as outsiders diminishing their power in such spaces, and potentially encouraging a backlash from men who may view their presence as a threat to the status quo. Thus, women as visible minorities are likely to draw more scrutiny and must prove their competencies and conform to masculinized expectations of behavior in these spaces or face social, reputational, or professional sanctions (Kenny 2013; Verge and de la Fuente 2014; Kantola and Rolandsen Agustín 2019). In the Philippines particularly, interviews with women legislators found that they regularly face sexism in the form of "jokes," "compliments," and patronizing attitudes from male colleagues ranging in severity from microaggressions to "outright misogyny" (Encinas-Franco 2023: 150).

Given this differential treatment within the legislative institution and the constant reminders of their status as (often unwelcome) outsiders and a minority, therefore, it is difficult to accurately assess the efficacy of women legislators without understanding the context in which they operate and the potentially marginalizing or constraining effects a highly gendered institution might exert. Extending the feminist institutionalist framework and building on Ackers (1990) theory of gendered organizations, Erikson and Josefsson (2022) have recently advocated for a "Gendered Workplace Approach" to studying the gendered nature of parliaments, which they argue "addresses the potentially gendered character of both formal and informal institutions that regulate the inner workings of parliament" (20) in order to better understand how legislators of different sexes are advantaged or disadvantaged by the rules and norms of the parliamentary workplace. One of the five dimensions they propose as key for the study and understanding of parliaments as gendered workplaces is the gendered nature of "tasks and assignments" (Erikson and Josefsson 2022). Given that many important functions of Congress are conducted primarily in the context of specialized subdivisions, such as legislative committees, understanding the rules, norms, and practices that regulate these assignments is crucial to understanding gendered divisions of labor and thereby gendered distributions of power and influence within the legislature.

5.3 The Gendered Nature of Congressional Committee Assignments

Committees are major drivers of legislative activity, with considerable power to shape the policy agenda and to act as gatekeepers by determining which bills proceed to the House for deliberation and debate. Each committee is a microcosm of the legislative process. Committees are where bills are often first drafted, debated, and deliberated upon before being introduced to

the full Congress. As the Philippines House of Representatives' Rules state: "committees shall study, deliberate on and act upon all measures referred to them inclusive of bills, resolutions and petitions, and shall recommend for approval or adoption by the House those that, in their judgement, advance the interests and promote the welfare of the people" (HREP 2023: 22-3). Committees have a considerable degree of power to modify, support, or kill legislation that passes through them, and thus exercise considerable discretion in the legislative process.

Though women's roles on committees is an understudied area of the gender and representation literature (Baekgaard and Kjaer 2012; Joshi and Goehrung 2018), they are an important source of power within legislative institutions (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005). A consistent finding in the literature on women and congressional committees, is that committee assignments, in nearly every context studied thus far, follow similar patterns of women's over- or under- representation on certain types of committees based on the policy areas over which they preside (Swers 2002; Rodriguez 2003; Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Payson, Fouirnaies, and Hall 2023).

These gendered patterns of committee assignments may be driven by implicit biases that associate some committee topics with women or "women's issues" and others with men or "men's issues" (Rodriguez 2003; Josefina and Jossefson 2022). Similar patterns of gender segregation on committees have been documented in diverse contexts, including Latin America, Australia, and Sweden (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Crawford and Pini 2010; Wängnerud 2015, respectively). For example, women are consistently under-represented on finance and national defense committees, while being over-represented relative to their number in congress on committees related to gender, health, and social welfare (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2009; Blumenau 2021)

Josefina and Josefsson (2022) theorize that, tasks and assignments, including committee assignments may be "gender marked," meaning they are implicitly viewed as being coded masculine or feminine. This coding of committee assignments is the result of associational biases predicated on gender stereotypes, which may themselves stem from the sex-based division of labor in the private sphere (Acker 1990). As Payson, Fouirnaies, and Hall (2023: 196) explain: "women may be assigned to women's issues committees because of explicit stereotypes, or because of implicit biases, or because of self-censoring, or for any combination of these reasons and others."

However, scholars have been unable to determine to what extent these patterns are a result of self-selection reflecting policy areas that women legislators genuinely have a greater interest or are otherwise motivated to join, or if these trends are primarily driven by gender biases among those in charge of determining committee assignments. Though Payson, Fouirnaies, and Hall (2023) find using a difference-in-difference design that district-level characteristics can explain about half of the variation in the gendered nature of committee assignments, the authors could not account for "the dramatic over-representation of women on health and education committees" concluding that "institutional processes are playing a substantial role in channeling women onto certain types of committees" (196).

5.3.1 Committee Assignments in the Philippines Legislature

While Majority or Minority status is typically tied to political parties, the Philippines is unique in that any member, regardless of party affiliation, can be part of the Majority or Minority. The Majority Leader of the House of Representatives is elected by popular vote of all House Members. Membership in the House Majority or Minority is determined by the

speakership vote. Those who vote in favor of the Member who ultimately becomes speaker, then become members of the Majority coalition, while those who cast votes for someone other than the elected Speakers become members of the Minority. Members can switch from the Minority to the Majority and vice versa by submitting a written request to transfer allegiances and receiving approval from the Majority or Minority leader, respectively. As described in Chapter 2, the weakness of political parties means they have little ability to direct their members votes, which means Majority and Minority coalitions often do not fall along party lines and some members of the same party may be in the Majority, while others are in the Minority.

The Commission on Appointments is composed of twelve Members, chosen on the basis of proportional representation of the political parties and the organizations registered under the party-list system and inclusive of both Majority and Minority members. The Commission on Appointments then nominates committee members, which are then affirmed in plenary session. The Rules of the House specify that "as far as practicable, each region shall be represented in every committee" (Rules of the House 2022: 39); however, there are no provisions, recommendations, or even mention of gender as a factor that should be considered for committee assignments.

Standing Committees range in size from 20-100 members depending on the anticipated size of their workload. For each committee there is a single Chair. And no member of the House can chair more than one committee. While there are no explicit rules on the number of non-chair committee positions members can hold concurrently, there are practical limitations on how many committee appointments a single member can hold. "Every Member of a committee shall be present in all the committee meetings and public hearings unless prevented from doing so by sickness and other unavoidable circumstances" (HREP 2023: 43). In the 19th Congress there

were 80 total committees, including standing and special committees. Legislators' portfolios ranged from 1-22 standing committee assignments, with an interquartile range (IQR) of 12 and a standard deviation of 4.8. The average was 10.9 assignments per member and the median was 10.

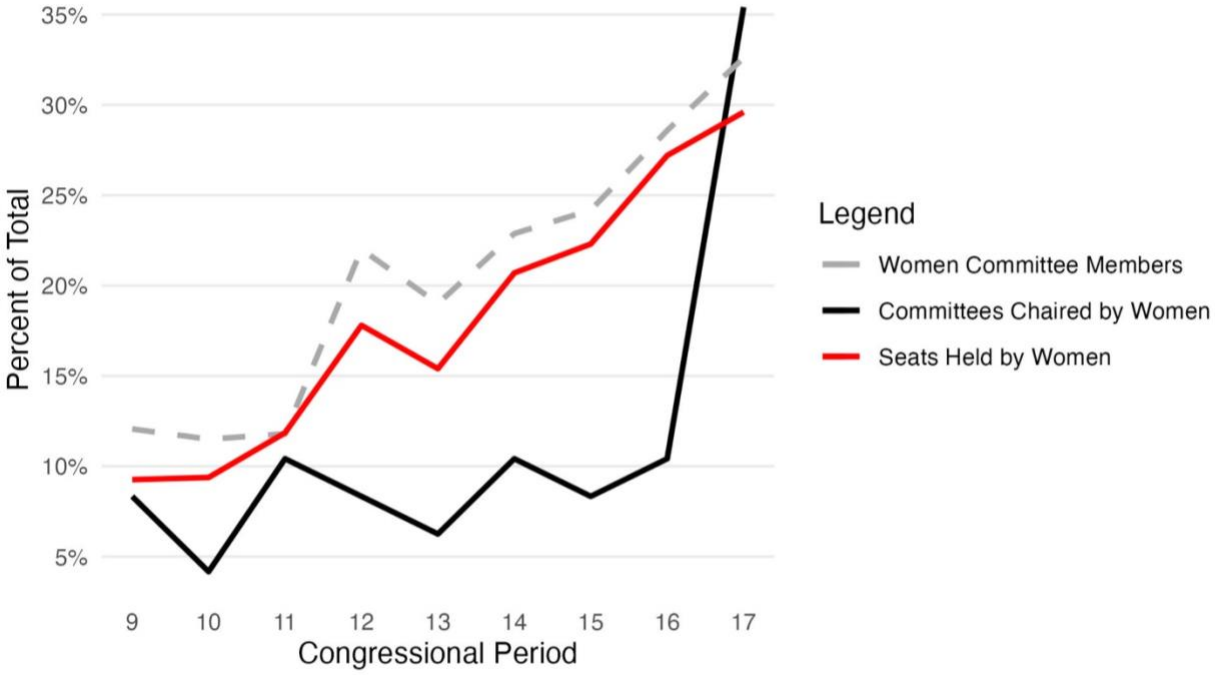
5.3.2 Data & Methods

To determine whether the Philippines follows similar patterns of gendered committee assignments as other contexts studied to date, I employ an original data set covering the gender breakdown of all 48 standing committees of the 9th to 17th Congresses (1992-2019). In total this amounts to 432 congressional committee periods. I gathered this data from the Philippines House of Representatives Archives during field work in Metro Manila from July to September of 2022. The data is limited to the aggregate gender balance of each committee and the sex of each committee's chair. Therefore, it cannot be used to definitively answer questions about the process of assignment or whether the assignments are indicative of the true preferences of committee members.

However, the aggregate data is still useful for descriptively understanding the trends in committee assignments over time and for determining whether gendered patterns of committee assignments align with those observed in other contexts studied. I begin by plotting the percentage of women committee members and the percentage of committees chaired by women alongside the percent of seats held by women in the legislature (Figure 5.1) before also visualizing the gender breakdown of those committees with the highest and lowest average proportion of women members throughout this period.

5.3.3 Findings

Figure 5.1: Trends of Women Committee Members and Chairs (1999-2019)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 5.1 shows, the percent of women committee members closely aligns with the proportion of seats held by women. This is at least prima facie evidence that women are not systematically denied membership of congressional committees in general. Though it does not speak to the patterns of specific committee assignments. Interestingly the portion of committees chaired by women was relatively consistent for most of this period, fluctuating between 5-10% of committees with women chairs. The gap between the percent of women in parliament compared to the percent of committees chaired by women grew considerably between the 11th-16th Congresses, since the number of seats steadily increased, but committee chair positions remained steady. However, there was a significant and sudden correction in this regard in the 17th

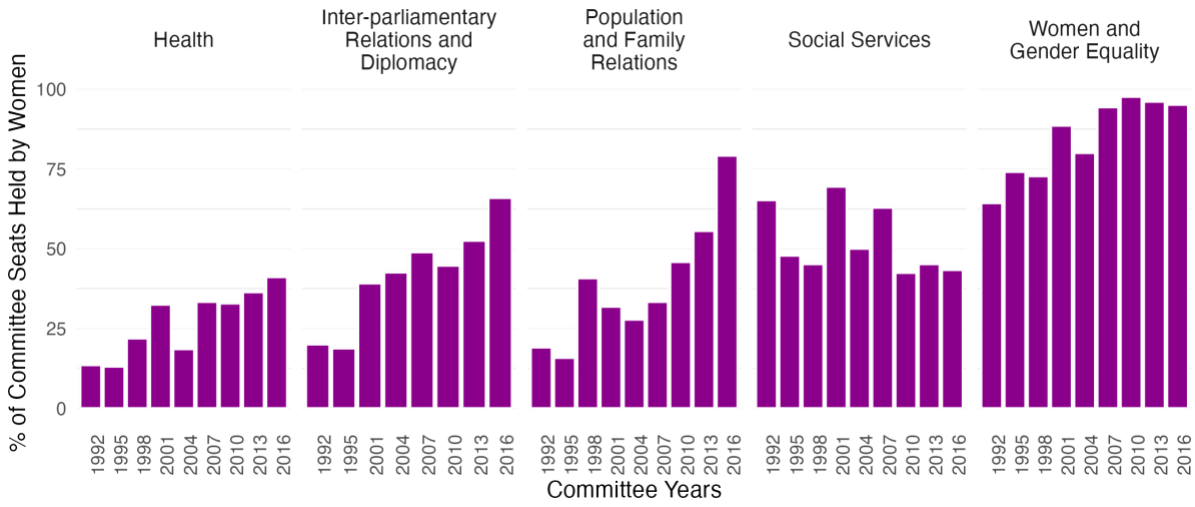
Congress, when the percent of committees with women chairs more than tripled from the 16th-17th Congress.

