WHY DO WOMEN RUN FOR OFFICE?

Contextual factors for cantonal differences in the share of female candidates on the Swiss electoral rolls

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Summary and results

The 2019 National Council elections were a decisive moment for women's active political representation in Switzerland. After many years of a relatively stable share of female politicians, there has never been that many female candidates on the Swiss electoral rolls (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2019a) and women finally achieved to compose 41.5% of the lower legislative chamber (Federal Assembly, 2019). Women's slow progression in the legislative bodies calls attention to the remaining gender inequalities they face when considering a political career. The recruitment process is of high importance since it determines which candidates will get on the parties' electoral slates, thus influencing the composition of the parliament. However, political recruitment remains an under researched topic (Bütikofer et al., 2008; Gilardi, 2015; Plüss & Rusch, 2012) described as a shadowy pathway, differing from one political party to another but in which gender-based stereotypes persist (Giger, 2019). Therefore, the present master thesis focuses on the research of cantonal contextual factors associated to the proportion of women on the electoral rolls of the 2019 National Council elections. The cantonal differences in the share of women on the slates are investigated based on the application of Norris and Lovenduski's influential model of political recruitment. The latter foresees the interactions between the rules and the procedures arising from the legal, electoral and party system as well as the supply of aspirants and the demands of gatekeepers (Gilardi & Dlabac, 2019, p. 2).

The method used in order to test the correlation between the cantonal contextual factors and the female share of candidates on the slates is a regression analysis. The study covers the 26 cantons of Switzerland and the model encompasses six independent variables. When running the multivariate regression and controlling for heteroskedasticity, three indicators are linked to the female share of candidates on the list and the model explains 76,3% of the variance in the proportion of women (adjusted R-square 0.763, p-value 3.637e-06). The first one is the opportunity index (significance at 0.1%-level) which is used in order to reflect the recruitment process within parties and their position towards female candidatures, as it measured their propensity to support female candidacies; it is the variable correlating the most with the proportion of women on the lists. The second one is the presence of female gatekeepers (significance at 1%-level), i.e. the presence of women in the political elites, which considers the attitude of selectors women face when applying. The third correlating variable is the gender time inequality index (significance at 5%-level), which is related to the supply of candidates; by measuring the gender division of domestic work, it is possible to have more

information about the remaining time women have in order to engage in a political career. Furthermore, in order to check the robustness of these findings, the model was transposed to the 20 Swiss cantons having a proper proportional representation as electoral system. The model is less predictive than the previous one, however as the connections between the two less significant variables – female gatekeeper and gender time inequality index – and the proportion of female on the slates vanishes, the relation between the opportunity index and the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls remains. Hence, the cantons in which political parties award a strategical position to women, are also the cantons in which there is a high share of female candidates. In Switzerland, except for a few formal rules, parties are free to constitute their lists according to their preferences (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 13), hence the composition of the electoral rolls reflects parties' priorities and indirectly the sensibility they have towards female candidates (Bütikofer et al., 2008, p. 636). Eventually, parties can support female candidacies by recruiting them, but also in balancing their slates and giving women strategical positions – mandate or fighting positions. Furthermore, the two in the first model correlating factors also highlight the importance of non-formal rules and practices. Indeed, the presence of female presidents in the cantonal parties seems to be encouraging for women in politics; authors (Lawless & Fox, 2010, p. 7) acknowledge the increased visibility of women through female gatekeepers in politics and the symbolic representation they account for. The gendered repartition of domestic work, being negatively linked to the proportion of women on the slates, illustrates the persistence of traditional gender roles in the division of labor and demonstrates the importance of the time resource when engaging in politics (Norris, 1997a, p. 230; Stadelmann-Steffen & Koller, 2014, p. 529). Finally, the absence of correlation with indicators from the structure of opportunities emanating from the legal, political and party systems brings to light that the persisting discriminations women face in politics arise apart from legal regulations.

The 2019 National Council elections are a remarkable milestone in the active political participation of women. However, even if most of the legal barriers blocking women to engage in politics and run for office have been slowly eliminated since the introduction of female suffrage in 1971, women politicians are still confronted with gender-based stereotypes (Giger, 2019). The results of the present study, on the one hand acknowledge the importance of contextual factors and support Norris and Lovenduski's model of political recruitment. On the other hand, they emphasize the importance of informal rules, established practices or habits and the ultimate role of political parties in the shadowy pathway that legislative recruitment persists to be.

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1 Introduction

"Even in advanced industrialized European societies, politics is still largely a male domain that women have difficulty accessing" (Stockemer, 2007, p. 476). Despite equal rights between women and men, female politicians continue to be confronted with gender-based stereotypes (Giger, 2019) and gender inequalities perpetuated by unjust power structures (Beyeler & Annesley, 2011, p. 80). Nevertheless, in Switzerland, after many years of stability with regards to women's active electoral participation since the introduction of the female suffrage in 1971 (Stadelmann-Steffen & Koller, 2014, p. 530), the 2019 elections for the National Council marked a turning point; women reached a new triumphing representation of 41.5% in the National Council (Federal Assembly, 2019). Even if discriminations toward women in politics persist (Lawless & Fox, 2010), the gender chance ratio, i.e. the proportion of female and male candidates who are elected, is stable and tends towards equality (Kanthak & Woon, 2015, p. 595; Lawless & Fox, 2010, p. 33; Seitz, 2016, p. 8). Obviously, since findings have shown that the share of female politicians and candidates correlate (Helander, 1997, p. 73), a major reason behind this spectacular increase of women in the national parliament is definitely linked to the extremely high number of female candidates. Indeed, the proportion of women on the electoral rolls for the National Council elections reached a record of 40% (Seitz, 2019, p. 1). In fact, there have never been so many women on the electoral lists in Switzerland (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2019a). Nevertheless, the gender gap and cantonal differences, with regards to women's active political participation, still persist. These cantonal discrepancies are of importance, especially as the insufficient number of female candidates on the slates can be considered a hurdle for gender balance in politics (Gilardi, 2015, p. 968).

Women's representation in parliaments has been a highly researched topic worldwide (Ballington, 2005; Stockemer, 2007). As the gender gap in industrial democracies has decreased, various studies have analyzed the influence of women on public decision-making (Stockemer, 2007) and the voting behaviors of women (Stadelmann-Steffen & Koller, 2014). The field of recruitment, i.e. the presence of women on the electoral rolls, has been disregarded (Bütikofer et al., 2008; Gilardi, 2015; Plüss & Rusch, 2012). Nevertheless, recruitment process is extremely important. The latter, firstly, determines which candidates get on the lists and who has a chance to enter legislative body. Secondly, recruitment process influences the composition of the parliaments; that is to say whether parliaments reflect society

(Norris, 1997b, p. 1,4). Moreover, in comparative studies, national comparisons have often prevailed on subnational ones (Nollert & Schief, 2018, p. 187). Therefore, the present master thesis will investigate the puzzle of legislative recruitment by focusing on the regional dissimilarities, when it comes to the female share of candidates on the Swiss electoral rolls. There are not only considerable cantonal differences in terms of the proportion of women on the slates, but also, more generally, in terms of inequalities between men and women (ibid., pp. 181–182). For that reason, Switzerland and its culturally, structurally, and institutionally heterogeneous federal subunits are an excellent case to study women's electoral representation. Thus, what contextual factors can be associated with the cantonal differences in the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls for the 2019 National Council elections?

In order to answer the previously mentioned research question, different steps are taken to understand women's legislative recruitment. After assessing the overall importance of women in democracies, the second chapter of this thesis narrows the scope to Switzerland. The chapter is separated into three detailed topics: the Swiss political system, its functions, major reforms, and the characteristics of national elections; the issue of gender equality in the country, the laws developed since the introduction of women's suffrage, and the feminization of the political institutions; and the particular National Council elections of 2019. The third chapter focuses on the recruitment of women based on the model developed by Norris and Lovenduski in the 1980s. This influential model of political recruitment analyzes the interactions between the supply of aspirants, the demands of gatekeepers, and the rules and procedures arising from the various legal, electoral, and party systems (Gilardi & Dlabac, 2019, p. 2). The cantonal differences in the share of women on the electoral rolls are investigated based on Norris and Lovenduski's model of political recruitment. Contextual factors, with regards to the legal and political systems; the recruitment processes; the demands of the parties, which are the gatekeepers; and the supply of women are analyzed in each canton. The fourth chapter explains the design of the analysis. The following research investigates these cantonal differences by using a multivariate (OLS) regression. Additionally, information on the data collected for the research and their operationalization are also carefully described. In the fifth chapter, empirical results provide explanations for figuring out whether cantonal differences in the share of women on the electoral rolls correlate to the analyzed contextual factors. In the sixth chapter, the findings of the research as well as the

limits of the thesis are discussed. Finally, the seventh chapter summarizes the overall discoveries and considers further interesting research options on the thematic of women's political recruitment.

1.1 The importance of women in politics

Before addressing the principle subject of the thesis – women on electoral rolls for the 2019 National Council elections – it is essential to understand and highlight the importance of women in a democracy. Core components of modern and western democracies are the active participation of women as well as the value of political equality. Women, representing half of the population and being equal citizens to men, should be equally included in the politics (Tremblay, 2007, p. 533). Hence, Ruedin (2012, p. 96) argues that the proportion of women in politics is concerning and unjust, as all humans should have equal rights to take part in decision-making. Therefore, a greater number of female politicians in parliaments is a necessary first step.

Democratic theorists have been long preoccupied with researching the proper form of representation as there are various manners in which to conceptualize high quality representation (Hayes & Hibbing, 2017, pp. 32–33). For the present thesis, it is sufficient to acknowledge the distinctions as a matter of focus, either on the number of elected women or on the effects of women's presence in the legislative organ (Wängnerud, 2009, p. 52).

First, descriptive representation refers to the number of women elected, i.e. the share of seats in parliament is used as an indicator of political inclusion (ibid., p. 53). Besides focusing on the characteristics of representatives – race, ethnicity, gender or sexual identity (Hayes & Hibbing, 2017, p. 34) – descriptive representation symbolizes "the extent to which a legislative body resembles a given constituent and her social or demographic identities" (ibid., p. 33). In other words, parliaments should mirror the societies they serve (Farrell, 2011, p. 10; Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 841; Norris, 2006, p. 2; Norris & Lovenduski, 1989, p. 107).

Secondly, substantive representation is linked to policy actions and gender attitudes; it considers the effects women have, once elected into parliaments (Wängnerud, 2009, p. 51). Assuming women have certain common interests and concerns (ibid., p. 53) due to their experiences, they will be the most adequate representatives to address these issues. Hence, the focus of the substantive representation is on what the representatives do and how they do it. In addition to policy priorities and voting behavior, female politicians tend to be more

cooperative, while male counterparts emphasize hierarchy (Lawless & Fox, 2010, p. 6). In fact, Ballmer-Cao and Wenger (1989, pp. 108–109) brought to light that, in Switzerland, at a national level, women consider the execution of politics differently – e.g. selection and introduction of new themes, differences in content and form. Broockman (2014, p. 190) proved that female politicians are more likely to provide women with substantive representation than male politicians. Further, Norris and Lovenduski (1989, p. 115) argue that, once female politicians account for a considerable mass in legislative organs, they are more likely to represent women's interests, in terms of policy choices, i.e. female-friendly policies reconciling women's private and public spheres responsibilities such as employment and child-drearing (Bhalotra et al., 2017, p. 1844; Broockman, 2014, p. 190; Stockemer, 2007, p. 477). Furthermore, societies electing large numbers of women in parliaments tend to be more gender-equal than regions where few women are elected (Wängnerud, 2009, p. 53).

Thirdly, the two concepts of descriptive and substantive representation can be considered together, with the aim to achieve symbolic representation. The latter goes beyond common characteristics or policy congruence between representatives and those represented (Leston-Bandeira, 2016, p. 505). Symbolic representation is closely linked to feelings and attitudes, it is about the ability to evoke a subjective sense of identification and the meaning politicians have for the represented (Hayes & Hibbing, 2017, p. 33). Thus, the decisions made during legislatures with high female share are perceived fair and legitimate (Hayes & Hibbing, 2017, p. 31; Kanthak & Woon, 2015, p. 595). To summarize, active female political participation includes three aspects: egalitarianism, which is the numerical parity; lobbying, referring to the defense of commons interests; and substantiality, acknowledging the transforming potential of female politicians (Ballmer-Cao & Wenger, 1989, p. 106).

Finally, some authors also suggest that, regardless of representatives' interests, heterogeneous groups are more inclined to deliver creative solutions and articulate different perspectives than homogeneous groups (Kanthak & Woon, 2015, p. 595; Norris, 2006, p. 1). Some also argue that it is only through an increased number of female politicians that policy choices will be more favorable to women, and the outcomes broader, than under male dominance. Examples of this include investments in children, higher economic performance, and lower corruption (Bhalotra et al., 2017, p. 1844).

Even if the three described kinds of representation matter for political equality, the accent will be set on the descriptive aspect of representation. The present thesis focuses on a numerical representation, based on the gender characteristics of candidates, though the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls for the 2019 National Council elections is most effectively considered through the vision of the descriptive representation. This allows an analysis of the gender of the candidates, but no investigations on their ideologies or their attitudes are possible.

2 Switzerland and women

In 2019, before the national elections, Switzerland placed 38th at the Inter-Parliamentary Union's monthly ranking for the percentage of women in parliaments (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019). However, through the high number of women elected during the 2019 national elections, Switzerland gained 22 positions and reached 16th place by the end of the year (ibid.). The following chapter addresses the issue of gender in Switzerland and the position of women within Swiss politics. Primarily, the section of the Swiss political system focuses on the two major institutional reforms in the 20th century and closes on the procedure and the characteristics of the national elections. Secondly, the section of Gender equality in Switzerland aims at giving insight on the laws, which were elaborated since the female suffrage was introduced, as well as presents the evolution of women representatives in national bodies. Thirdly, the last section gives detailed information about the 2019 National Council elections.

2.1 The Swiss political system

At the national level, the Federal Assembly represents the legislative power in Switzerland; it is one of the most important decision-making bodies (Vatter, 2016d, p. 328). The latter is composed by the National Council – lower house – and the Council of States – upper house (Bütikofer et al., 2008, p. 633). The first house counts 200 members, who represent the people, and the second house, 46 members, who represent the cantons (Vatter, 2016d, p. 328). In Switzerland, the electoral system, which is considered by Vatter (2016c, p. 69) as being the most important characteristic of a representative democracy, is classified as being a proportional representation (PR) (Bühlmann et al., 2006, p. 1) with variable size of electoral districts (Vatter, 2016c, pp. 90–91). Since 1848, the Swiss population elects the politicians who will represent them for a four-year term. Back then, Switzerland was the only country which had introduced a universal and equal male suffrage (ibid., p. 70). The country is now considered as having a strong parliament, especially due to its position in the Swiss constitution and its right to participation (Vatter, 2016a, p. 312). With regards to the empowerment of the legislative body, the next section describes the major reforms of the parliament in the 20th century.

2.1.1 Major institutional reforms

The two main institutional reforms in the Swiss electoral system are the introduction of PR in the National Council in 1918, and the introduction of women's suffrage at the national level in 1971 (Pilotti, 2015, p. 247). The latter gave the possibility for women to be politically active and the former opened the door to representatives from diverse social groups (Pilotti, 2015, p. 247).

Before the first reform – introduction of PR – Switzerland followed majoritarian rules with the absolute majority in all electoral districts, i.e. all the mandates were given to the strongest political party (Vatter, 2016c, pp. 69–72). The pressures to change the electoral system, and, thus, ensure a proportional representation of the parties in the National Council, rose from the society "Association Réformiste de Genève" in 1865 (Farrell, 2011, p. 65). In 1872, the issue was officially mentioned and debated in the parliament; however, the Liberal Party – composing the majority in the Federal Assembly – was highly opposed to it (Vatter, 2016c, p. 72). After the debate, some cantons decided to introduce PR for their constituencies. Given the successful introductions at some subnational levels, an alliance between the left, the conservative Protestants, and the Catholics was built in order to organize a popular initiative to change the majoritarian electoral system to PR at the national level (ibid., pp. 72–73). Despite the alliance, the popular initiatives failed a first time in 1900 and a second time in 1910. The main opponent to the introduction of PR was the majoritarian Liberal Party, which was afraid of losing its power in the Federal Assembly. Nevertheless, after the narrow defeat in 1910, the social democrats and the conservatives proposed a third popular initiative. Ultimately, the proportional electoral system was largely accepted and implemented in 1919 (ibid., p. 73).

The introduction of PR for the National Council provided a more accurate picture of the electorate's party preferences than the former majoritarian system. Indeed, during the national elections of 1919, the Liberal Party lost its absolute majority in the lower house – passing from 103 to 60 seats, out of 189. Then, other social groups had the chance to be represented in the parliament (Pilotti, 2015, p. 247; Vatter, 2016c, p. 81). According to Vatter (2016c, p. 73, 2016a, p. 277), this electoral change represented the biggest break in the history of parliament and remains the most important political decision made through a popular initiative in Switzerland.

The second reform – introduction of women's suffrage – needed more time to be accepted. Pressures from women started as early as 1868, when women in Zurich demanded, through an anonymous petition, complete civil and political equality (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009a, p. 4). The very first official demand for the introduction of women's right to vote and stand for elections was formulated by the "Association suisse des ouvrières" in 1893; then, various cantonal movements in Geneva, Zurich, Olten, Bern, Neuchâtel, La Chaux-de-Fonds, and Vaud gathered together to form the "Association Suisse pour le suffrage féminin" (ASSF) in 1909 (ibid., 2009a, p. 3). Thus, the enforcement of women's political participation was supported by women's suffrage movements and various groups in the civil society (Liebig et al., 2016, p. 10). Even if female suffrage was discussed throughout the 19th century, only in 1904 did it become a cause for a political party, when the Social Democratic Party inscribed progressive gender equality in the public and private regulations in its program (Bendix, 1994).

The first attempts to introduce women's suffrage at subnational levels were done between 1919 and 1921 in various cantons – Geneva, Neuchâtel, Basel Stadt, Zurich, Glarus, and Sankt Gallen. However, the proposal was unsuccessful in all of the cantons (Swiss Confederation, 2019; Vatter, 2016c, p. 73). After World War I, the socialists made diverse tries at a national level. Back then, the political scene was considered very polarized and the unsuccessful attempts demoralized the suffragist movement until the mid-1920s. Nevertheless, the economic boom of the second half of the 1920s encouraged female suffrage's partisans, who tried a new strategy – modifying the understanding of the words "Swiss" and "citizens" in the Swiss constitution in order to include women – which was turned down by the Federal Court (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009a, pp. 4–5). Even if the ASSF and other women's associations such as the Social Democratic Party and trade unions addressed in 1929 a petition demanding the introduction of female suffrage to the Federal Council (ibid., p. 6); the demands of the whole movement for female suffrage were totally suspended after the economic crisis, with the increase of conservative and fascist political movements in the 1930s and World War II (Swiss Confederation, 2019). Furthermore, as various cantonal attempts were rejected after the war, Switzerland appeared more repeatedly in the international scene as a single case. In 1944, the socialists reiterated their demand in a postulate, which was supported by the recently created Swiss action committee for the female suffrage, in order to press the Federal Council to analyze the situation (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009a, p. 8). Finally, the Swiss Federal Council estimated, in 1951, that a national referendum was too precipitate.

The first federal proposal to introduce women's suffrage came only in 1959 (Vatter, 2016c), in response to protestations against the modification of the civic protection, which was considering including women in the obligation to serve (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009a, p. 9). The referendum about women's suffrage was supported by the Social Democratic Party, the alliance of independents, and the Swiss labor party; the major opponents were the party of peasants, craftsmen, and the bourgeois – Swiss People's Party today (ibid., p. 10). Unfortunately, the project was largely rejected, with 66.9% of eligible men against it; one canton – Vaud – granted its female citizens the right to vote and be eligible at the cantonal and communal levels (Swiss Confederation, 2019). Afterwards, a few other subnational units also extended voting and eligibility rights to their women (Swiss Confederation, 2019).

At the end of the 1960s, the climate was tense. Women organized themselves even more; parties got involved in the question of introducing women's suffrage; and, eventually, the Federal Council proposed a second project. Eligible Swiss men finally agreed to give equal political rights to women and, thus, female suffrage was introduced in Switzerland in 1971 (Vatter, 2016c, p. 74). The majority of the cantons also granted women the right to vote at their cantonal and communal levels; however, a few municipalities waited until the 1980s to introduce female suffrage and the canton of Appenzell Innerrhoden was forced by the Federal Court to do so in 1990. Consequently, all Swiss female citizens had the right to vote and be eligible at the national, cantonal, and communal levels in 1991 (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009a, p. 12).