It is unclear from the aggregate data what drove this trend. It may be that seniority plays a significant role in the distribution of committee chair positions. In which case, between 1992 to 2016 women may have been "catching up" to their male colleagues in terms of gaining enough years of experience in Congress to establish themselves as senior members to reap the rewards. Whether due to seniority advantages or through having more social and political capital within the institution, men retained an outsized majority of chair positions even as more and more women entered the legislature. These patterns may not necessarily be due to overt gender discrimination, but suggest that the lingering consequences of women's historical exclusion via a lack of parity in seniority and robustness of social/political networks within the legislature likely contribute to the observed gendered trends in committee chair positions.

I now turn to committee assignments. In contrast to the trends on committee chair positions, committee membership kept pace with the increasing presence of women in the legislature. This indicates that, at the very least, women were not systematically excluded from committee assignments. However, not all committees are equal in terms of their power, influence, or relative prestige within the institution. As noted, in other studies of congressional committee assignments, women have tended to be over-represented on social issue area committees, and under-represented on those committees with more "hard powers," such as distribution of financial resources, national defense, or committees overseeing the rules and legislative agenda (Kroeber 2023). To determine whether the Philippines conforms to these patterns, I show the gendered patterns of committee assignments for the five committees with the

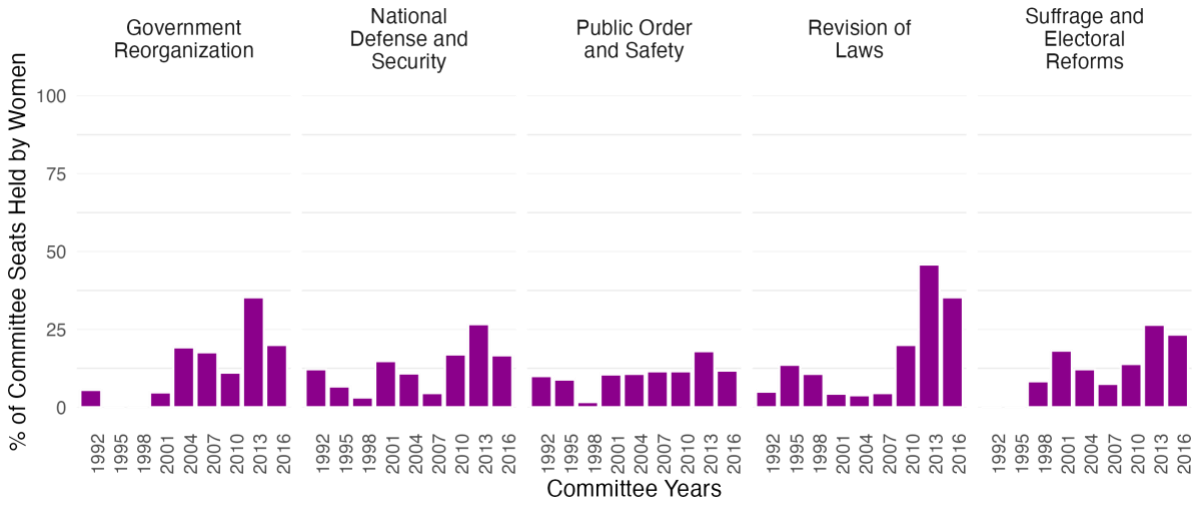
highest median[11] percent of women during this time period (Figure 5.2), followed by the five committees with the lowest median percent of women (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.2: Top 5 Women's Committee Assignments over Time (1992-2019)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

Figure 5.3: Bottom5 Women's Committee Assignments over Time (1992-2019)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

[11] I use median to account for the potentially distortionary effects of a sudden large influx of women in later congressional periods. However, using the average percent of women results in roughly the same pattern. Though the Tourism committee enters the top 5, replacing Health, and Government Enterprises and Privatization replaces Government Reorganization in the bottom 5.

The findings in Figures 5.2 and 5.3 more or less conform to expectations from other contexts studied, though there are some interesting deviations. Women are clearly over-represented in proportion to their numbers in the legislature on the Women's Committee, Social Services, and Population and Family Relations Committees, following patterns similar to those found in other contexts (e.g. Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2009). While other studies have found women disproportionately assigned to health committees, this gender imbalance was not very pronounced in the Philippines. Women were only slightly over-represented on the Health committee compared to their presence in the legislature, and their increasing share of seats on the committee roughly coincides with their growing numbers in the legislature. Similarly, if Inter-parliamentary Relations and Diplomacy is considered a sub-topic of Foreign Affairs, the expectation based on other contexts is that this should be a male-dominated committee, but this was not the case in the Philippines. It is certainly a more "soft power" aspect of foreign affairs, so women's overrepresentation in this area could potentially be due to gender stereotypes about women being more conciliatory or because it is relatively a lower power committee. But the Foreign Affairs committee itself ranked 8th by both median and mean percentage of women members over this time period, suggesting that in the Philippines women are not underrepresented in this policy area to the same degree as has been observed in some other contexts.

In contrast, Figure 5.3 clearly shows women being under-represented in the highly masculinized areas of Public Order and National Defense. The percent of women on the Public Order and Safety Committee in particular, which primarily handles policy related to the Philippines National Police, remains almost flat, hovering around 10% for the majority of years covered, with only a small (and short-lived) increase in 2013 to about 18%. The other three

committees on which women were consistently under-represented in proportion to their numbers in the legislature at least until 2013 all deal with governmental or legal reform in some sense. These could be areas where seniority and experience are actually advantageous in that a deep knowledge of the inner workings of government may be an asset. Or they could be important instruments of maintaining power and influence, which men have a vested interest in retaining control over. In either case it is notable that women's share of these committee seats increased considerably in 2013, putting them in proportion to their numbers in the legislature, though in all three cases their share of committee seats fell again in 2016.

While looking at these gendered patterns of committee seat and chair assignments is informative, with the aggregate data I am unable to draw any definitive conclusions about what drives these patterns. Though I argue the trends in committee chair positions is prima facia evidence of some level of gender discrimination or women's marginalization at least between the 11th and 16th Congresses (1998-2016) during which time women had gained a larger share of seats but their share of committee chair positions remained unchanged, it is still only circumstantial. Similarly, while it is informative to compare the gendered patterns of committee assignments in the Philippines to that which has been observed in other contexts, the aggregate data does not allow for any substantive claims about the processes driving these patterns or offer any conclusions about whether these reflect women's true preferences. These gendered patterns of committee assignments, do however, shed some light on those policy areas over which women may have more or less power at any given time within the legislative institution, which is itself meaningful and informative.

5.4 The Gendered Nature of Speechmaking

Since committee assignments are approved by a majority vote and dictated by the Majority and Minority leaders who are likely to be more senior members (and more likely men given women's historical exclusion from politics), men have a clear institutional advantage in this process of distributing these offices within the legislature. As a male-dominated institution designed around the premise of majority rule, men are likely to have an advantage in many such institutional processes. Thus, assuming that all else equal legislators prefer to have more power and influence within the institution and over policymaking, it is reasonable to conclude that in situations where positions of influence are limited, men will tend to crowd women out of higher power positions. Therefore, efforts to discern women's policy preferences or priorities by observing outcomes, whether in committee assignments or policies, are likely to be biased by these institutional features that can marginalize women or otherwise limit their access to higher influence roles.

As an alternative to studying outcomes that are clearly influenced by institutional processes over which men have predominant control, I turn to an examination of speechmaking, which I argue is a form of participation in legislative activities that, at least in some forms, is comparatively less mediated by male controlled processes. This is not to say that gendered norms play no role in speechmaking. Socialized gender roles likely influence the likelihood of engaging in speechmaking, as well as speech content, tone, and intention (Eagly and Wood 2012; Hargrave and Blumeneau 2022). The extent to which these gendered dynamics pervade the decision to engage in speechmaking likely depend in part upon the intent.

For instance, there is evidence that women in politics are less likely to attempt to persuade others or to express their opinions in an area where men are generally perceived as

more competent due to persistent gender stereotypes (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001). Though women show a willingness to engage in deliberation equal to men (Afsahi 2021), they may be less prone to engage in speech specifically intended to persuade, as in a debate, especially if it is on a subject in which men tend to be viewed as experts. Similarly, laboratory experiments (e.g. Kennedy 2003) have demonstrated that women in group settings are more likely to prefer cooperative solutions with universalistic outcomes, while men opt for competitive solutions (Carli and Eagly 2011). This suggests that men might be more likely to engage in antagonistic forms of debate with a clear opponent.

While women politicians, having opted into a career predicated on social competition via elections, may have higher thresholds for competition and a greater willingness to engage in debate than the general population, several studies show that women in the US legislature tend to speak and act more collaboratively. For instance, Volden, Wiseman, and Wittmer (2013) show that women in the US congress are more likely to engage in legislative activities using a consensus-based style of negotiation and deliberation in order to get proposed legislation passed. Several other studies in the US context have also found significant differences between the approaches of male and female legislators, with men tending toward individualism and competitiveness, while women are more likely to demonstrate cooperative, consensus-building behaviors (Thomas 1994, Rosenthal 1998; Duerst-Lahti 2002). Thus, extending these gendered styles of behavior to speechmaking, women may engage more if there is a consensus building element to their speeches.

Speechmaking can also serve an agenda setting capacity, wherein speakers attempt to encourage their colleagues to prioritize certain policy topics. Relatedly, speeches can be a signaling mechanism to demonstrate their own issue alignment or policy priorities to other

members of their potential coalition in the House or to the broader public and their constituents. Speeches serving these purposes are perhaps less clearly influenced by gender role expectations, but they are nonetheless important. Having women's voices represented in some form on the legislature floor can have significant impacts. For example, experimental evidence shows that, depending on the institutional rules governing decision-making, women's presence can influence the way deliberations are conducted and decisions reached (Karpowitz, Mendelberg, and Shaker 2012; Mendelberg, Karpowitz, and Goedert, 2014), which may have broader effects on the policy making process. Thus, studying the gendered dynamics of speechmaking in general, and especially in areas where gendered role expectations or parliamentary processes do not dissuade women from engaging in speechmaking. In the Philippines' Congress, I argue that privilege speeches are a relatively gender-neutral form of speechmaking and thus provides a valuable window into the policy priorities of women legislators unencumbered by gendered institutional processes.

5.4.1 Privilege Speeches

The Philippines House of Representatives grants a Privilege Hour on all Mondays when Congress is in regular session, during which time any member of Congress may speak "on any matter of general interest" (HREP: 70) in a format called a Privilege Speech. According to the formal rules of the House, privilege speeches are open to all members of Congress. Legislators must only register their intention to make a privilege speech in advance. The Speaker of the House then establishes the list of privilege speeches. The order of speeches is based on the order of registration (i.e. who signs up first), though in practice it appears that the Speaker can exercise some discretion in determining how many privilege speeches will be granted, depending on the

demand for speeches and how many they anticipate can be accommodated during the privilege hour. However, the rules also state that "if requests to make use of the Privilege Hours remain recorded at the expiration of the hour, they shall be recorded in the same order for the next Monday" (HREP: 70). Thus, anyone who wishes to deliver a Privilege Speech will ultimately be granted the opportunity to do so.