These two institutional reforms are milestones of the Swiss political system's development. "Electoral systems have important systemic and strategic consequences" (Farrell, 2011, p. 171) and Vatter (2016a, p. 276) considers the introduction of the female suffrage the biggest reform, next to the introduction of the proportional electoral system. Therefore, both institutional restructurings opened the possibility for the parliament to be a true representative body of the Swiss citizen. Hence, the next section describes the process of electing these national representatives.

2.1.2 National elections

Even if the direct popular elections are under cantonal laws and conceived as "a series of parallel cantonal elections" (Bühlmann et al., 2006, p. 5), the Federal Chancellery coordinates the National Council elections; the federal body informs the subnational units about the basic rules necessary to organize these elections (Federal Chancellery, 2018).

First, the duration of the parliamentarians' mandates is four years and the elections of the National Council, as well as the Council of States, are held simultaneously, except in Appenzell Innerrhoden (Vatter, 2016d, p. 328). According to the Swiss constitution of 1848, in principle, all men aged 20 and over were eligible to vote for the national elections; however, until the 20th century, it was a census suffrage since many men were denied that right – tax debtors, poor people, etc. (Vatter, 2016c). In 1971, women over 20 years were also granted political rights and in 1991, the minimum age was reduced from 20 to 18 years at the national level (ibid., p. 74).

As mentioned in section 2.1, Switzerland has a system of PR for its lower chamber. Moreover, an important aspect, ensuing from the principle of federalism, is the central role of the cantons in the legislative recruitment (Gruner, 1970, p. 773). Since the beginning, it was undisputed that the elections would be conducted as independent constituencies and not as a single national one (Vatter, 2016c, p. 71). Therefore, each federal subunit of the country forms an electoral district from which the candidates will be elected, i.e. the members of both the Council of States and the National Council are cantonal delegates (Gruner, 1970, p. 773). Today, there are 200 seats in the National Council (Gruner, 1970, p. 772; Vatter, 2016d, p. 328), but this number used to vary. At first, for all 20,000 citizens, a parliamentarian could be elected. Due to the growth of the Swiss population between 1848 and 1922, it was decided to increase the number of seats from 111 to 198 and, finally, in 1962, a limit was set at 200 seats (Vatter, 2016c). Therefore, the mandates are assigned to the cantons according to their number of residents, which is calculated in the most recent census of each canton (Vatter, 2016c, p. 74). While big cantons have a large number of seats, the smallest ones only have one delegate (Bütikofer et al., 2008, p. 633). Furthermore, the number of seats each canton is allocated is also of importance for the electoral rolls, since it determines the number of candidates per list (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 11).

Secondly, there are precise national regulations concerning the allocation of the seats to electoral districts. On one hand, in the cantons with one seat – Uri, Obwalden, Nidwalden, Glarus, Appenzell Innerrhoden and Appenzel Ausserrhoden – PR is conditioned to de facto plurality (Bühlmann et al., 2006, p. 3); hence, the elections are held under the principle of relative majority, i.e. the person who casts the most votes is elected (Vatter, 2016c, p. 73). On the other hand, in the 20 remaining cantons, the election of the 200 members of the National Council is calculated by proportionality, according to the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota (Bühlmann et al., 2006; Vatter, 2016c, p. 74). The latter is an electoral procedure with rounding off; the formula of the electoral quota is the following: $\frac{total\ votes}{total\ seats+1}$, in which the total votes represent the number of valid votes and the total seats is the number of seats to be allocated. Each party is then assigned as many mandates as possible in the first division, i.e. one seat is given for every completed number of times the electoral quota is contained in the number of votes cast for the party's list (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 16). According to Vatter (2016c, p. 74), while the electoral procedure slightly favors larger political parties, it tends to be the most exact PR. Furthermore, each elector can vote for a party's list of candidates under the system of single vote competition; the voter has as many single votes as the number of seats the cantons is attributed. Thus, the vote for a candidate is nothing more than a vote for the electoral roll of the party, in which the candidates are listed (Vatter, 2016c, p. 74). Swiss voters have a lot of freedom with regards to their individual votes and can modify electoral lists by crossing out a name, inserting the name of a candidate twice – accumulation – or inserting the name of other parties' candidates – panache. Furthermore, they can establish their own list on a blank ballot by splitting their votes to candidates of various party lists (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 18; Vatter, 2016c, pp. 74, 88). Additionally, there are instruments of connection between different parties, which ensure a better use of the remaining votes – the votes that were not allocated in the first Hagenbach-Bischoff distribution –; e.g. through alliances to bigger parties, small parties increase their chances to enter into the parliament (Vatter, 2016c, p. 74).

Thirdly, all citizens enjoying political rights are eligible for the Federal Assembly. However, the Swiss constitution[1] and the parliamentary law[2] list some incompatibilities. All persons who have been elected or nominated to a position by the Federal Assembly, judges of Federal Courts who were not elected by the Federal Assembly, the federal government personals, army commanders, and the persons who represent the Confederation are not allowed to be candidates for the national elections, as long as they remain in their function (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 6). The regulations towards the registration of a candidate vary according to the number of seats allocated to the electoral district, i.e. whether the elections are held under PR or relative majoritarian rules. On one hand, the six cantons that only have one seat in the National Council are allowed to inscribe the tacit voting in their cantonal law; Obwalden and Nidwalden have enshrined the concept in their law and need to communicate the official candidates to the cantonal electoral authority. In the other four cantons – Uri, Glarus, Appenzell Innerrhoden and Appenzel Ausserrhoden – which do not foresee tacit voting, the electors can attribute their votes to any eligible citizens of their electoral district and no official candidate needs to be communicated to any authority (ibid., p. 8). On the other hand, the 20 cantons using PR have to set a date for the deposit of the official lists of candidates to the authority in charge of organizing the elections (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 9).

Furthermore, there are some regulations guiding the elaboration of the lists. The first one is that the name of a candidate can only appear on one list; otherwise, the name will be erased from all the slates by the cantonal authority in charge of the elections' organization. The second rule concerns the location of the candidate, as a person is only allowed to run in one canton. The third regulation applies to the electoral rolls; all the lists must be supported by a minimal number of electors.[3] However, the following scenarios are exceptions, under which the electoral rolls do not need to be signed by a certain number of persons: if the political party has been previously registered in the Federal Chancellery, at least, by the end of the year preceding the elections; if, during the last legislation, there has been a cantonal party representative in the National Council; or if the concerned cantonal party has received, at least, three percent of the votes at the last national elections (ibid., 2018, p. 13). Thus, the parties concerned by the abovementioned exceptions only need to deposit their electoral rolls

[1] Art. 144
[2] Art. 14 and 15
[3] The minimal number varies from one electoral district to another, going from 100 in small cantons to 400 in big cantons (Art. 24, par. 1, LDP – Law about Political Rights).

with the signatures of all the candidates, the president, and the secretariat of the cantonal party (ibid., 2018, p. 14).

Besides some distinctions according to cantonal regulations, in each electoral district, local party members choose their candidates for the election, a process differing from party to party. Again, Switzerland is a parade example for federalism and direct democracy, as well as strong decentralism (Vatter, 2016c). These characteristics often account for difficult and timely reforms (Beyeler & Annesley, 2011, p. 93). The following section considers the position of women within the Swiss political system.

2.2 Gender equality in Switzerland

The development of gender equal policies has started rather late in Switzerland (Liebig et al., 2016, p. 10). Indeed, the introduction of the female suffrage marked the beginning of the political reform, thus, the inclusion of women in the political sphere was delayed in comparison to international standards – 53 years after Germany, 52 after Austria, 27 after France, and 26 after Italy (Swiss Confederation, 2019). Beyeler and Annesley (2011, p. 145) argue that the funding rights regimes in older federations are reluctant to develop female-friendly policies and tend to advantage the male elite. In comparison to neighboring countries, there was never a strong female organization in Switzerland. The cleavages between religions, French and German cultures, as well as urban and rural areas, resulted in polarized and isolated forms of women's movements (Bendix, 1994), and the involvement of men in the cause remained exceptional (Liebig et al., 2018, p. 11). As discourses, norms, and cultural notions of the society and organizations represent important drivers in the achievement of such a policy change (Liebig, Levy, Sauer, et al., 2014), a long and complicated path towards gender equal policies was quite unavoidable. On one hand, conservative forces, supporting the male-breadwinner model, remained important in Switzerland (Beyeler & Annesley, 2011, p. 80), and on the other hand, the liberal view of its welfare state accounted for the categorization of the familial sphere and fatherhood as private matters (Liebig et al., 2018, p. 11). Consequently, progress has been made towards the development of female-friendly policies; however, gender equality in Switzerland has not been reached yet (Liebig, Levy, Sauer, et al., 2014, p. 169; Liebig et al., 2018, p. 11). The following section describes the evolution of gender-equal policies, since the introduction of women's suffrage, and analyzes the position of women in political decision-making bodies.

2.2.1 Laws enhancing women's rights

Since the introduction of women's suffrage in 1971, policies have changed and have been extended to improve women's political inclusion, living standards, and reconciliation of work and family (Beyeler & Annesley, 2011, p. 79). However, as previously mentioned, gender equality has only been partly realized in Switzerland. Undeniably, most of the de jure inequalities were eliminated, but de facto inequalities persist (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2018b, pp. 1–2).

The second milestone (the first being the introduction of women's suffrage), is the incorporation of the principle of gender equality into Swiss law. It was passed as a constitutional amendment in 1981 and served as a guarantee for formal equality between women and men in areas, such as work, education, and family (Bendix, 1994). The principle of gender equality also obligates the authorities and the legislative bodies to eliminate the remaining discriminations (Liebig et al., 2018, p. 10). Furthermore, during the 1980s, other non-legally binding developments, such as the creation of the Federal Office for Gender Equality, cantonal Equality Commissions, women working groups within political parties, and women's clearing houses, were created to enhance women's position within the society (Bendix, 1994, p. 431). Nonetheless, it took another 15 years to accomplish the third milestone, the entry into force of the Equal Act in 1996 (Federal Office for Gender Equality, 2020). An important achievement, this act gave individual women and organizations the possibility to engage in legal actions against direct or indirect discriminations in all areas of the professional life (Liebig et al., 2018, p. 10). It also provides consultancy services or financial support for innovative projects promoting gender equality in the work place (Palmieri, 2011). The fourth milestone is the explicit de jure and de facto inscription, in 2000, of the principle of equality in the Swiss constitution, under the article 8, paragraph 3 (Federal Office for Gender Equality, 2020).

International organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), the Council of Europe, or the European Union (EU), have been important actors and drivers for the development of female-friendly policies (Liebig et al., 2018, p. 10). Switzerland first started with the ratification of the Convention of the UN on the Elimination of all Discrimination against women (CEDAW) in 1997, which is one of the most important international instruments to ensure women's rights (Federal Office for Gender Equality, 2020). By signing the CEDAW, Swit-

zerland committed itself to periodically presenting the convention's implementation progresses. Moreover, the UN Commission of the Status of Women – the unique UN body during which the states and the civil society regroup in order to address gender equality issues (ibid.) – and the standards decided in the 1995 fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing have served as models for Switzerland (Liebig et al., 2018, p. 10). Recently, on the first of April 2018, the Istanbul Convention (also known as the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence) entered into force in Switzerland (Federal Office for Gender Equality, 2020). It is the most complete international treaty addressing gender-based violence against women and obligates the states to take measures to prevent and protect women from violence, in addition to engaging legal actions against the perpetrators (ibid.).

Other further legal changes were accomplished between the 1980s and 2020. Among the most important female-friendly policies are the entries into force of the new matrimonial law in 1988, which established formal equality between spouses (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2018a, p. 1); the new right about nationality in 1992, which abolished the inequalities between women and men with regards to marriage and loss of nationality; the revision of the divorce law in 2000, which introduced the principle of equal treatment between women and men; the ex officio prosecution of crimes of domestic violence in 2004; the introduction of a 14-week maternity leave in 2005; the inscription of protection against violence, threat, and harassment in the civil right in 2007; the law against forced marriage in 2011; the interdiction of female genital mutilation in 2012; and the new right of name in 2013, which abolished one of the last legal discriminations against women, where both spouses are, since then, treated equally, with regards to their name (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2018b, p. 1). The previously mentioned policies and the above mentioned female-friendly laws prove enormous progress has been made in the last decades, so much so, that the Federal Commission for Women's Issues (ibid.) claims that most of the de jure gender inequalities have been legally solved. However, Beyeler and Annesly (2011, p. 90) warn that changes in one policy field, even if significant, may only have a small impact on gender equality if inequalities endure in other policy areas. Therefore, the next section analyzes the evolution of gender representation in the Swiss political institutions in the last decades.

2.2.2 Feminization of the political institutions between 1971 and 2015

Since women have been able to enter the national political arena, the number of female politicians in parties, legislative and executive bodies has steadily increased (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009b, p. 1). However, Bendix (1994, p. 430) already characterized the ascension of women representatives in political decision-making bodies as slow in 1994 and, in 2018, Liebig, Gottschall and Sauer (2018, p. 11) still considered stereotypes to be hindering women's representation in legislative bodies predominant. Hence, Swiss women remain drastically underrepresented in most of the political areas, even if they account for the majority of the population and have had equal political rights to men for almost half a century. The present section and Table 1 examine the number of women who have been elected to either the national legislative or executive bodies since the introduction of women's suffrage.

Federal elections 1971-2015: Proportion of elected women

	1971	1975	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015
National Council	10 5,0%	15 7,5%	21 10,5%	22 11,0%	29 14,5%	35 17,5%	43 21,5%	47 23,5%	52 26,0%	59 29,5%	58 29,0%	64 32,0%
Council of States	1 2,2%	0 0,0%	3 6,5%	3 6,5%	5 10,9%	4 8,7%	8 17,5%	9 19,6%	11 23,9%	10 21,7%	9 19,6%	7 15,2%

Table 1: *Federal elections 1971-2015 - Proportion of elected women*
(Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2018, p. 2)

The first Swiss women entered the political arena directly as women were granted the right to vote in 1971 (Pilotti, 2015; Swiss Confederation, 2019). At that time, ten female representatives[4] were elected to the National Council and one woman, Lise Girardin, to the Council of States (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009b, p. 3), thus, accounting for 5% of the lower chamber and 2.2% of the upper chamber. Then, in prevision of the upcoming national elections, some women in Zurich established, in vain, a female list of candidates. That year, as the percentage of women in the National Council increased to 7.5, Lise Girardin was not reelected to the Council of States (ibid.). However, between two federal elections in 1977, Elisabeth Blunschy was elected to the presidency of the lower cham-

[4] Elisabeth Blunschy-Steiner, Hedi Lang-Gehri, Josi J. Meier, Gabrielle Nanchen, Martha Ribi- Raschle, Tilo Frey, Liselotte Spreng, Hanny Thalmann, Lilian Uchtenhagen, Nelly Wicky.

ber (ibid.). The following elections, in 1979, were more fruitful for women; 21 female politicians were elected in the National Council and three to the Council of States, reaching 6.5% in the latter and passing 10% in the former (ibid.). In 1983, the number of women representatives of left or ecological parties increased, as the number for bourgeois parties remained static. In fact, 55-60% of female politicians came from the left and the ecological parties. Furthermore, right after a socialist candidate was not elected to the Federal Council in 1983, Elisabeth Kopp became the first woman to enter the national executive body, in 1984 (Bendix, 1994, p. 431). For the national elections of 1987, two cantonal parties – the Social Democratic Party in Bern and the Radical Party in Solothurn – presented two separated electoral rolls: one for the male candidates and one for the female candidates. This year's elections were successful for women in the Council of States, as two of them were elected, increasing the female representation to 10.9%; in the National Council, it reached 14.5% (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009b, pp. 2, 4). Unfortunately, in 1989, after a criminal investigation was conducted for the breach of official secrecy on the female member of the Federal Office, Elisabeth Kopp was forced to leave her function. After that, not only was she replaced by a man, but the capacities of women to be national leaders were then questioned by society (Bendix, 1994, p. 431).

The 1990s were years during which women manifested their discontent, with regards to the low pace of change, and many political attempts were taken in order to reach an equal representation in the various national political bodies. In 1991, women organized a national strike to express their dissatisfaction. On the 14th of June, which marked the 10th anniversary of the gender equality article in the Swiss constitution, more than half a million women went on strike (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2009b, pp. 5–6). Moreover, the parties' separated lists became more common for the national elections and the proportion of female candidates exceeded 30%; 32.6% of the candidates were then women (ibid.). In 1991, the percentage of women in the Council of States decreased to 8.7%. For the first time, a woman was elected to the presidency of the National Council and the percentage of women reached 17.5% in the chamber (ibid., pp. 2, 6). Two years later, Ruth Dreifuss was elected to the Federal Council in the third electoral turnout in 1993 (ibid., p. 7). During the first turnout, the Federal Assembly elected another socialist candidate, rather than the official woman presented by the party, which created a general wave of discontent in women's movement. This provoked the refusal of the elected socialist male politician and the need to organize a

second turnout (ibid.). Furthermore, women launched a national initiative for the equal representation of female politicians in the federal authorities; a minimal quota of 40% of each gender, in the parliament of Bern, was discussed and slightly rejected. However, for the very first time, women represented more than a third of candidates for the national elections in 1995. As their electoral chances were twice less than those of male candidates, women's representation reached 21.5% in the lower chamber and, in the upper chamber, there were twice as many women, i.e. representing 17.5% of the chamber (ibid., p. 8). In the years preceding the 21st century, the Federal Court pronounced a judgment on the validity of quotas and estimated that the initiative, demanding the introduction of such instrumental quotas, was not receivable due to disproportionality. In the Federal Council, Ruth Dreifuss was elected president of the Confederation, in 1998, and a second woman, Ruth Metzler, was elected, in 1999, to the executive body (ibid., pp. 9–10). Even though the Federal Chancellery included information about women's representation in politics in the small notebook distributed to the Swiss population before each election, there were less female candidates for the National Council and the evolution of women's representation in both chambers was smaller than in previous years. (ibid., p. 10).

The turn to the 21st century did not necessarily bring a fresh wind to the feminist cause, as the initiative of the Federal Council to develop campaigns, in order to stimulate female candidacy, was rejected by the Federal Assembly in 2002 and the two biggest feminist parties, composed only of women, were dissolved (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2018c, p. 6). Furthermore, the non-reelection of Ruth Metzler and the non-election of Christine Beerli, for the Federal Council, fueled the fire of many women and feminist movements. After the Federal Assembly's election in 2003, the executive body was left with only one woman, Micheline Calmy-Rey, who replaced Ruth Dreifuss (ibid.). However, 52 women were elected to the National Council and four to the Council of states; hence, women made up one fourth[5] of the National Council and their representation reached 23.9% in the Council of States (ibid., pp. 2, 6). Before the next elections in 2007, the Federal Council acquired a new female politician – Doris Leuthard. Meanwhile, the two highest political functions were held by women: Christine Egerszegi, president of the National Council, and Micheline Camly-Rey, president of the Confederation (ibid., p. 8). Then, in October 2007, with 35%

[5]Two of the women who were elected to both chambers chose to sit in the upper one and were then replace by men in the National Council.

of women on the electoral rolls, the female proportion of candidates was relatively static. A few more women were elected in the National Council and a few less in the Council of Sates; the principle highlight of this year was the presence of three women in the Federal Council, as Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf was elected instead of a man (ibid., p. 9). Then, the years between both national elections were filled with novelties. In 2009, three women were directing Switzerland, occupying the presidencies of the National Council, the Council of States, and the Federal Council. This held true in 2010, with the election of Simonetta Sommaruga; there was a majority of women in the Federal Council (ibid., p. 11).

Nevertheless, the female political elite did not remarkably influence the national elections' results in 2011. For the first time since the introduction of women's suffrage in 1971, the proportion of women in both legislative bodies decreased to 29% in the lower chamber and 19.6% in the upper chamber (ibid., pp. 2, 13). Half of the elected women were from the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party, which had a higher proportion of women, whilst women were largely underrepresented in the Liberal Party and the Swiss People's Party (ibid., p. 13). In reaction to the decreasing trend of the preceding years and the replacement of Micheline Calmy-Rey, by a man, in the Federal Council, the Federal Commission for Women's Issues and many others organizations developed campaigns in order to raise the active political participation of women (ibid., p. 14). Fortunately, the proportion of women in the legislative bodies increased, again, during the following national elections in 2015. In fact, among the 34.5% of female candidates (Seitz, 2016, p. 3), 64 women were elected to the National Council, which increased their proportion to 32% (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2018c, p. 15). Unfortunately, the success of women was limited to the lower chamber. They lost two seats in the upper one, which decreased their representation, for the third time in a row, to reach 15.2% (ibid., pp. 2, 15). Moreover, Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf was not reelected in the Federal Council and her seat was won by a man; i.e. the Federal Council counted then again two women and five men.