Privilege speeches are therefore a unique mechanism for participation, in that they are open to all members of Congress equally. While there may still be some norms of deference to more senior members for privilege speech time or against junior members taking the floor, there are no formal rules against any member participating and the method of registering one's intent to speak is not gendered or biased to seniority in any formal sense. Thus, privilege speeches are a particularly useful means of studying the contributions of marginalized Members of the House, because unlike many other forms of engagement, it is not mediated by seniority, majority/minority status, party affiliation, or social capital and there are no obvious gender barriers, whether formal or informal, to prevent equitable participation in this format.

Delivering a Privilege Speech also does not require the same level of assertiveness or brashness that may be required to engage in floor debates. Participation in open debate formats usually require Members "catch the eye" of the speaker to be recognized for comments, a process which may be gendered in both process and outcomes. For instance, based on social role theory (Eagly and Karau 2002) women might be less prone to forcefully assert themselves into a debate, especially in a male dominated space. Similarly, the Speaker, a position historically dominated by men in the Philippines legislature, might be more attuned to the efforts of men to grab his attention and therefore recognition of Members for comment might also be gendered.

Privilege Speeches are also usually pre-meditated. While unregistered Members can deliver impromptu speeches if the full Privilege Hour is not used up by registered speakers, usually they are planned in advance. The Rules of the House specify that Members should to the greatest extent possible even furnish a copy of their intended Privilege Speech to the Speaker beforehand (HREP: 70). Thus, Privilege Speeches do not require the same type of impromptu engagement or the boldness required to grab the Speaker's attention during a heated debate, both of which may in practice have the effect of deterring women at a higher rate than men from engaging in floor debates. Instead, Privilege Speeches are a more equitable form of participation open to all Members equally regardless of seniority, leadership roles, or social capital in the legislature.

Privilege speeches also lend themselves well to text classification methods because they are relatively short speeches delivered without interruption and are restricted to a single topic. As the Rules of the House indicate, "any Member may speak on any matter of general interest" and the Privilege Hour "shall not be interrupted by any question or motion expect a point of order or a motion to adjourn" (HREP 2023: 70). While the rules are a bit ambiguous about whether a speech can span multiple topics, there is a clear norm in Congress that speakers limit themselves to a single topic. In the rare instances where privilege speeches were interrupted, it was typically because the speech was meandering and appeared to be straying from its primary topic. For instance, the following is the text of a rare interruption during a privilege speech delivered in the 15th Congress (August 2, 2010), in which Representative Rodante Marcoleta interrupts a speech of Walden Bello with the following interjection:

> Mr. Speaker, I would like to know if it is still the practice in this hall that whenever somebody delivers a privilege speech, it should only encompass one major subject matter… I know that everybody can speak on general terms. What I am saying is, we have jurisprudence. There are rulings that we cannot speak on more than one

> subject because that is too much. Thank you, Mr. Speaker (Philippines, House of Representatives, 2010).

Given this norm, which was generally adhered to and enforced by other Members of Congress, privilege speeches can be classified by topic in a straightforward manner.

5.4.2 Data and Methods

I construct an original data set using privilege speech data extracted from 10,418 pages of parliamentary transcripts (also called Hansards), gathered from the Philippines House of Representatives archives during fieldwork in the summer of 2022. These documents represent the complete corpus of transcripts generated by the 13th to 17th Congresses, covering 2004 to 2016. After identifying and extracting all 711 privilege speeches delivered during this time period, I apply an approach that Heseltine and von Hohenberg (2024) call "hybrid human coding" to use a large language model (LLM) to assist in the classification of privilege speeches by topic. The hybrid human coding approach involves performing an identical text classification task twice with the same text and an identical prompt and, in the case of disagreements between the first and second run, using a human expert coder to adjudicate by manually coding the contested case (Heseltine and von Hohenberg 2024).

The use of natural language processing (NLP) algorithms as a tool for automating the data collection, classification, and analysis process for large corpuses of political documents has become an increasingly mainstream method in the discipline (Wilkerson and Casas 2017; Rheault and Cochrane 2019; Barberá et al. 2020; Grimmer, Roberts, and Stewart 2021). Underscoring just how widely used these methods have become, Abercrombie and Batista-Navarro (2020) identified 61 published studies that applied NLP tools for a single task (sentiment analysis) on just one class of documents (parliamentary debate transcripts). The use of

these tools has only increased in popularity since 2020 and many widely available "off the shelf" pre-trained models are now available to researchers. However, if the analytic tasks and document types differ substantially from the originally intended purpose of such "off the shelf" models, they still typically require thousands of human-coded text examples to train the model for a novel application (Wilkerson and Casas 2017; Goyal, Li, and Durret 2023). These barriers to use and the human-annotated text training data requirements further increase if the novel text classification task involves a language in which the model was not originally trained (Jiao et al. 2023). Thus, some social scientists have recently begun seriously exploring the potential applications of LLMs for a variety of classificatory tasks, similar to those performed by more specialized machine learning algorithms, with promising results (de Winter 2023; Gilardi, Alizadeh, and Kubli 2023; Huang, Kwak, and An 2023; Kuzman, Mozetič, and Ljubešić 2023; Ornstein, Blasingame, and Truscott 2024).

Since the start of 2023, LLMs have become ubiquitous. There has been an exponential growth in their availability, sophistication, and accuracy for a wide variety of tasks. In light of these developments, a growing number of social and computer scientists have begun exploring their potential applications to academic research for tasks like classifying hate speech (Huang, Kwak, and An 2023), summarizing news articles (Goyal, Li, and Durrett 2023), and sentiment analysis of multilingual texts (Bang et al. 2023). Political scientists have even begun evaluating the applicability and accuracy of LLMs as replacements for crowd workers and expert coders in zero-shot classification tasks of tweets and news articles (Gilardi, Alizadeh, and Kubli 2023; Heseltine and von Hohenberg 2024). While others have begun testing LLMs as a means of simulating human survey response data (Argyle et al. 2023; Bisbee 2024).

While the use of LLMs for political science research is still in its nascency, scholars have already begun systematically testing their efficacy in commonly used research tasks and developing some methodological guidelines for improving their accuracy and reproducibility (Liang et al. 2022; Jiao et al. 2023; Heseltine and von Hohenberg 2024; Ornstein, Blasingame, and Truscott (2024). In a systematic evaluation of the classification accuracy of LLMs, Heseltine and von Hohenberg (2024) found that GPT-4.0 had an accuracy ranging from 88.3%-94.5% in the binary classification of tweets as "political" in content or "negative" in tone, and even for more complex tasks like classification by sentiment and ideology the LLM's accuracy was between 80.6%-84.7%. Similarly, Ornstein, Blasingame, and Truscott (2024) demonstrate that in a topic modeling task of over 9,500 US Congressional Speeches from the Wilkerson and Casas (2017) dataset, in which researchers asked LLMs to identify the virtues expressed in the speeches and then validated the results with human coders of 400 randomly selected speeches, LLMs and human coder's classifications agreed in 80% of cases.

Building upon these emerging applications of LLMs, I used a highly supervised human hybrid coding approach to summarize and classify 711 privilege speeches. In order to ensure the accuracy of this approach, I first read and summarized a random sample of 100 privilege speeches myself. I then iterated on a series of prompts to determine which instructions[12] to the LLM consistently returned the most accurate and replicable results. I experimented with two different LLMs (Llama 2 and GPT-4.0) and while both performed similarly well, GPT-4.0 tended to provide more detailed and more replicable summaries. I ultimately used GPT-4.0 as the LLM of choice for text topic modeling. Following the human hybrid coding approach (Heseltine and

[12] The prompt that produced the most consistent results was "The following text is a speech delivered in the Philippines House of Representatives. Classify the entire speech using a single topic, and provide a brief summary of the text, translating from Tagalog to English where necessary before performing the text classification task."

von Hohenberg 2024), I passed an identical prompt and the text of each privilege speech to the same LLM twice and in instances of disagreement[13] between the two runs, I adjudicated the case by reading and hand coding the speech in question.

While several studies have found that LLM's are capable of accurately translating and interpreting texts from a variety of languages, including Asian languages like Chinese, Javanese, and Buginese (Bang et al. 2023; Jiao et al. 2023), these models tend to perform worse with "low resource languages" meaning those languages from which the LLM has had fewer training text examples. Since Tagalog is likely to be a low resource language in GPT-4.0's training corpus, I manually translated and coded speeches delivered primarily in Tagalog. Most privilege speeches in the Philippines Congress are delivered entirely in English, though a considerable portion intermix[14] Tagalog phrases or switch between English and Tagalog throughout. A small minority of speeches were delivered entirely in Tagalog. For all such instances of entirely Tagalog speeches I read, translated, and summarized them myself to ensure that the LLM was not mistranslating from the Tagalog. Though I did this for all such instances of entirely Tagalog speeches, the LLM was able to provide an accurate topic summary in all such cases, indicating that its Tagalog to English translation abilities were sufficiently sophisticated for this task.

I used LLMs to identify the primary topic of each speech, count the number of lines, and provide a brief summary of the speech for additional context. Privilege speeches are an ideal form of text for classification with LLMs, because these models consistently perform best in classification tasks when text supplied is relatively short and when it focuses on a single topic.

[13] Slight differences in the wording of summaries and topics produced through the two runs were common. For instance, "Anti-Corruption Legislation and Reforms" vs "Anti-Corruption Legislation and Initiatives." But substantive disagreements in the topic identified by LLMs were rare, occurring in less than 5% of cases.
[14] This type of speech pattern, a fluid mixing of English and Tagalog is so common in the Philippines that it is almost considered a separate dialect and even has its own name: Taglish.

Despite a consistently high level of accuracy, I continued to spot check the performance by skimming and classifying a sample of speeches throughout the data collection process. After constructing a data set of the LLM modeled topics of speeches, I used this information as well as the short summaries to manually assign each speech to a congressional committee topic. This approach was systematic and exhaustive as congressional committees are designed to have mutually exclusive jurisdictions and provided an unbiased framework for classification. I used the House of Representatives' own guidelines for determining which standing committee designation was most appropriate for each privilege speech topic.

This approach meant there were up to 66 potential categories based on the number of standing committees in the legislature. In practice, I assigned the 711 privilege speeches to 47 distinct categories. I used the jurisdiction of standing committees as described by the House of Representative's Rules (HREP 2023) to determine which committee designation best fit with each privilege speech topic. A table with the complete list of standing committees and a description of their corresponding jurisdictions can be found in the Appendix C. Only 18 speeches (2.5% of total cases) could not be easily classified in this manner and were designated as "Other." Of those, eight unclassifiable privilege speeches were tributes to deceased colleagues or figures of national importance, three recognized notable anniversaries or events, three were declaring new national heroes[15], two were invocations of Christian values to guide legislators' actions, two were farewell speeches.

The resulting data set I produce includes the sex, incumbency status, and party-list affiliation of all 632 representatives who served in the House of Representatives during the 13th to 17th Congresses (2004 to 2016), as well as the count, word length, and committee topic

[15] Including the first woman President of the Philippines, Corazon Aquino.