As authors recognized substantial progress in the representation of women and the development of a female political elite since the introduction of women's suffrage (Ballmer-Cao & Wenger, 1989; Bendix, 1994; Federal Office for Gender Equality, 2020), Seitz accounts for a slowdown in the 21st century and, in 2016, even described the evolution of women's representation as facing a downturn (Seitz, 2016, p. 2). Additionally, others authors (Liebig,

Levy, Sauer, et al., 2014, p. 169) emphasize the negative effects of remaining gender stereotypes, with regards to women and, among other things, their political careers. The following section describes the latest national elections and their results.

2.3 The 2019 national elections

After the results of the 2015 elections, the situation was clear: women had been struggling to be represented in the federal bodies; hence, their proportion in politics remained low and static (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2018c, p. 15; Seitz, 2016, p. 2). The latter observation pushed women, various organizations, and federal bodies to, again, engage actions, in order to ameliorate female representation. Indeed, many non-partisan actions, including, among others,[6] a women's strike on June 14, 2019 (Seitz, 2019, p. 2), were organized in order to raise awareness of the underrepresentation of women in politics. The present section takes a closer look at the candidates for the 2019 National Council elections and then presents the results of the same elections.

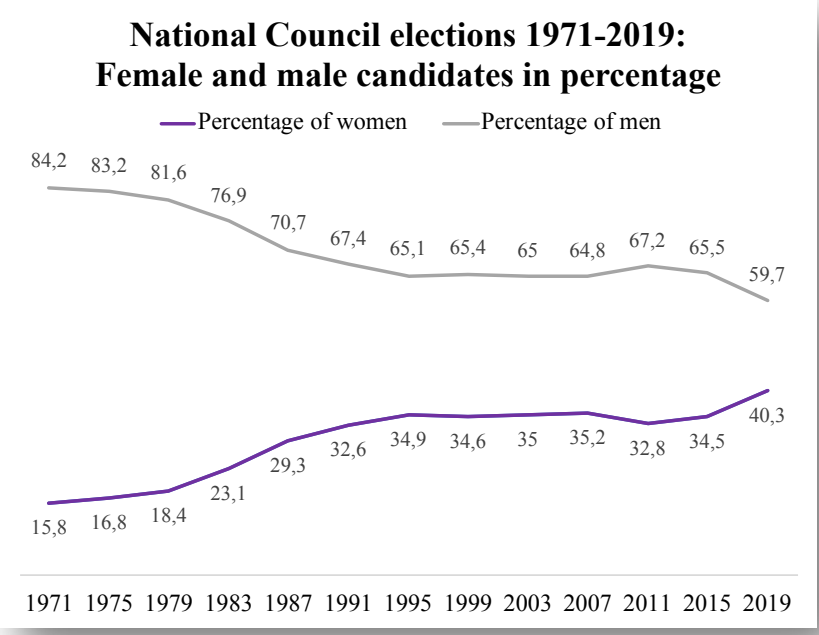


Figure 1: *National Council elections 1971-2019: Female and male candidates in percentage (Thomas Hirter in Seitz 2019, p.1; own translation)*

[6] Many other activities with a similar aim were organized: An analysis of the candidacies focusing on gender; a video named "half-half" to achieve equal representation in the parliament; a call to the feminist umbrella organizations (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2019b); a campaign under the name of "Helvetia calls".

As previously mentioned, and observable in the above Figure 1, there were never so many candidates, or female candidates, as on the 2019 electoral rolls (Seitz, 2019, p. 2); specifically, there were 1'873 female candidates and 2'772 male candidates, from the cantons using PR (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2019a). Thus, the proportion of women on the electoral rolls exceeded the bar of 40% (Seitz, 2019, p. 1). In relation to 2015, there were 565 more women running for an office in the lower chamber (Seitz, 2019, p. 1), which represented an increased rate of 43%, while the male candidacy growth rate was about 12% (Federal Statistical Office, 2019a, p. 2). It was the largest observed increase between two national elections since the introduction of female suffrage (Federal Statistical Office, 2019a, p. 2).

However, the number of female candidates did not surpass male candidates in any of the 26 cantons (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2019a). The higher rate for PR cantons was held by Zug – 49.3% of women on the slates – and, in Glarus and Appenzel Ausserrhoden, one man and one woman were candidates for the cantons' single seat. The proportion of women on the cantonal electoral rolls was also above the average level in Basel-Stadt, Basel-Landschaft, Thurgau, Geneva, Zurich, Lucerne, and Bern (Seitz, 2019, p. 2). Additionally, in comparison to 2015, the proportion of female candidates increased in 19 of the 20 cantons with PR, only decreasing in Schwyz; the higher augmentations – between 10.4 and 15.1% more female candidates – were observable in Neuchâtel, Valais and Thurgau (Seitz, 2019, p. 4). As previously acknowledged in the past decades, the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party are the political parties in which women were best represented. With the average female proportion of candidates reaching 55.4% and 51%, there was a majority of women on the electoral rolls in 13 cantons for the Green Party and in eight cantons for the Social Democratic Party (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2019a). The left party, Solidarity, also had more women than men on its electoral lists – 54% (Federal Statistical Office, 2019a, p. 4). Gender parity on electoral rolls was achieved 18 times. Again, the Green Party had gender equal lists in seven cantons, the Green Liberal Party did so in four cantons and the Social Democratic Party in three cantons (Seitz, 2019, pp. 4, 6). The latter, also, had separated lists according to the gender of the candidates in four cantons and, in total, there were ten women electoral rolls in all of Switzerland (Seitz, 2019, p. 9).

The increasing number of women on the electoral rolls was also reflected in the number of female representatives elected. As a matter of fact, on October 20, 2019, 84 women were chosen to sit in the National Council, thus representing 42% of the members of the lower

chamber (Federal Commission for Women's Issues, 2019b; Gilardi et al., 2019).[7] For the first time in the entire history of Switzerland, in terms of election chances, it was an advantage to be a woman (Gilardi et al., 2019). With regards to the elections in the upper chamber, after the electoral turnouts took place in all the cantons, there were 13 women elected, which representes 26.1% of the members in that legislative body (Federal Assembly, 2019). Consequently, it can be said that the efforts made by various feminist actors, clearly, contributed to placing the question of women's representation in the center of the public's interest. Even if the perfect parity has not, yet, been reached, women were able to be better represented in the legislative bodies of Switzerland in 2019.

After analyzing the development of laws enhancing women's rights, the evolution of the female proportion in the federal bodies, and the last legislative elections in Switzerland, it can be concluded that substantial progress has been made in formal gender equality. Even though the proportion of women is relatively high since the last elections, de facto gender equality has not, yet, been achieved. Bendix argued, in the 1990s, (1994, p. 432) that the feminization of the politics faced three problems: mobilization, voting participation; nomination, proposed candidates by the political party; and election, small number of elected women. The next chapter focuses on the second mentioned problem: the nomination of female candidates in political parties.

[7] In December, i.e. after the Council of States' second turnout in all cantons, there were 83 women sitting in the National Council, thus making 41,5% of the members (Federal Assembly, 2019)

3 The political recruitment of women

Given that, in established democracies, there are few legal barriers blocking women from bringing themselves forward as candidates (Krook, 2010, p. 707) and that the election rate, i.e. gender chance ratio, between men and women tends to equality (Kanthak & Woon, 2015, p. 595; Seitz, 2016, p. 8), the issue of who is or is not selected to run for the election is crucial. Since the selection process highly affects the composition of legislative bodies, it, consequently, determines whether the parliament represents society (Norris, 1997b, p. 4). Even if some authors acknowledge the reluctance of women to run for office as an important reason for the enduring gender gap in politics (Gilardi & Dlabac, 2019, p. 2), Tremblay (2007, p. 538), Welch (1978, p. 373), Ballmer-Caro and Wenger (1989, p. 12) and Norris (1997b, p. 2) argue, among other things, that candidate selection is not a neutral practice. Indeed, the system is full of filters and is highly selective, thus recreating certain strata of the population and not reflecting the supply of aspirants. As a further matter, Lawless and Fox (2010) claim that women are hesitant to run for office due to processes of exclusion and inclusion within the political and institutional contexts, contributing to the decision of women to push into or pull out of politics.

While theories about voting behavior and elections have been well developed (Norris, 1997b, p. 8), the legislative recruitment remains a puzzle, that is hard to understand, due to shadowy pathways and complex interactions. “Legislative recruitment refers specifically to the critical step as individuals move from lower levels into parliamentary careers” (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 1). Theorists first started to be concerned with the outcome of recruitment processes, the class privileges aspect, and the restricted access to legislative elites; the latter remained prevailing, as the entry barriers faced by women or ethnic minority candidates were investigated in the 1990s (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 1). Then, institutionalists studied the decision-making process behind the selection of candidates, political psychologists analyzed political motivation, rational choice theorists focused on the costs and benefits of political careers, and legislative specialists exhibited concern with the background and careers of politicians or the consequences of political recruitment on the parliaments (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, pp. 1–2). Therefore, research about recruitment is considered at the intersection of studies on political participation, voting or political behavior, political elites, party organization, and, in the 1990s, gender or racial politics (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 2). Norris and Lovenduski developed a political recruitment model

based on the theories of political elites and party organization. The next sections further describe the two authors' model and, then, apply the model to the Swiss legislative recruitment, in order to develop hypotheses to explain the proportion of women candidates on the 2019 electoral rolls.

3.1 The Supply and Demand Model of Candidate by Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski

In the 1980s, Pippa Norris started the development of an influential model of political recruitment (Norris, 1997c), which she later completed with Joni Lovenduski (Lovenduski, 2016). The model is based on the core understanding that candidate selection is an interaction between the supply of future candidates and the demand of gatekeepers, i.e. the demand of the political elite is as important as the women present in the eligible pool (Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 843). It is a process that is organized in diverse arrays of institutions that, eventually, affect the outcome (Lovenduski, 2016, p. 514). The present section focuses on the development, as well as the aim and the description, of the mentioned model of recruitment.

The motivation behind Norris and Lovenduski's research was the British elections and, more precisely, their results; white middle-class men were much more likely, than women, to be selected by political parties, as candidates. Therefore, the authors wanted to research the gender effects of candidate selection (Lovenduski, 2016, pp. 514–515). Before 1987, women representation was relatively low in the British parliament. The political parties and their recruitment processes were not questioned, however, the discourses were directed towards women, who were blamed for their reluctance to actively partake in politics (Lovenduski, 2016, p. 518). Norris and Lovenduski refused to blame the victims and wanted to identify the recruitment stages for politicians, who were willing to run for office, thus illuminating the importance of informal rules, the predominance of habits and practices, the role of party cultures, and the context on the selection and election of members of the parliament (Lovenduski, 2016, pp. 518, 520). The result of their investigations is a theorized, gendered, feminist, and institutionalist model (Lovenduski, 2016, p. 515), built on the studies of political elites – social composition of parliament – and party organization – distribution of power within parties and the selection process (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 2).

The latter arose from a multi-method, combining observations; interviews of experts, officials, and candidates; as well as a survey work including explanation of formal and informal practices, rules, or processes (Lovenduski, 2016, p. 516).

According to Norris (1997b, p. 1,3), the process of recruitment is one of the core functions of a political system, regardless of the kind of election. Which candidates get in the course for the election depends on the recruitment process. Furthermore, in federalist systems with division of power, the ascension to the legislative parliament is a complex and shadowy pathway (ibi., p. 4). Through the perspective of new-institutionalism, the attitudes and the behavior of individual actors are considered within the established institutional system (ibid., pp. 8–9). Even if formal rules regulate the legislative recruitment, informal practices are predominant in the process (Norris, 1997b, p. 9). For that reason, decision-making in the recruitment process depends on the dispersion of power, i.e. decision's degree of centralization, and the formalization of the decision-making process (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, pp. 2–3). Therefore, Norris and Lovenduski developed the model observable in Figure 2. The result encompasses three levels of analysis: systematic factors setting the broad context for recruitment, factors setting the context in a political party, and factors directly influencing the recruitment of candidates within the process of selection (ibid., p. 21).

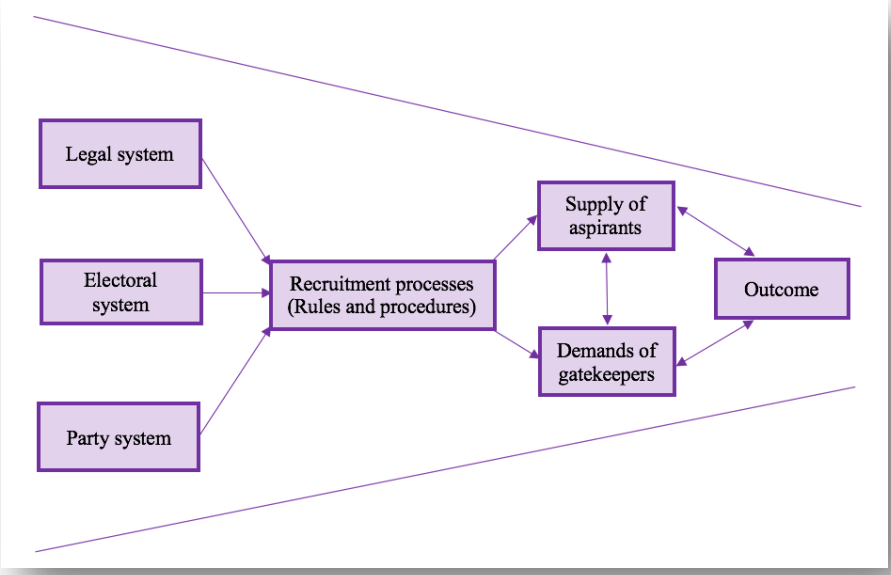


Figure 2: *Model of recruitment (Norris, 1997, p. 2)*

The first level of analysis – the structure of opportunities – englobes legal regulations, electoral rules, and party system (Norris, 1997b, p. 11), setting the general context and opportunities for the pool of eligible candidates (ibid., p. 14). The structure of opportunities refers to the rational choice model, considering that candidates pursue political careers, in response to possibilities or opportunities defined by the institutional and political environments (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 21). More precisely, the legal system defines who can be elected to the parliament; the electoral system relates to the district magnitude or the nature of the party lists – closed or open –, which influences opportunities; and the party system refers to the strength of parties or their ideological position (ibid., pp. 28–29).

The second level of analysis – the recruitment process – takes place within political parties. It is linked to each party's organization, culture, and rules (Norris, 1997b, pp. 2, 12). Political parties remain very important, especially as candidates are nominated under their party labels (ibid., p. 12). Accordingly, the degree of internal democracy, rules, and procedures determine the process of legislative recruitment (ibid., p. 2).

The third level of analysis – the demand and supply sides – explains the social bias of recruitment (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 93). Both dimensions interact and influence each other (Wessels, 1997, p. 78), e.g. the attitude of selectors could discourage potential aspirants, and, thus, are hard to differentiate. However, the distinction between supply and demand remains important in order to understand explanation of candidate's selections (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 15). Indeed, through the comparison between characteristics of applicants and candidates – in order to test the demand-side factors –, as well as between party members and applicants – to test the supply-side factors –, Norris and Lovenduski (ibid., p. 109) found significant differences, especially for the supply-side factors, and, thus, proved the utility of the supply and demand framework. The demand of gatekeepers, hence the acceptance or rejection of applicants as candidates, is the most common explanation for social bias, since it shifts the entire responsibility to party members (ibid., p. 123). It refers to the attitudes of the actors who influence the selection of candidates from the pool of aspirants (Norris, 1997b, p. 2). These selectors vary among parties and differ from each other; they can be voters, party members, financial supporters, and political leaders, whose judgements about applicants control the demand for candidates (Norris, 1997b, p. 2; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 107). The supply of aspirants influences candidates' willingness to run for office. The first aspect of the dimension is the social background of aspirants. The second feature is the motivation of each candidate, i.e. political ambitions, family tradition, or encouragement from supporters (Norris, 1997b, p. 13). The third, and final, aspect is aspirants'

individual resources, including financial assets, connections, party experience, and careers, which influence their capabilities to pursue an elected office (Norris, 1997b, p. 13; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 164).

Finally, based on the assumptions that the recruitment cannot be reduced to the attitudes, preferences, or concerns of aspirants, nor to legal or constitutional structures, and that, instead, behavior, attitudes, and opinions are structured by rules and procedures of political systems (Norris, 1997b, p. 9), the three levels of the model appear to be nested together. In other words, the political system shapes the recruitment process in which supply and demands interact (ibid., p. 2).

3.2 Swiss candidate recruitment: Application of Norris and Lovenduski's model

Women's active electoral participation is influenced by many factors (Gilardi & Dlabac, 2019, p. 2). Indeed, the legislative recruitment system depends on the recruitment environment, as well as on the recruitment structures (Matland, 2005, p. 97). Due to the heterogeneity of the Swiss cantons (Bühlmann et al., 2006, p. 2) and the principle of federalism, Switzerland offers a good framework to research factors that could explain the different share of female candidates on the electoral rolls.

Norris and Lovenduski's model has proven its efficacy and has been used for quantitative and qualitative research on gender and candidate selection (Lovenduski, 2016, p. 523). Since the model provides a general framework, the content of the level of analysis can be adapted and, thus, the model can be applied to diverse countries for national or subnational comparisons. Therefore, even if the British and the Swiss electoral systems differ – relative majority elections in the UK (Vatter, 2016c, p. 91) and PR in Switzerland –, the model can still be applied to the Swiss legislative recruitment. In the following sections, the model is adapted to the Swiss case in order to find factors for each level of analysis – the political system, the process of recruitment in parties, the demand of gatekeepers, and the supply of female candidates.

3.2.1 Structure of opportunities

"The political system within each country sets the structure of opportunities for political careers" (Norris, 1997b, p. 11). The pool of eligible candidates is, then, influenced by the legal regulations, the electoral rules as by the system of party competition. On one hand, these institutional factors highlight the responsibility of political institutions in influencing

the formation process of parliaments and, on the other hand, highly determine women's access to parliaments (Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 841,843). One of the most researched institutional factors is the type of electoral system and its repercussions, such as the size of the electoral district. Then, political culture can be captured, among other things, through the strength of Catholicism.

First of all, the type of electoral systems in elections has generated a rich literature on determining the factors influencing women's participation. It has been proven, many times, that the share of women is higher under PR, in comparison to a majoritarian system (Ballington & Matland, 2004; Farrell, 2011, pp. 163–164; Krook, 2010, p. 707; Matland, 1998, p. 112, 2005, pp. 100–102; Norris, 1997b, 2006, p. 5; Ruedin, 2012, p. 97; Stockemer, 2007, p. 480; Tremblay, 2007, p. 537). The argument is that PR systems are less competitive than single-member systems under majoritarian rules (Wängnerud, 2009, p. 54). An explanation behind the fact that PR systems advantage women is the higher district magnitude, which affects the candidate recruitment strategies of parties (Bütikofer et al., 2008, p. 655; Tremblay, 2007, p. 537). Indeed, political parties that have the opportunity to compete for several seats will consider balancing – e.g. men and women, including a mix of well-known and unknown candidates (Plüss & Rusch, 2012, p. 60) – their tickets in order to attract different voters when organizing their electoral rolls (Matland, 1998, p. 115, 2005, p. 103; Stockemer, 2007, p. 481). In consequence, in PR, with large district magnitudes, women do not have to be the first choice of parties and, even if placed further down the party list, still have a chance to be elected (Wängnerud, 2009, p. 54). However, even if PR lays the foundations for the elections of women, it does not guarantee women's representation (Ballington & Matland, 2004; Gilardi & Dlabac, 2019, p. 3); indeed, in a low district magnitude – de facto plurality –, female candidates are just as disadvantaged as in a majoritarian one (Bütikofer et al., 2008, p. 640). Moreover, Tremblay (2007, pp. 536–537) points out the importance of the number of available seats, with regards to the proportion of women elected. Therefore, the indicator for the electoral rules will not be confined to PR or relative majoritarian rules but will consider the size of the electoral district instead. ***H1:*** *The higher the district magnitude of a canton, the higher share of female candidates on the electoral rolls.*

Secondly, the political culture refers to the dominant norms and values in the society (Norris, 1997a, p. 217). The indicator chosen for the present research is the strength of Catholicism within the society. This religion has been considered to decrease women's propensity to be politically active (Ruedin, 2012, p. 67) and, contrarily, Protestantism has been positively associated with women's access to parliaments (Tremblay, 2007, p. 535; Wängnerud, 2009, p. 56). The argument behind these findings is the association of the Catholic church to hierarchical and authoritarian cultures, supplemented by the narrow understanding of the role of women in public life (Norris & Inglehart, 2001, p. 132). Even if the authors have found statistical evidences for the influence of religion, Plüss and Rusch (2012) found no significance when analyzing the recruitment differences between male and female candidates in the Swiss city councils; however, their findings do not exclude an impact of religion for the election at the national level. Therefore, the second indicator for political culture is the share of Catholics in the cantonal population, due to its association to a more traditional understanding of gender roles. ***H2:*** *Cantons with a high share of Catholic population are more likely to have a lower share of female candidates on their electoral rolls.*

3.2.2 Recruitment process

As the political system sets the institutional structure of opportunities for women's active electoral participation, the recruitment process within each political party is expected to influence the entry of women into elected office (Norris, 1997a, p. 218). A core function of parties is to establish who, from the pool of aspirants, will be nominated under the party name (Norris, 1997b, p. 11). Nevertheless, each parties' decision-making process depends on, more or less, formal rules and informal practices (Norris, 1997a, p. 218), which implies a flexible procedure and hinders the comparison of parties. Due to the divergences and the opacity of the cantonal parties' recruitment process (Gilardi, 2015, p. 962), it is quite difficult to find direct indicators to measure the favorability of recruiters towards female candidates.