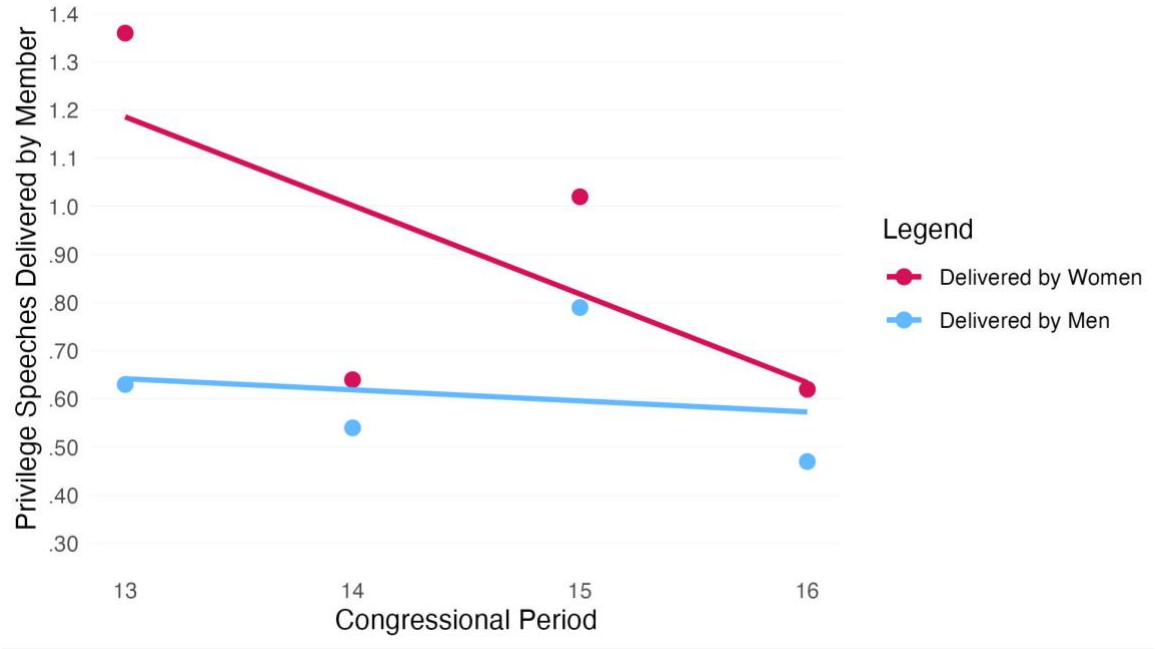
classification of all 711 privilege speeches delivered during this time and by whom. As this is, to my knowledge, the first study to examine the use and content of privilege speeches as a form of legislative behavior, I first describe the observable gender dynamics of privilege speeches before analyzing the gendered differences in terms of length, frequency, and content.

5.4.3 Findings

Of the 632 unique legislators represented in the data, 259 of them delivered at least one privilege speech during their tenure in office. In total, 41% of all legislators delivered a privilege speech at least once. Of the 259 members who delivered at least one privilege speech, 72 (28%) were women and 186 (72%) were men. These proportions roughly correspond to the gender breakdown of the house during this time period, which was 139 (22%) women and 493 (78%) men. Thus, women were slightly more likely to deliver a speech relative to their proportion in the House of Representatives compared to men. Though a majority of speakers (77.6%) delivered only a single speech per Congressional period, one man (Walden Bello) and one woman (Luzviminda Ilagan) each delivered 12 speeches in the 15th and 16th Congresses, respectively. These were outliers, however, as the average number of speeches per Congressional period among those who delivered any speeches was 2.1 for men and 1.9 for women.

To determine the rate at which men and women legislators delivered privilege speeches in each Congressional session I calculate the average number of privilege speeches delivered by women and men, respectively, divided by the total number of men and women legislators in each period. This provides the expected number of privilege speeches delivered by men and women in each Congress. I plot the results below in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: Expected Number of Privilege Speeches Delivered by Sex (2004-2016)



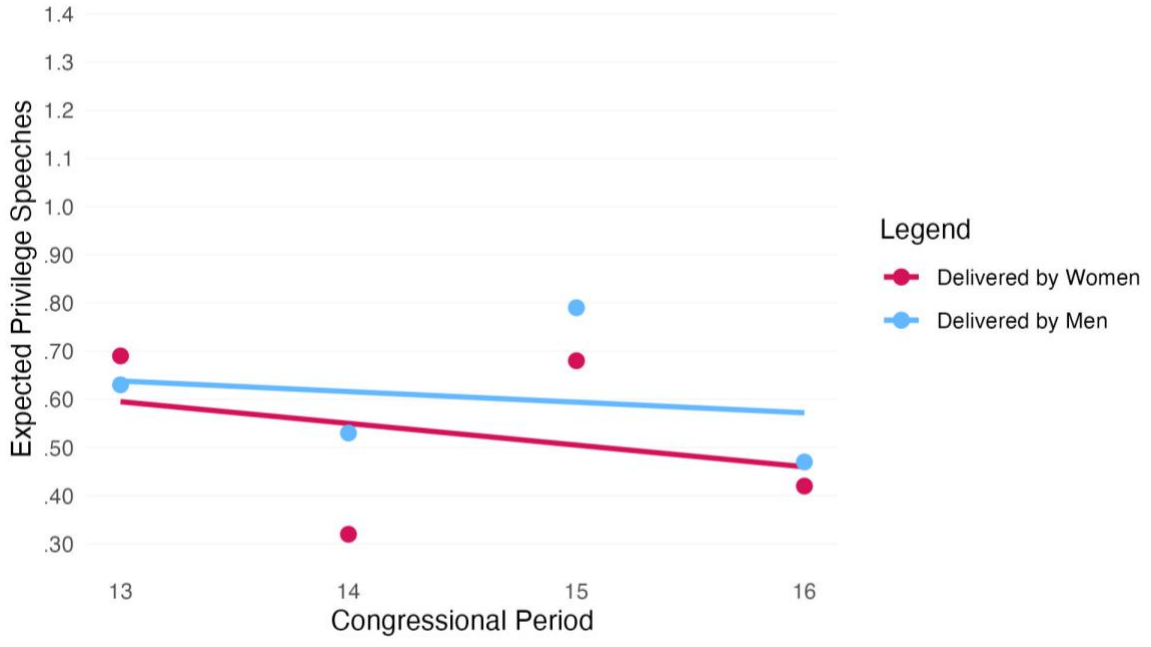
Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 5.4 shows, women consistently deliver privilege speeches at a greater rate than men. Though this runs counter to findings on gendered floor speech patterns in Western European Contexts (Bäck, Debus, and Müller 2014; Bäck and Debus 2019), they conform to findings in Uganda that women speak more in plenary debates (Wang 2014). However, during the coding process, I observed a regular pattern of a disproportionate number of speeches delivered by women in early March of each year. Examining the dates and contents of these speeches, I determined that they roughly coincide with International Women's Day (March 8th).

There was in fact a regular pattern in which, on the Monday closest to the International Women's Day, a larger than average number of speeches were delivered almost entirely by women. While the speeches were still substantive in their content addressing a broad range of sub-topics, almost all of them revolved around women and gender, and many specifically

invoked International Women's Day as the impetus for their privilege speeches. To give a sense of the degree to which this could affect the data, on average, members of the legislature delivered 3.1 privilege speeches during the privilege hour. However, on International Women's Day, the average was 10 privilege speeches. In total there were eight International Women's Days that occurred during these Congressional periods. Given this level of deviation from the norm with enough repeated instances this could produce biased findings. With this in mind, I dropped all International Women's Day speeches from the data set and plot the same expected portion of privilege speeches by gender (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Expected Privilege Speeches, Excluding International Women's Days



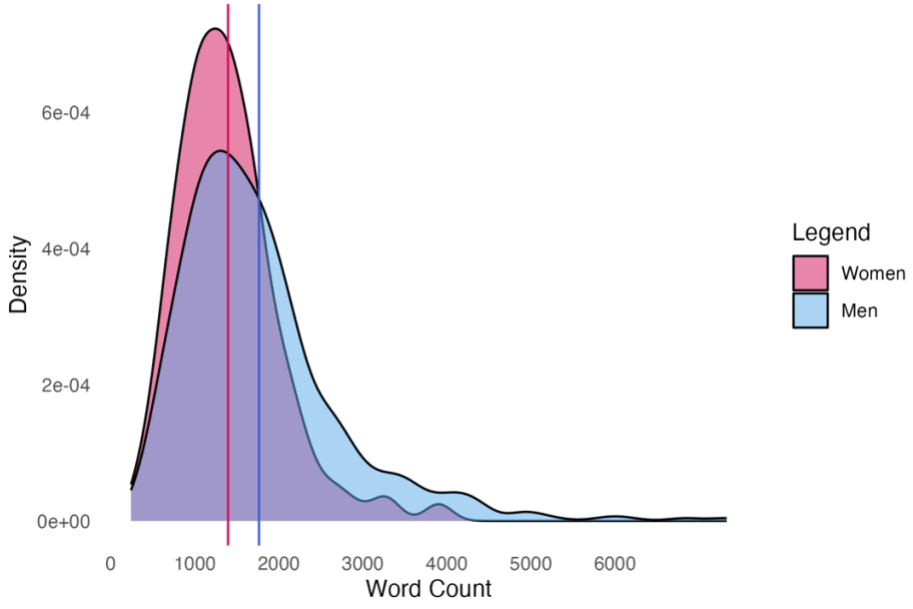
Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 5.5 shows, dropping the considerable number of speeches delivered on International Women's Day, quite dramatically changes the expected proportion of speeches

delivered by men and women. Though the rate at which women delivered speeches still exceeded the rate of men in the 13th Congress, for all other congressional periods men actually delivered more speeches at a higher rate than women when International Women's Day speeches were excluded.

In addition to the number of speeches, I also look at length, as proxied by word count of each speech delivered. Privilege speeches do not have an established time limit. So, the individual speaker determines the length of their speech within the privilege hour. Speeches ranged from 239 to 7,329 with an average of 1,658.9 words and a median of 1488. To see if there is a difference in the speech length based on gender, I use a density plot to visualize the distribution of word counts for men and women speakers (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6: Distribution of Privilege Speech Lengths Based on Speaker's Sex



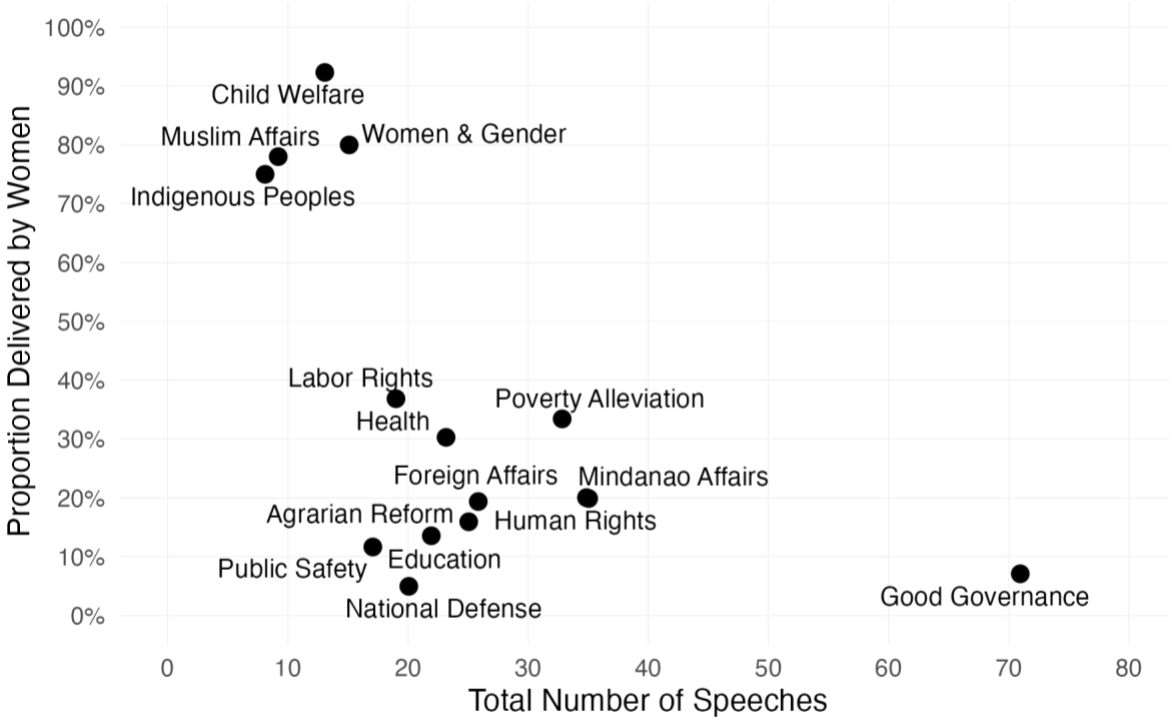
Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

While there is significant overlap between the word count distributions, the density plot indicates a difference in the mean length of speeches by gender, with men tending to speak longer than women. I calculate a t-test, which confirms that the difference in mean word counts between men and women speakers is statistically significant ($p < .001$). Both the average length and the range is wider for men speakers, while the distribution of speech length for women was much narrower in comparison. The IQR for the word count of speeches was 1,363 for women and 2,121.7 for men. Similarly, the standard deviation in word count for women's speeches was 608.1 compared to 965.9 for men. There appeared to be a loose norm of privilege speech length being influenced by the number of speeches registered on a given day. But on at least one occasion the Speaker of the House explicitly stated that a single speaker had the prerogative to consume the entire hour if they were the first to register. Thus, speech length was largely determined by social conventions. As women generally gave shorter speeches, one possible explanation is that women were more likely to limit the length of their speeches out of consideration for other speakers.

Turning now to the topics of privilege speeches, I examine whether there is a gendered difference in the subjects that legislators choose to discuss in their privilege speeches. Using standing committee jurisdictions as a means of categorizing speech topics, I classified the 711 speeches into 47 unique topics (see Appendix C). These topics ranged in their frequency of occurrences from only once (Interparliamentary Relations) to 71 (Good Government & Accountability / Women & Gender), with an average of 14.8 and median of 11 privilege speeches per topic over the entire study period. The IQR was 25.1 speeches per topic with a standard deviation of 14.7. Because visualizing all of the topics at once becomes too cluttered to read, I plot the 10 most common privilege speech topics delivered by men and the 10 most

common privilege speech topics delivered by men. This totals 15 topics, due to overlap in the most common topics, which together represent 60% of all speeches in the dataset. In Figure 7 I plot the number of speeches for each topic and the portion of speeches for each topic delivered by women.[16]

Figure 5.7: Gendered Patterns of Common Privilege Speech Topics (2004-2016)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As Figure 5.7 shows, women are responsible for over 90% of privilege speeches on the topics of Child Welfare and of Women (even after excluding for International Women's Day speeches). This seems to support the theory that women legislators genuinely tend to have a

[16] To provide the most unbiased and conservative estimates, the plotted data does not include any of the International Women's Day speeches, though a visualization showing the difference when this subset of speeches are included can be found in Appendix C.

higher interest in these topics compared to men. Also in line with expectations, is the fact that women delivered a clear minority of speeches on strongly masculine coded topics like National Defense and Public Safety, which deal primarily with the Military and National Police, respectively. Though not obvious from their topic labels, speeches categorized as Mindanao Affairs and Human Rights, typically dealt with similarly masculinized topics since most of those speeches addressed separatist violence in Mindanao and political violence, respectively. Thus, the fact that women were under-represented in these categories aligns with social role theory and trends in policy specialization, such as patterns of committee assignments.

Women also accounted for a clear majority of speeches on Muslim Affairs and Indigenous Peoples. Though there was not a clear theory informing expectations on these topics, it provides some support for the idea that women, as a marginalized group themselves within the legislature, may be more prone to advocating on behalf of other marginalized groups. In most of the other topic areas represented in Figure 7, women accounted for a portion of those speeches similar to their proportions in the legislature. In fact, in the social issue areas of Health, Labor rights, and Poverty Alleviation, women accounted for slightly more speeches than would be expected based on their numbers in the legislature, suggesting that these too are policy areas that women are at least slightly more interested in than men. Surprisingly, women were underrepresented in their speeches on the topic of education relative to their numbers in the legislature. Good Governance[17] is also a clear outlier both in terms of the number of speeches and the gender imbalance. The jurisdiction of this committee covers "malfeasance, misfeasance, and nonfeasance" of government officials (HREP 2023). Thus, common themes of speeches coded as pertaining to Good Governance included speakers accusing other Members or

[17] The full title of this committee is Good Government & Public Accountability.

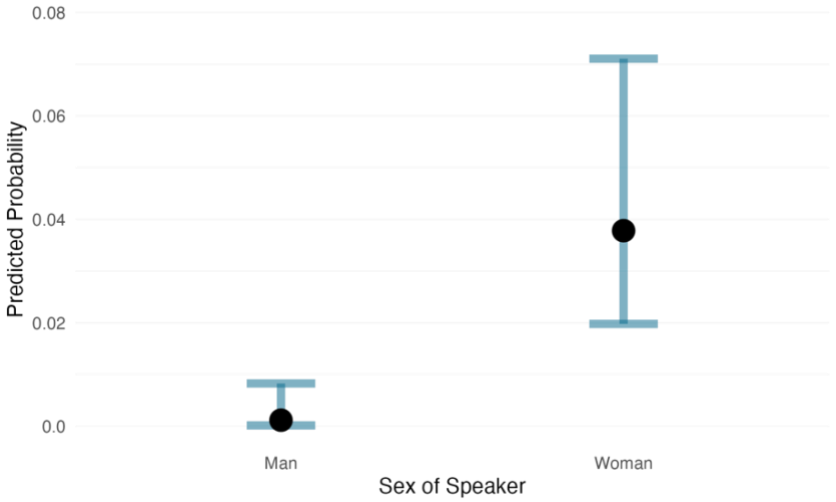
government officials of misconduct, defending themselves against charges of corruption in the media or by other officials, and speeches that criticized the current administration or Majority in the legislatures, including a dozen speeches in support of or opposition to Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's impeachment trial.[18] I also included in this category speeches on the subject of what it means to be a good legislator, such as those making general claims about the duties and responsibilities of legislators, though this arguably stretched the jurisdictional definition of this category it seemed the best fit comparatively and was only a small number of cases.

To further evaluate the gendered differences in speech topics, I also estimated a series of logistic regressions for all topics that had over 10 occurrences in the data set. This amounted to 23 separate logistic regressions the unit of analysis of which was legislator-session with standard errors cluster by legislator ID. The purpose of these regressions was to determine which topics had statistically significant differences in the rate of speeches given by men and women so no other controls were included in the models. Of those 23 topics only Women & Gender, Child Welfare, and Good Governance[19] demonstrated a statistically significant difference (at the $p = .05$ level) in the likelihood of those topics being covered in a privilege speech dependent upon the speaker's gender. Women were significantly more likely to deliver speeches on Women[20] and Child Welfare compared to men (p-values $< .001$ in both cases), while men were significantly more likely to deliver speeches on the topic of Good Governance ($p < .05$). Because regression coefficients are difficult to interpret from logistic regressions, I plot the predicted probability[21]

[18] As with the International Women's Days speeches, I tried dropping the impeachment proceedings from the analysis. Dropping the impeachment speeches from the data set reduced the number of speeches by 12, but did not affect the gender balance of speeches. So for Figure 7 I retained the impeachment speeches.
[19] When impeachment speeches were excluded the significance level dropped to $p = .086$.
[20] This remained true when all speeches were included and when International Women's Days were excluded.
[21] The predicted probability plots on Women and Good Governance show the results when International Women's Day and the GMA impeachment speeches, respectively, were excluded from the data as this is a more conservative

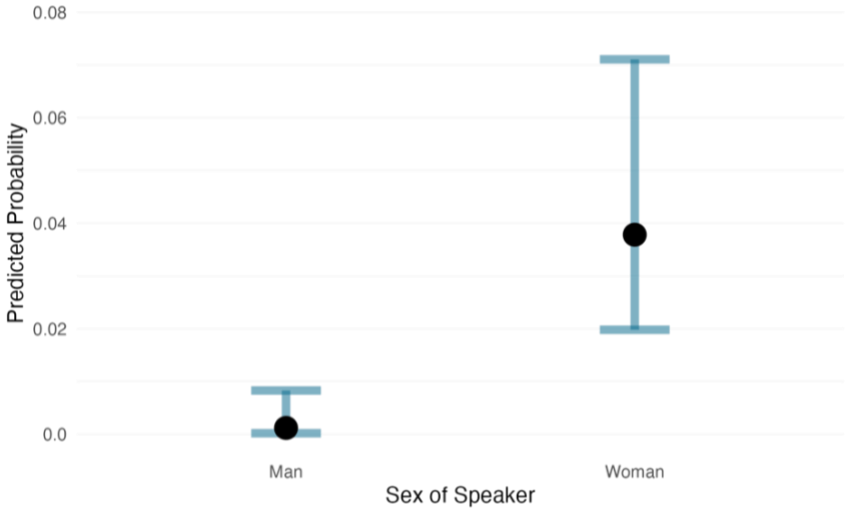
that a speaker would deliver a privilege speech on each of these topics based on gender (Figures 5.8-5.10).

Figure 5.8: Predicted Probability of Privilege Speech on Women by Sex



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

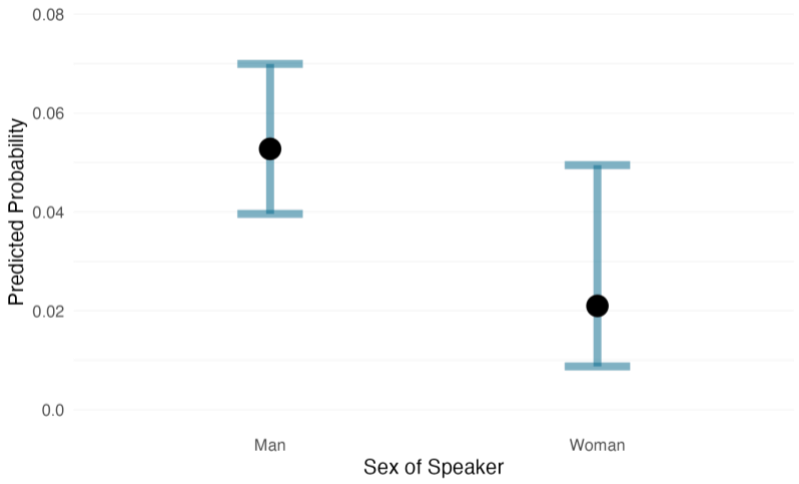
Figure 5.9: Predicted Probability of Privilege Speech on Child Welfare by Sex



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

estimate. Including the Women's Day speeches resulted in a significantly higher predicted probability that women would deliver a speech on women.

Figure 5.10: Predicted Probability of Privilege Speech on Good Governance by Sex



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022

As both Figures 5.8 and 5.9 show, women were significantly more likely to deliver privilege speeches on the topics of Women and Child Welfare. The confidence intervals are large, likely due to the limited number of observations for speeches in each category, but they do not overlap with the predicted probability of men delivering speeches on these topics, which indicates that there is a significant substantive difference in these predicted probabilities. Notably, these are predicted probabilities that any member of the legislature delivers a privilege speech on Women or Child Welfare. Because privilege speeches on any topic were limited to less than half (41%) of the legislature to begin with, the probability of delivering a speech on any one of the 47 topics identified will be low. In contrast, Figure 10 shows that women are less likely to deliver privilege speeches on Good Governance compared to men. However, the difference in the predicted probability ranges was less robust and as this plot show the results when impeachment speeches were excluded it was only significant at the $p = .086$ level. Thus, while there was still a measurable gender imbalance in speeches on the topic of Good Governance, the

most robust findings are that women were significantly more likely to deliver privilege speeches on the topics of Women & Gender and Child Welfare.

5.5 Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the privilege speech data indicates that women are statistically more likely to use privilege speeches to advocate for women and the interests of children. While they also accounted for a majority of speeches on Indigenous Peoples and Muslim Affairs, both of which are historically marginalized groups in the Philippines, which suggests women may use their positions of influence to advocate on behalf of other minorities in their privilege speeches. Though the limited number of both types of these speeches makes it difficult to determine if this difference is statistically significant. Beyond these four topic areas, men's and women's privilege speeches covered a broad range of topics without clear gendered patterns. In the case of Good Governance speeches, men were somewhat more likely to specialize in this area, but the results were not as robust.