Nonetheless, an important aspect of elections, and, perhaps, an indirect indicator for the parties' practices in relation to gender representation, is the composition of party list. Once political parties have nominated their candidates, they can freely organize the candidates' names on their electoral rolls (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 32). In fact, there are various measures that can be taken in order to promote women's inclusion (ibid., pp. 32–34) and the attribution of placement on the list is a highly important one. The procedure is not anodyne; it indirectly reflects how gender-friendly the process within a party is (Bütikofer et al., 2008,

p. 636). Certainly, in order to have a chance to be elected, candidates need to have a good position on the list. In fact, there are three types of positions on the electoral rolls. The 'mandate position', at the top of the list, provides a candidate with the best chance of being elected. On the contrary, the 'ornamental position', at the bottom of the list, provides a candidate with no chance of election. In between, the 'fighting position', provides a candidate with some chance to be elected (Bütikofer et al., 2008, p. 637). Consequently, the chances of women being elected vary, according to the positions allocated to them, by their parties, on electoral rolls. The practice reflects how sensitive a political party is to gender issues and, also, informs about the support given to female candidates in the recruitment process of a party. ***H3:*** *In cantons in which political parties award women a strategical position on the electoral rolls, there is a higher share of female candidates.*

3.2.3 Demand of the gatekeepers

Within the recruitment process, future candidates have to face the attitude of the selectors who, in the end, control the demand and determine the appropriate selection criteria for political representatives (Norris, 1997b, p. 13). Voters, party members, financial supporters, or political leaders regroup the various actors implied in the selection of candidates (ibid., p. 1). Norris and Lovensudki's model assumes that the selectors' perceptions of the candidates' characteristics are based on limited information they have about the aspirants and, thus, these perceptions are constrained by direct or imputed discriminations[8] against certain types of candidates (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 14). The belief is that women face a major barrier in the attitude of selectors and voters; specifically, strong sex-role stereotypes reduce women to a traditional role and undermine their qualities and abilities within the public sphere (Norris, 1997a, p. 220). However, such attitudes preventing women from being selected to run for an office are hard to establish.

With regards to the attitude of selectors, Cheng and Tavits (2011) used the presence of women in the party elites as an informal variable in order to analyze the recruitment of female candidates. When women consider running for office, they must rely on political institutions that, most often, are dominated by men (Lawless & Fox, 2010, p. 10). Nevertheless,

[8] Direct discrimination is a negative or positive judgement on the basis of group's characteristics and imputed discrimination is the favouring of a certain category of applicants (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 14).

female politicians mention support and assistance from other women in the party as encouraging (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 127). Therefore, women in the political elite – as party gatekeepers – will encourage female candidacy, through their functions of mentoring or recruiting, and, also, support policies that encourage women to be active in elections (Cheng & Tavits, 2011, p. 462). Even if the authors did not find a causal link, they were able to prove a positive correlation between women as local party leaders and female candidatures (2011, p. 467). Thus, highly visible women, such as local party leaders, serve as symbolic representation and increase the expectation of women's political engagement (Lawless & Fox, 2010, p. 7). ***H4:*** *The presence of women in the cantonal party elites increases the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls.*

3.2.4 Supply of candidates

The supply dimension of the model's last level of analysis answers the question of who becomes a candidate and is based on political capital and motivation. The latter can be understood as the reason why aspirants want to run for office, a psychological driver, nevertheless, shaped by the institutional environment. The former refers to the resources the aspirants will bring into the process of recruitment, e.g. political connections, party experience, educational qualifications, etc. (Norris, 1997b, p. 13). Due to the macro-level nature of the research and the inclusion of institutional factors under the structure of opportunities, the focus will be set on the social background of aspirants and their resources. Hence, the political capital of applicants can be considered through women's education and domestic work.

The first indicator – educational qualifications – is one of the best predictors of activism, according to Norris and Lovenduski (1997, p. 168). The level of education could be categorized under a demand factor, being a sign of ability and social status. However, through motivation and resource, education can, also, influence the decision to run for an office and, then, be considered as a supply factor (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, p. 113, 1997, p. 168). Indeed, a high level of education increases the political knowledge, the interest, and the skills of women, which, in turn, boosts the confidence to volunteer for a political career (Norris & Lovenduski, 1997, pp. 170, 226). Additionally, Shvedova (2005, p. 44) also estimates college graduation as significantly enhancing the recruitment of women into legislative positions. ***H5:*** *The higher the proportion of educated women in a canton, the higher the share of women candidates on the electoral rolls.*

The second indicator – distribution of domestic work – is linked to the acknowledgment that a gendered division of labor persists. Therefore, women are still, mostly, responsible for unpaid housework in Switzerland (Epple et al., 2014, p. 259). Due to a lack of time, the unequal distribution of domestic tasks could possibly affect women's political participation (Stadelmann-Steffen & Koller, 2014, pp. 529, 533–534, 537). Considering that being elected to a legislative parliament requires campaigning, regular attendance to meetings, events, etc., the time resource is, perhaps, the most important characteristic among candidates (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995, pp. 155–156). Furthermore, women who are already facing the double burden of employment and domestic work would, then, be facing a triple career, through the additional burden of politics (Norris, 1997a, p. 230). ***H6:*** *The higher the proportion of women responsible for housework in a canton, the lower the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls.*

There is a wide range of contextual factors that are also, perhaps, influencing the female share of candidates on electoral rolls. Indeed, such variables as the percentage of employed women, the number of women in mandate position on the electoral rolls, the introduction year of female suffrage in cantons as well as the attitude of voters towards policies related to women and gender equality were also considered. However, due to either high intercorrelations among these indicators and some independent variables or no significance, it was decided to exclude them from the multivariate regression model.[9] The following chapter explains the methodology of the analysis and various characteristics of the above described factors.

[9] More details and results of the analyses including further independent variables under Appendix 11.3

4 Methodology

This study concentrates on the political recruitment of women; the unit of analysis is, then, the percentage of female candidates on electoral rolls for the lower house's elections. The method used to test for correlation between the female share of candidates and the previously mentioned contextual factors is a regression analysis. The study covers the 26 Swiss cantons during the 2019 national elections. In the two following sections, firstly, the case selection, as well as the method in more details and, secondly, the operationalization of the various variables are presented.

4.1 Research design

The research is limited to Switzerland. More precisely, it is based on its subnational units, among others, because of the tremendous rates of female candidacies in elections, as well as the easily accessible data for numerous variables, and the familiarization to the Swiss political system. Furthermore, the main reason for the focus on the 26 Swiss cantons is to scale down the analysis. In her study, Trembley (2007, p. 533) mentioned that women's political participation could be better understood with a close approach considering the different realities and, in turn, avoiding the application of uniform factors to various countries. Furthermore, Epple et al. (2014) considered the control in subnational comparisons higher, and the coding more accurate, as the homogeneity of the cantons is greater than between nations, even if the subnational units remain heterogeneous. Besides that, many authors argue that Switzerland is appropriate for comparative analyses since the decision-making is decentralized among federal subunits; the latter are heterogeneous, i.e. economically, politically, socially and culturally diverse (Bühler, 2001, p. 8; Nollert & Schief, 2018, pp. 181–182). Moreover, Noller and Schief (2018) acknowledge substantial discrepancies concerning inequalities between men and women among cantons, essentially, due to the developments of small regional, rather than national, processes (Epple et al., 2014, p. 260). Values, gender culture, and family policies vary considerably between the federal subunits (Nollert & Schief, 2018, p. 184). Taking into consideration that these divergences are highly important for the position of women within society and family (Bühler, 2001, p. 8), as well as the leading role of the cantons in the mechanism of candidate selection (Gruner, 1970), the cantons provide an appropriate framework for a contextual analysis of possible factors correlated to women's active electoral participation.

The cantonal comparison will be approached through the 'most similar case design'; in reality, all 26 cantons show considerable degrees of similarity when considering consolidated structural elements, while substantially differing on cultural, economic, and political aspects and the proportion of women's active electoral participation. Since Norris and Lovenduski's influential political recruitment model recognizes an effect, only, through the combination of multiple factors at the macro-level, the above presented hypotheses will be empirically tested through multivariate (OLS) regressions. These can then be used to assess the impact of the independent variables and consider the influence these variables have on each other. However, the research design does not allow an identification of causal effects. The aim of the paper is to find contextual factors correlating with female candidacy through the following model:

$$\textit{Proportion of female candidates on the electoral rolls} = \beta + \beta_1\, \textit{District magnitude} + \beta_2\, \textit{Catholicism} + \beta_3\, \textit{Opportunity index} + \beta_4\, \textit{Female gatekeeper} + \beta_5\, \textit{Education} + \beta_6\, \textit{Gender time inequality index} + \varepsilon$$

Finally, a set of control variables was incorporated into the models: the mean age of the female cantonal population, as older women should still be socialized under male democracy (Stadelmann-Steffen & Koller, 2014) and, thus, an old mean age should negatively affect women's active political participation; the proportion of women within the cantonal population; and the linguistic regions, since gender inequalities vary among the French-speaking and German-speaking parts of Switzerland (Nollert & Schief, 2018, p. 183).