In general, both men and women utilized privilege speeches at similar rates. While women made more privilege speeches when International Women's Day speeches were included, when these regularly occurring speeches were dropped men delivered privilege speeches at a slightly higher rate and overall men delivered longer speeches on average. Other means of classifying privilege speeches or more detailed content analyses might reveal more gendered patterns of engagement, but based on this analysis the primary finding is that women do genuinely advocate more for women and the welfare of children when given the opportunity to engage in political behavior that is not directly dictated by gendered institutional processes like committee assignments. There is also modest evidence that they use their positions to advocate

for other historically marginalized groups and demonstrate a tendency to focus on social issue areas like poverty alleviation and labor rights.

If privilege speeches are, as I argue, a window into genuine policy interests by virtue of the fact that they are comparatively free from the influence of gendered institutional mechanisms that might otherwise obscure or influence observable preferences, then these findings suggest that women legislators do tend to act on behalf of women and children, and to a lesser extent other marginalized groups. These findings also provide circumstantial support for Payson, Fouirnaies, and Hall's (2023) conclusion that the gendered patterns of committee assignments observed in the Philippines and elsewhere are at least partially indicative of policy areas that women tend to have an interest in more so than men.

At the same time, this study cannot say anything about the motivations behind privilege speeches or their efficacy. It may be that privilege speeches are a tool of the weak and that women or other members without as much institutional power engage in privilege speeches in an effort to drum up support from more powerful members. They may also be largely performative, used to signal to constituents their commitment to certain policy issues that they think will increase election chances. These types of questions are worth further investigation to determine how privilege speeches are used and to what effect.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The goal of this project was to identify a broad set of plausible theories that posit a relationship between descriptive diversity and substantive outcomes, and to determine if empirical evidence could be found in support of this theorized relationship in the Philippines context, which I argue is a least-likely case study. While I found evidence that women's increased presence in the legislature has some important consequences, they were not typically in the direct cause and effect manner that is often theorized by advocates of diversity initiatives. For instance, counter to expectations I find no evidence that women's increased presence in the legislature translated to improvements in the protection or expansion of women's rights, as measured by a comprehensive Women's Rights Index. Similarly, I find only weak evidence in support of a correlative relationship between women's growing numbers in the legislature and reductions in women's exposure to violence, oppression, and health inequalities, as measured by a Women's Harm Index.

Importantly, null findings in a least-likely case do not necessarily disconfirm the theorized link between women's descriptive representation and substantive policy outcomes (Koivu and Hinze 2017). This is especially true given the high threshold that the differenced time series models in Chapters 3 and 4 establish, which require clear short-run correlations to be present between increases in the number of seats held by women and the Women's Rights and Women's Harm indices, respectively. The non-monotonic trends in these indices, in part due to uncertainty inherent in the Bayesian methods used to estimate their annual values and in part due

to some shortcomings of the index construction[22], further reduced the likelihood of detecting a statistically significant relationship with a differenced model.

The null findings in these analyses, therefore, should not be taken as evidence that the theories themselves are wrong, but rather that they did not bear out when rigorously tested in a least-likely case. As Wängnerud (2009) states, "it goes without saying that parliaments are complex institutions and that it is a methodological challenge to empirically test the theory of the politics of presence" (61). Although I selected the Women's Rights and Women's Harms indices in an effort to find more comprehensive and inclusive measures that do not overrepresent the interests of heterosexual women who choose to marry and have children or otherwise make narrow assumptions about "women's interests," these indices were still imperfect measures of these concepts and may have traded one measurement problem for another. Relatedly, the limited number of observations pose significant challenges to the detection of time-series trends. Indeed, due to women's systematic exclusion from formal politics until the 1990s in most contexts, the limited number of observations for time-series analysis is endemic to the study of gender and representation at the national level and may be an additional reason that demonstrating a causal link between descriptive and substantive representation has proved so elusive.

That said, I find robust evidence through multiple analyses that women legislators do advocate for and act on behalf of women at higher rates and in more innovative ways compared to men. For instance, a clear finding from Chapter 3 is that women definitively introduce gender-relevant legislation at higher rates than men. In Chapter 4, I also find strong support for the

[22] Namely the fact that the Women's Rights Index effectively penalizes countries once they begin reporting some statistics and that the Women's Harm Index does not differentiate between reports of VAW and rape vs actual instances of VAW and rape (though admittedly this second point is a measurement challenge that is difficult to overcome, especially in regard to VAW and rape).

supposition that women consistently introduce more innovative legislation, as defined by that which fundamentally challenges dominant gender norms. Similarly, in Chapter 5 I find that women utilize privilege speeches to advocate for women's interests significantly more often than men. I also find that women are more likely to use their speechmaking powers to advocate for other marginalized groups in the Philippines, including children, Muslims, and Indigenous Peoples.

Taken together, these findings demonstrate that, even in a context where women in the legislature are not representative of the general population and largely achieved office by virtue of nepotism rather than experience, women are still likely to act on behalf of women as well as other marginalized groups and bring new perspectives to the policymaking table. As discussed in Chapter 2, the legacy of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines created a class of landed elites, which when layered on top of indigenous traditions of hereditary rulership based on patron-clientelism, has resulted in a political landscape dominated by a few dozen powerful families. It is these elite dynasties, I argue, that largely account for the Philippines' impressive levels of women in the legislature, particularly since the influx of women coincided with the imposition of consecutive term limits, which introduced a widespread practice of male legislators having women relatives effectively hold their seat in Congress until their term limits reset. Given that elite hereditary dynasties account for a substantial portion of women in the legislature, I hypothesized that such women were unlikely to act on behalf of women, and would instead tend to prioritize the interests of their families' economic and political interests. However, even under these conditions, I still ultimately found clear evidence that women legislators act on behalf of women and innovate in ways that advance the interests of women beyond the elite class.

Another overarching conclusion from this study is that women legislators in the Philippines tend to demonstrate a more sustained commitment to authoring, introducing, and advocating for legislation that advances women's interests. Women are much more likely to be repeat players when it comes to gender-relevant legislation, authoring more of this type of legislation and introducing different iterations through multiple Congress periods. I also show through an analysis of congressional committee transcripts that in deliberations over legislation that had proven controversial among men, such as marital rape laws, women learned from previous efforts to pass such legislation and demonstrated a willingness to adapt their approach, modifying the arguments for and language of the proposed law to ameliorate men's concerns while still successfully passing the core element of the legislation. This sustained interest in policy relevant to women is often key to making headway in the legislative process and while not as readily detectable as an outcome since it requires observing women's contributions to shaping legislation across multiple congressional cycles, it is a substantively impactful consequence of increased gender diversity that merits further study.

I identify several other potential avenues and approaches for additional research as well through the course of this project. First, an additional insight from committee meeting transcripts is that women legislators can offer perspectives to counter the dominant male narratives about gender relations. For instance, in the example of marital rape laws, women legislators successfully resisted the notion that women might abuse the law by making false allegations. Women capitalized on assumptions men had made in the deliberations about "typical Filipinas" being demure, using men's own logic to persuade them that this meant they would be unlikely to make false claims of marital rape. Studying these committee-level dynamics further could help scholars understand where and how women are instrumental in shaping the debate over specific

pieces of contested legislation and how potential conflicts among men and women legislators play out in committee settings.

Second, evaluating proposed rather than passed legislation and using theory to categorize legislation along more nuanced dimensions than topic alone offers much potential for better understanding how women can innovate through legislation in subtle ways. In Chapter 4, I apply the theories of Molyneux (1985) and Htun and Weldon (2010) to categorize proposed legislation based on whether the intended effect of the bill challenges dominant gender norms. I find that women are consistently more likely to author such legislation and argue that it is indicative of women innovating through the type of bills that they propose. Very few men authored any legislation that subverted gender relations or otherwise challenged hegemonic gender norms in the household, workplace, or formal power structures. A related idea is examining whether women are more likely to introduce legislation that revises or adds nuance to existing laws relevant to gender relations. Given that most of the legal frameworks of Philippines law were written without the input of women, it is plausible that as women enter the legislature, they may attempt to revise some of those legal foundations. There are surely other interesting, theory-informed dimensions along which proposed legislation could be usefully studied, which would shed additional light on the unique ways that women (or other groups) conceive of legislation and the ways it could be used to challenge existing power structures.

Finally, identifying and studying forms of participation in the legislature that are equally open to junior members has promising potential to reveal women's legislative priorities and interests, which might be obscured in other modes of engagement that are not so egalitarian. Given women's historical exclusion from politics, they are inherently more likely to be junior members of the legislature. Many processes may give preference either formally or informally to

more senior members, and therefore women may have fewer opportunities to engage as equals in the legislature. As I argue in Chapter 5, privilege speeches represent a mode of participation that is equally open to all members and not mediated by party, seniority, Majority/Minority status. Thus, they provide a rare opportunity to observe which issues legislators choose to highlight and elevate to the level of policy discourse in the legislature. While privilege speeches may be unique to the Philippines, looking for other forms of participation that are relatively egalitarian and through which policy priorities and interests are revealed, could be informative for more accurately discerning the interests of women and other minority legislators.

Each of the above areas of study share a common feature: they are modes of participation that are not clearly dictated by the formal, gendered power structures of legislative institutions. While gender relations arguably shape all social and professional interaction to an extent, especially in the context of historically male-dominated institutions like legislatures, the observable outcomes in these cases are not directly determined by gendered power structures. In contrast, congressional committee assignments, for instance, are largely dictated by those with more institutional power in the legislature (predominantly men). Since power accrues over time and is correlated with seniority and influence, women are now and may continue to be for decades at a fundamental disadvantage within the power structure of legislatures even after achieving levels of representation that approach numeric parity. For example, as I show in Chapter 5, women were disproportionately excluded from committee chair positions relative to their numbers in the legislature at least until 2016. Numerous other observable outcomes, including committee assignments, extent of participation in floor debates, and the successful passage of policy are similarly shaped by the gendered power structure of the legislative institution, thus I contend that scholars attempting to discern women's contributions in the

legislature should intentionally seek out forms of engagement that are more egalitarian and not so strongly dictated by the formal power structure of the institution.

Relatedly, this raises the question of whether it is reasonable to judge the success of women legislators based on the extent to which they successfully legislate in favor of women. Evaluating women's actions in the context of institutions where they are more likely to have fundamentally less power compared to men may be an unreasonable standard. Since women remain a minority in nearly every legislature of the world, the passage of legislation under majority rule institutions means that not only are women expected to author and introduce gender initiatives, but they must also persuade at least some men to support this legislation if it is to pass. An overemphasis among scholars on policy outcomes, therefore, places a considerable burden on women and introduces a double-standard in which women are held to account for their ability to successfully represent "women's issues," despite there being no similar parallel by which to judge the efficacy of men.

As a historically marginalized group that is only just beginning to occupy a seat at the policymaking table in appreciable numbers, the hope is that women will represent women's interests as a matter of justice and progress, since their voices have been excluded from formal political institutions for so long. But we should take caution in imposing a limited range of policy objectives onto a group that is already disadvantaged within the formal institution. While the literature is perhaps moving beyond this paradigm of focusing primarily on women's policy outcomes, it is nonetheless worth thinking critically about other ways in which the study of substantive outcomes might perpetuate the notion that women are less effective legislators or inadequately living up to their gender mandates, when in reality the legacy of historical exclusion from political institutions and the highly gendered nature of legislative institutions will

likely continue to place women at a relative disadvantage for decades even after they achieve parity in seats.

That said, it is therefore imperative to continue studying the ways in which women are systematically disadvantaged within legislative institutions so that such gendered barriers to equal participation and influence can be dismantled. If the ultimate goal is to achieve true parity in representation, not just in numbers but also in power, then there is undoubtedly more work to be done in making legislative institutions more equitable for women and other historically marginalized groups. This project makes clear that even in a least-likely case where many women achieved office through nepotism rather than merits and have competing class interests with a majority of women in society, women still bring a innovative perspective on issues related to gender and still tend to advocate on behalf of women more consistently and at higher levels than men. This finding lends powerful support in favor of institutionalized gender quotas. It suggests that in some ways it does not matter how women enter office, or even which women. The inclusion of women in legislative institutions that have been dominated by men for decades is itself transformative and therefore worth pursing even through top-down initiatives like quotas.

However, mandatory quotas or women's representation through nepotism should not be the final solution. It is important to note that even though women in the Philippines consistently acted on behalf of women at higher rates than men, it was still a minority of women legislators that specialized in this policy area. Thus, not all women felt compelled to act on their gender mandates. Political corruption, nepotism, economic inequality, and wealth/opportunity hoarding remain serious problems in the Philippines, and simply including more elite women with dynastic ties is not a panacea to creating a more equitable and representative government. Other

dimensions of identity beyond gender matter as do the incentives of elected representatives, thus those other dimensions of representation should not be ignored in favor of putting too much emphasis on gender alone as a marker of descriptive diversity or as a promise of substantive outcomes. While getting more women into elected office is an important part of making legislatures and governments more representative, it should not be only or all about gender and we should ultimately strive for creating more equitable and inclusive institutions across a range of dimensions.

Still, achieving more gender diverse legislatures is an important and necessary (though perhaps ultimately insufficient) step. When legislatures are dominated by men, important issues relevant to at least half of the population will remain overlooked and may only get due attention when more women have a seat at the policymaking table (Dovi 2007). As this study shows, women legislators even in a least-likely case consistently legislate on behalf of women at higher rates than men. Women also introduce more innovative gender legislation that has the potential to address social inequalities by challenging hegemonic gender norms. Finally, women advocate for women and other historically marginalized groups at higher rates than men. These three findings alone are enough to conclude that when it comes to gender, representation truly does matter.

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Appendix A

Table A1: Observed Indicators for Women's Rights Index

Source	Indicator
World Bank WBL	Civil remedies for sexual harassment exist
	Civil remedies for sexual harassment in employment exist
	Clear criminal penalties for domestic violence exist
	Constitutional clause on gender nondiscrimination in the constitution
	Criminal penalties for sexual harassment exist
	Criminal penalties for sexual harassment in employment exist
	Dismissal of pregnant workers prohibited
	Domestic violence legislation covers economic violence
	Domestic violence legislation covers emotional violence
	Domestic violence legislation covers physical violence
	Domestic violence legislation covers sexual violence
	Domestic violence legislation exists
	Domestic violence legislation protects former spouses
	Employers required to provide break for nursing mothers
	Female and male surviving spouses have equal rights to inherit assets
	Law mandates equal remuneration for females and males for work of equal value
	Law mandates nondiscrimination based on gender in hiring
	Law prohibits/invalidates child or early marriage
	Law provides for the valuation of non-monetary contributions
	Legal age of marriage, ratio
	Legislation explicitly criminalizes marital rape
	Legislation on domestic violence protects family members
	Legislation on sexual harassment in education exists
	Legislation on sexual harassment in employment exists
	Legislation on sexual harassment in public places exists
	Legislation specifically addresses sexual harassment
	Married couples share legal responsibility for maintaining family expenses
	Married men and women have equal ownership rights to property
	Married women are required by law to obey their husbands
	Married women can confer citizenship on her children in the same way as men
	Married women can confer citizenship to non-national spouse same way as men
	Married women can choose where to live in same way as men
	Married women can get a job/pursue a trade/profession in same way as men
	Married women can obtain national ID card in same way as men
	Married women can open bank account in same way as men
	Married women can register a business in same way as men
	Married women can sign a contract in same way as a man
	Married women can travel outside their home
	Married women can travel outside the country in same way as men
	Nonpregnant women can do the same jobs as men
	Nonpregnant women can work in jobs deemed arduous in same way as men

	Nonpregnant women can work in jobs deemed morally inappropriate in same way as men
	Nonpregnant women can work the same night hours as men
	Penalties exist for authorizing/knowingly entering into child/early marriage
	Protection orders for domestic violence can exist
	Protection orders prohibit/limit contact with survivor
	Protection orders provide for removal of perpetrator from the home
	Sons and daughters have equal rights to inherit assets
	Specialized court procedure exists for domestic violence
	Unmarried men and women have equal ownership rights to property
	Unmarried women can apply for passport in same way as men
	Unmarried women can be head of household in same way as men
	Unmarried women can choose where to live in same way as men
	Unmarried women can confer citizenship on her children in same way as men
	Unmarried women can obtain national ID card in same way as men
	Unmarried women can open a bank account in same way as men
	Unmarried women can register business in same way as men
	Unmarried women can sign a contract in same way as men
	Unmarried women can travel outside her home in same way as men
	Woman's testimony carries the same evidentiary weight in court as a man's
V Dem	Women's access to justice index
	Women's property rights index
	Women's suffrage (proportion eligible to vote)

Source: Karim and Hill (2024)

Table A2: WLS Regression of Women's Rights on Women's Presence in Legislature, in Differences with 1-4 Year Lags, GDP per capita as Modernization Proxy

	Dependent variable:			
	Change in Women's Rights Index Score			
Delta % Women t-1	0.017			
	(0.013)			
Delta % Women t-2		-0.019		
		(0.015)		
Delta % Women t-3			0.006	
			(0.014)	
Delta % Women t-4				0.012
				(0.016)
Change in GDP per Capita t-1	0.0001	0.0001	0.0002	0.0001
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Woman President	-0.032	-0.033	-0.031	-0.039
	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Constant	0.016	0.037	0.015	0.023
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.045)	(0.035)
AIC	-30.87	-28.85	-25.17	-23.59
Observations	31	30	29	28
R^2	0.094	0.095	0.042	0.055
Adjusted R^2	-0.007	-0.009	-0.073	-0.064
Residual Std. Error	0.390 (df = 27)	0.396 (df = 26)	0.416 (df = 25)	0.421 (df = 24)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A3: WLS Regression of Women's Rights on Women's Presence in Legislature, in Differences with 1-4 Year Lags, 2009 Rights Index Score Omitted

	Dependent variable:			
	Change in Women's Rights Index Score			
Delta % Women t-1	0.016			
	(0.012)			
Delta % Women t-2		-0.008		
		(0.017)		
Delta % Women t-3			0.001	
			(0.012)	
Delta % Women t-4				0.011
				(0.016)
Change in Labor Force Participation t-1	-0.001	-0.0003	-0.001	-0.004
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.014)
Woman President	-0.012	-0.017	-0.012	-0.009
	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.059)	(0.060)
Constant	0.023	0.045	0.039	0.034
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.030)
AIC	-31.41	-27.57	-25.28	-23.95
Observations	30	29	28	27
R^2	0.071	0.013	0.003	0.026
Adjusted R^2	-0.037	-0.105	-0.122	-0.101
Residual Std. Error	0.379 (df = 26)	0.398 (df = 25)	0.407 (df = 24)	0.411 (df = 23)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A4: AR(1) Model of Women's Rights on Women's Presence in Legislature, in levels with a Proxy for Global Norm Diffusion

	Dependent variable:
	Women's Rights Index
AR1	0.768***
	(0.120)
Intercept	0.279
	(0.420)
% Women t-1	0.011*
	(0.006)
Women's Labor Force Participation t-1	0.006
	(0.007)
US Women's Rights Index t-1	-0.208
	(0.173)
Woman President	0.035
	(0.057)
RMSE	0.09
Observations	32
Log Likelihood	32.232
$sigma^2$	0.008
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-50.465
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix B

Table B1: Observed Indicators for Women's Harm Index

Source	Indicator
Demographic and Health Surveys	Contraceptive prevalence
	Demand for family planning satisfied
	Family visit decisions made by wife
	Health decisions made by wife
	Unmet need for contraception
	Wife makes household purchase decisions
	Women decide what food to cook
	Women decide when to visit their family
	Women make daily purchase decisions
	Women make decisions about own health
	Women make major purchase decisions
United Nations (UN)	Infant mortality rate, ratio
	Under 5 mortality rate, ratio
UN Population Division	Adolescent fertility rate
	Fertility rate
	Life expectancy ratio
UNAIDS	Anti-retroviral drug access ratio
	HIV ratio
UNDP	Antenatal care visits
UNICEF	Births attended by skilled staff
	Prenatal care prevalence
World Bank Gender Stats	Child mortality ratio
	Proportion of women subjected to violence in past year
World Health Organization	Maternal mortality rate
	Stunted growth ratio
Woman Stats	Rape Scale (LRW Scale 4)
	Marital rape scale (LRW Scale 8)
	Murder Scale (Murder Scale 1)

Source: Karim and Hill (2024)

Table B2: WLS Regression of Women's Harm on Women's Presence in Legislature, in Differences with 1-4 Year Lags, GDP per capita as Modernization Proxy

	Dependent variable:			
	Change in Harm Index Score			
Delta % Women t-1	0.015			
	(0.020)			
Delta % Women t-2		-0.031		
		(0.019)		
Delta % Women t-3			0.019	
			(0.026)	
Delta % Women t-4				0.013
				(0.023)
Change in GDP per Capita	-0.0001	-0.0001	-0.00001	-0.00004
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Woman President	-0.094	-0.060	-0.072	-0.083
	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.083)	(0.086)
Constant	0.005	0.027	-0.006	0.002
	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.068)	(0.067)
AIC	-3.53	-5.18	-1.79	-0.59
Observations	26	25	24	23
R^2	0.082	0.159	0.073	0.067
Adjusted R^2	-0.043	0.038	-0.066	-0.080
Residual Std. Error	0.790 (df = 22)	0.768 (df = 21)	0.822 (df = 20)	0.845 (df = 19)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table B3: WLS Regression of Women's Harm on Women's Presence in Legislature, in Differences with 1-4 Year Lags, 2011 Harm Index Score Omitted

	Dependent variable:			
	Change in Women's Harm Index Score			
Delta % Women t-1	0.012			
	(0.018)			
Delta % Women t-2		-0.025		
		(0.020)		
Delta % Women t-3			0.009	
			(0.027)	
Delta % Women t-4				0.016
				(0.022)
Change in Labor Force Participation	-0.020	-0.012	-0.018	-0.026
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Woman President	-0.070	-0.065	-0.078	-0.071
	(0.073)	(0.076)	(0.081)	(0.083)
Constant	-0.023	0.020	0.005	0.003
	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.058)	(0.057)
AIC	-31.41	-27.57	-25.28	-23.95
Observations	25	25	24	23
R^2	0.124	0.176	0.117	0.140

Appendix C

C1: List of Standing Committees and Jurisdictions Used to Categorize Privilege Speeches

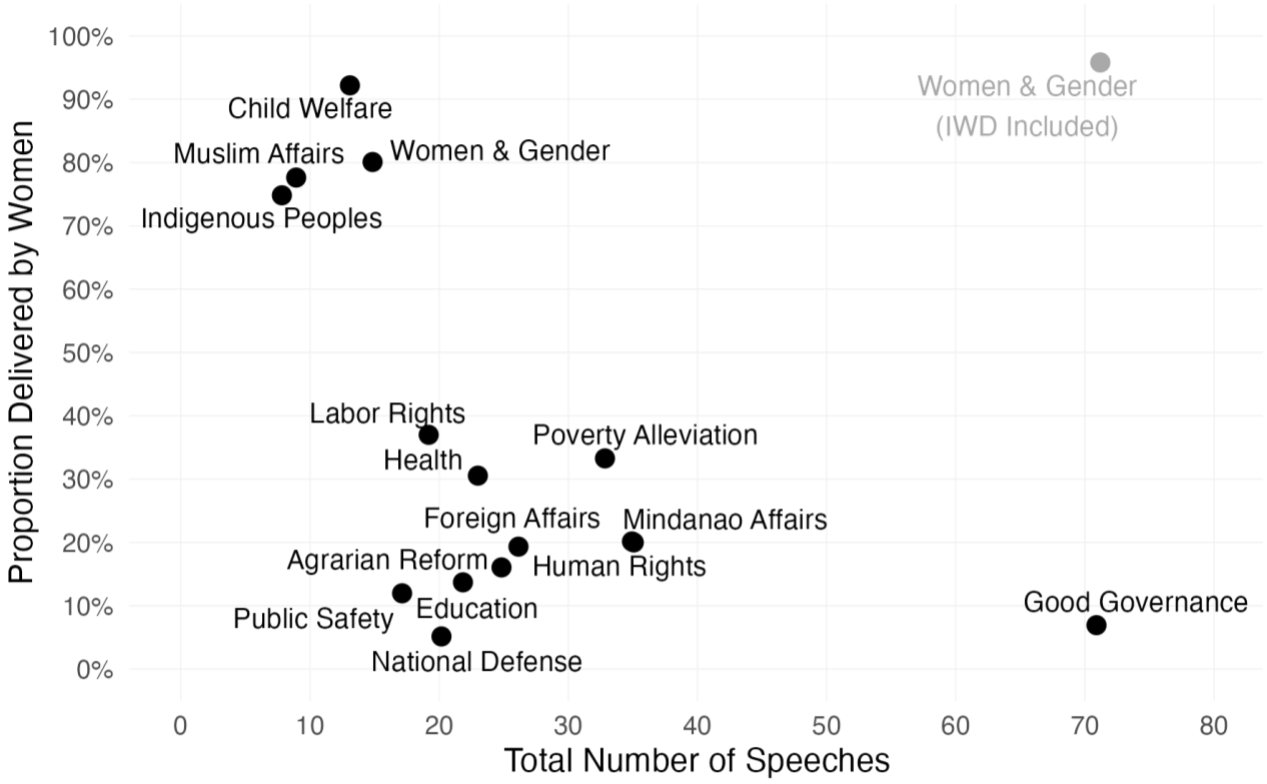
Standing Committee	Jurisdiction
Agrarian Reform	All matters directly and principally relating to agrarian reform, the resettlement of and other support services for agrarian reform beneficiaries, and the implementation and amendment of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law
Agriculture and Food	All matters directly and principally relating to food and agricultural production, agribusiness, agri-economics, agricultural research and technology, agricultural education including extension services, soil conservation, soil survey and research, irrigation, farm credit and security, animal industry and quarantine, and crop and livestock production, insurance, and guarantee programs
Aquaculture and Fisheries Resources	All matters directly and principally relating to aquaculture and fisheries production and development, the business of aquaculture, use of aquatic resources, fresh water and fisheries culture research and technology applications, aquaculture and fisheries education and training including extension services, conservation of streams, rivers, lakes and other fisheries resources, and fishpond and fisheries culture production and development including related technical, financial and guarantee assistance programs
Banks and Financial Intermediaries	All matters directly and principally relating to banking and currency, government-owned or controlled banks and financial institutions, non-government banks and financial institutions, insurance, securities and securities exchange
Basic Education and Culture	All matters directly and principally relating to pre-school, kindergarten, primary and secondary education, science high schools except the Philippine Science High School System, teachers and students' welfare, alternative learning systems, special education and community adult education, the national language, libraries and museums, and the preservation and enrichment of Filipino arts and culture
Civil Service and Professional Regulation	All matters directly and principally relating to the organization, operation, management, rules and regulations of the civil service; the status, welfare and benefits of government officers and employees; and the regulation of admission to and the practice of professions
Constitutional Amendments	All matters directly and principally relating to amendments or revisions of the Constitution
Cooperatives Development	All matters directly and principally relating to cooperatives inclusive of cooperative movements and organizations; urban and rural-based credit, consumer, producers, marketing, service and multi-purpose cooperatives; electric cooperatives registered with the Cooperative Development Authority; and the implementation or amendment of the Cooperative Code of the Philippines
Disaster Resilience	All matters directly and principally relating to disaster and calamities, whether natural or man-made, as well as policies, plans, programs and projects related to disaster risk and vulnerability reduction and management including disaster preparedness and resiliency, relief and rescue, recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction
Ecology	All matters directly and principally relating to ecosystem management including pollution control

Economic Affairs	All matters directly and principally relating to economic development planning and programs inclusive of economic and socio-economic studies and development policies and strategies
Energy	All matters directly and principally relating to the exploration, development, utilization or conservation of energy resources, including the development and utilization of alternative and renewable energy resources and the entities involved in energy or power generation, transmission, distribution and supply excluding nuclear energy and its sources and infrastructures
Ethics and Privileges	All matters directly and principally relating to the duties, conduct, rights, privileges and immunities, dignity, integrity and reputation of the House and its Members
Foreign Affairs	All matters directly and principally relating to the relations of the Philippines with other countries, diplomatic and consular services, the United Nations and its agencies, and other international organizations and agencies
Games and Amusements	All matters directly and principally relating to all forms and places of gaming and amusements
Good Government and Public Accountability	All matters directly and principally relating to malfeasance, misfeasance and nonfeasance in office committed by officers and employees of the government and its political subdivisions and instrumentalities inclusive of investigations of any matter of public interest on its own initiative or upon order of the House
Government Enterprises and Privatization	All matters directly and principally relating to the creation, organization, operation, reorganization and amendments of charters of government-owned or controlled corporations including the Government Service Insurance System, the Social Security System and similar institutions, but excluding government-owned or controlled banks and financial institutions
Government Reorganization	All matters directly and principally relating to the reorganization of the government or any of its branches, departments and instrumentalities, excluding government-owned or controlled corporations, and the creation, abolition or change of the principal functions or nature of any government department, agency, commission or board
Health	All matters directly and principally relating to public health and hygiene, and quarantine, medical, hospital and other health facilities and services
Higher and Technical Education	All matters directly and principally relating to higher education and post-secondary technical-vocational education, open distance learning, students and teachers' welfare, and centers of excellence and development
Human Rights	All matters directly and principally relating to the protection and enhancement of human rights, assistance to victims of human rights violations and their families, the prevention of violations of human rights and the punishment of perpetrators of such violations
Indigenous Cultural Communities and Indigenous Peoples	All matters directly and principally relating to indigenous cultural communities and indigenous peoples and the development of their communities
Information and Communications Technology	All matters relating to postal, telegraph, radio, broadcast, cable and satellite television, telephone, mobile cellular networks, convergence, computers and telecommunications technologies including but not limited to broadband access to wired and wireless connectivity to the internet such as voice over internet protocol (VOIP), video conferencing, and audio/video/data streaming; any and all other public and private electronic means of capturing, processing, storing and transmitting information for information technology; information systems inclusive of hardware, software and content applications; mobile short messaging system (SMS) applications affecting upstream and downstream business applications; and networks that enable access to online technology

Inter-Parliamentary Relations and Diplomacy,	All matters directly and principally relating to inter-parliamentary relations and linkages with international parliamentary organizations such as but not limited to the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), AsianPacific Parliamentarians' Union (APPU), Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU); establishment of inter-parliamentary friendship societies; and visits of parliamentary delegations as well as other foreign dignitaries
Justice	All matters directly and principally relating to the administration of justice, the Judiciary, the practice of law and integration of the Bar, legal aid, penitentiaries and reform schools, adult probation, impeachment proceedings, registration of land titles, immigration, deportation, naturalization, and the definition of crimes and other offenses punishable by law and their penalties
Labor and Employment	All matters directly and principally relating to labor, the advancement and protection of the rights and welfare of workers, employment and manpower development inclusive of the promotion of industrial peace and employer-employee cooperation, labor education, labor standards and statistics, and the organization and development of the labor market including the recruitment, training and placement of manpower
Local Government	All matters directly and principally relating to autonomous regions, provinces, cities, municipalities and barangays including their revenues and expenditures
Mindanao Affairs	All matters directly and principally relating to the development of Mindanao including the preparation of a comprehensive and integrated development plan for Mindanao
Muslim Affairs	All matters directly and principally relating to Muslim affairs inclusive of the welfare of Muslim Filipinos and the development of predominantly Muslim areas
National Defense and Security	All matters directly and principally relating to national defense and national security, the Armed Forces of the Philippines, citizens army, selective services, forts and arsenals, military bases, reservations and yards and coast and geodetic surveys
Natural Resources	All matters directly and principally relating to natural resources, except energy and fisheries resources, and their exploration, conservation, management and utilization, lands of the public domain, mines and minerals, forests, parks and wildlife, and marine resources
Overseas Workers Affairs	All matters directly and principally relating to policies and programs on the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of overseas Filipino workers and their families
Population and Family Relations	All matters directly and principally relating to population growth and family planning, population census and statistics and family relations
Poverty Alleviation	All matters directly and principally relating to policies and programs to address the poverty situation in the country and other actions to alleviate the plight of the poor and promote their right to equal access to opportunities for a better quality of life
Public Information	All matters directly and principally relating to the production and dissemination of information to the public through all forms of mass communications and media such as print and broadcast media, movie and television, video, advertising, cable television and the internet, including the regulation thereof, and the rights and responsibilities of persons and entities engaged therein
Public Order and Safety	All matters directly and principally relating to the suppression of criminality including those on illegal gambling, private armies, terrorism, organized crime and illegal drugs, regulation of firearms, firecrackers and pyrotechnics, civil defense, private security agencies, and the Philippine National Police, the Bureau of Fire Protection and the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology

Public Works and Highways	All matters directly and principally relating to the planning, construction, maintenance, improvement and repair of public infrastructure inclusive of buildings, highways, bridges, roads, parks, drainage, flood control and protection, water utilities and utilization of waters of the public domain
Rural Development	All matters directly and principally relating to the development of rural areas and islands through policies, programs, support services and other interventions to include livelihood and enterprise development, microfinancing, community mobilization and development, area development planning, and access to rural project funding and financing
Senior Citizens	All matters directly and principally relating to the needs and welfare of senior citizens as well as policies and programs that will enhance their active participation in society
Suffrage and Electoral Reforms	All matters directly and principally relating to the protection and advancement of the right of suffrage and the conduct of elections, plebiscites, initiatives, recalls and referenda
Tourism	All matters directly and principally relating to the development and promotion of tourism both domestic and international
Trade and Industry	All matters directly and principally relating to domestic and foreign trade, intellectual property rights, patents, trade names and trademarks, standards, weights and measures, designs, quality control, consumer protection, prices and marketing of commodities, handicrafts and cottage industries, and the development, regulation and diversification of industry and investments
Transportation	All matters directly and principally relating to land, sea, and air transportation and all public utilities and services connected thereto, as well as the establishment, operation, management and regulation of airports, seaports and other mass transportation systems including light and heavy rail systems and roll on-roll off systems (RO-RO), civil aviation, air transport agreements, transportation safety standards, air transport security, maritime security, ballast water management, ship financing, ship mortgage, maritime liens and transportation related insurance
Veterans Affairs and Welfare	All matters directly and principally relating to the welfare of war veterans, veterans of military campaigns, military retirees, and their surviving spouses and other beneficiaries
Welfare of Children	All matters directly and principally relating to the needs and overall welfare of Filipino children, including children with special needs, and all actions to ensure the availability of and their continuing access to affordable and appropriate programs and resources that facilitate and contribute to the attainment of their welfare
Women and Gender Equality	All matters directly and principally relating to the rights and welfare of women including girl-children, inclusive of their education, employment, working conditions, their role in nation building, and all concerns relating to gender equality
Youth and Sports Development	All matters directly and principally relating to youth development including the development of their leadership potentials and the promotion of their moral, physical, intellectual and social well-being, and sports development

Figure C2: Gendered Patterns of Most Common Privilege Speech Topics (2004-2016) with International Women's Day Speeches Included (in Grey)



Source: Data compiled by the author from Philippines House of Representatives Archives, 2022