4.2 Data and measures

The necessary data used to explore the research question came from several sources. The present section describes the nature, the source, and the operationalization of both the dependent and independent variables. It is important to note that different operationalizations were tried, but the reported results were unaffected. Table 2 presents a general overview of the operationalization.

Variable	Hypothesis	Expected relationship	Operationalization	Values	Details	Source	Data set
Female share of candidates	-		Number of women over the total number of candidates	0-1		Federal Statistical Office, 2019; cantonal websites.	2019
District magnitude	H1: The higher the district magnitude of a canton, the higher the proportion of women on the electoral rolls	+	Number of seats in the National Council	1-35		Federal Chancellery, 2019	2019
Catholicism	H2: Cantons with a high share of Catholic population are more likely to have a lower share of female candidates on their electoral rolls	-	Percentage of Catholics	0-1	Based on a structural survey of 2017	Federal Statistical Office, 2019	2017
Opportunity index	H3: In cantons in which political parties award women a strategical position on the electoral rolls, there is a higher share of female candidates	+	Position on the electoral rolls	(-1)-1	Ratio of chances of all female candidates to male candidates on the cantonal party electoral rolls	Alliance F, 2019	2019
Female gatekeeper	H4: The presence of women in the cantonal party elites increases the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls	+	Female cantonal party president	0-5	Main national parties: Social Democratic Party, Green Party, Christian Democratic People's Party, Swiss People's Party, The Radical-Liberal Party, Conservative Democratic Party, Green Liberal Party and the Evangelical People's Party	Cantonal parties' websites	2019
Education	H5: The higher the proportion of educated women in a canton, the higher the share of women candidates on the electoral rolls	+	Percentage of women with a finished tertiary education degree	0-1	Based on a structural survey of 2017	Federal Statistical Office, 2019	2017
Gender time inequality index	H6: The higher the proportion of women responsible for housework in a canton, the lower the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls	-	Gender gap in the proportion of total work volume - paid and unpaid - allotted to unpaid work	0-1	Based on data of the Swiss Labor Force Survey of 2004, 2007 and 2010	Epple et. al., 2014	2004-2010

Table 2: *Variables, hypotheses and measurement.*

4.2.1 Dependent variable: Female share of candidates on the electoral rolls

The dependent variable is the proportion of women on the cantonal electoral rolls for the 2019 National Council elections. The Federal Statistical Office collects and, graciously, creates available data on the cantonal electoral rolls for each national election. In order to also measure the female share in cantons without electoral rolls – cantons with one seat in the National Council –, further investigations about the official candidates on the cantonal official websites were necessary. The online data collected were merged in a database, observable in Table 3. The dependent variable is the proportion of women running for office and is measured by dividing the number of women by the total number of candidates on the cantonal electoral rolls, and thus could range between 0 and 1.

Cantons	Number of candidates	Men	Women	Female share
AR	2	1	1	0,50
GL	2	1	1	0,50
ZG	75	38	37	0,49
BS	133	72	61	0,46
BL	134	75	59	0,44
TG	135	76	59	0,44
GE	176	100	76	0,43
ZH	966	551	415	0,43
LU	252	144	108	0,43
BE	651	377	274	0,42
OW	5	3	2	0,40
FR	154	93	61	0,40
NE	46	28	18	0,39
VD	374	230	144	0,39
JU	34	21	13	0,38
VS	236	146	90	0,38
AG	496	309	187	0,38
SO	166	104	62	0,37
TI	149	95	54	0,36
GR	100	65	35	0,35
SZ	84	55	29	0,35
SG	255	171	84	0,33
AI	4	3	1	0,25
SH	29	22	7	0,24
UR	3	3	0	0,00
NW	2	2	0	0,00

Table 3: *Dependent variable - Proportion of women on the electoral rolls for the 2019 Swiss National Council elections (Federal Statistical Office, 2019; Cantonal websites, 2019)*

4.2.2 Independent variables[10]

The first independent variable is the district magnitude. The national election section on the website of the Federal Chancellery (Federal Chancellery, 2019) provides a table with the number of National Council's seats held by each canton. As explained in section *2.1.1*, the seats are allocated according to the number of residents calculated in the most recent census of each canton (Vatter, 2016c, p. 74).

The second independent variable, religion and, more specifically, Catholicism, represents the percentage of the Swiss cantonal population affiliated to the above-mentioned religion. The numbers were provided, by the Federal Statistical Office, in a table containing various cantonal indicators (Federal Statistical Office, 2019d); the numbers for the Catholic affiliation are estimations coming from the structural survey, a sample survey on the population in 2017.

The third independent variable is an opportunity index that refers to parties' support for female candidacies and the women's election chances on the electoral rolls of the Swiss cantonal parties. The index was developed within the framework of the campaign, "Helvetia calls", and was offered by Alliance F (Bertschy et al., 2019). The opportunity index ranges between (-1), only male candidates have chances, and +1, only female candidates have chances, and has a value of 0 if the chances of both sexes are equal (ibid., p. 16). Alliance F calculated the total chances of all candidacies of each gender, on the basis of the position on the lists and the gender of the candidates, also taking into account incumbents having a previous bonus (ibid.). The index then indicates the ratio of chances of all female candidates to male candidates (ibid., p. 17).[11] Alliance F based its index on the analysis of 168 lists of main parties (ibid., p. 7); therefore, the mean of the analyzed cantonal party lists was calculated in order to have one general value – regrouping the main parties – for each canton.

The fourth independent variable, female gatekeeper, refers to the presence of female presidents in cantonal parties. The name of each cantonal president in 2019 was researched on the cantonal parties' websites for the political parties represented in the Federal Assembly: Social Democratic Party, Green Party, Christian Democratic People's Party, Swiss People's Party, The Radical-Liberal Party, Conservative Democratic Party, Green Liberal Party, and

[10] The detailed table with the data for each independent variable in each canton can be found in Appendix 11.1.
[11] For further details, the exact elaboration of the index can be read in German under Appendix 11.1.

the Evangelical People's Party. The indicator encompasses the number of female presidents – or women in the presidency[12] – in a canton, thus varying between 0 and 5.

The fifth independent variable, the education rate of women in the canton, is based on the numbers of the Federal Statistical Office, which censused the permanent resident population of those who were 15 years or older, according to their highest finished degree of formation (Federal Statistical Office, 2019b). The indicator comprises all women with a tertiary education, either professional or from a university or other institution of higher education, in relation to the Swiss women of the same canton.

The sixth independent variable is the gender-time inequality index, which refers to the "gender gap in the proportion of total work volume – paid and unpaid – allotted to unpaid work" (Epple et al., 2014, p. 277). Paid work hours are the weekly employment hours and the unpaid work hours represent the time dedicated to 11 categories of housework or family work performed the day preceding the interview. The gender-time inequality is, then, the gender gap between women's and men's working time spent completing unpaid, domestic work, in proportion of their respective total volume of working time. The values range between 0, no gender time inequality, and 1, high gender time inequality. In order to estimate the total work volume, Epple et al. (2014, p. 263) used the estimation of the Swiss Labor Force Surveys of 2004, 2007, and 2010 on men and women between the ages of 15 and 64. Even if the data used to calculate the gender-time inequality index is outdated, the index is still used, and was even published in a recent book, "Gender Equality in Context: Policies and Practices in Switzerland", edited by Liebig, Gottschall and Sauer (Nollert & Schief, 2018).

The next chapter presents the result of the multivariate regressions executed with the presented dependent and six independent variables.

[12] In the following cases with shared presidencies, the presence of women is also counted as 1, since the factor is about the presence of women in the presidency of a cantonal party and not if they occupy the position alone: Shared presidencies with at least one women: In Nidwalden, the presidency of the Social Democratic Party is shared between three persons; in Bern and in Graubünden the presidency of the Green Party is either shared between two or three persons; in Fribourg, the presidency of the Christian Democratic People's Party is shared between three persons; in Aargau, the presidency of the Evangelical People's Party is shared between three persons; in Zurich, Zug and Schaffhausen, the presidencies of the Green Liberal Party is a co-presidency.

5 Empirical results

The present chapter describes the relation between the percentage of female candidates on electoral rolls for the National Council elections and the six independent variables – district magnitude, Catholicism, opportunity index, female gatekeeper, education and gender time inequality index. To best determine the contextual factors associated with the cantonal differences in the political recruitment of women, the model is based on the 26 Swiss cantons, hence is a complete survey with a relatively small number of cases. The chapter is divided into two parts, a description of the data and the presentation of the OLS regression's results.

5.1 Descriptive results

To familiarize with the data used in the multivariate regression Table 4 gives an overview of the principle characteristics of each variable. As previously mentioned in *4.2.2*, the detailed table including all the variables is to be found under Appendix 11.2.

Descriptive statistics							
	PercList	**SeatsNC**	**Catho**	**Opport_Index**	**Gtkp**	**Educ**	**Time_Ineq_Index**
Minimum	0,00	1,00	0,16	-1,00	0,00	0,13	0,00
1st Qu.	0,35	5,00	0,28	-0,38	1,00	0,20	0,36
Median	0,39	5,50	0,38	-0,20	2,00	0,22	0,56
Mean	0,37	7,69	0,44	-0,23	1,77	0,24	0,53
3rd Qu.	0,43	8,75	0,64	0,00	2,00	0,25	0,76
Maximum	0,50	35,00	0,80	0,46	5,00	0,38	1,00

Table 4: *Descriptive Statistics – Minimum, median, mean and maximum of dependent and independent variables*

The dependent variable – PercList – has a mean value of 0.37, which means that 37% of candidates running for the lower legislative chamber in 2019 were women. There were not more women than men on the electoral rolls in any of the Swiss cantons; the highest share, confounding all cantons, lays at 50% in Glarus and Appenzel Ausserrhoden. Furthermore, women were not represented at all in the cantons of Uri and Nidwalden, which only had male candidates. When considering only PR cantons, the lowest share of female candidates is observable in Schaffhausen (24%) and it is in Zug, that women almost make up for half of the candidates on the slates (49%).

The variables accounting for the structural dimension of Norris and Lovenduski's influential political recruitment model includes the number of seats in the legislative lower chamber – SeatsNC – and the percentage of Catholics – Catho. There are six cantons only having one seat; the mean is about 7.6 seats per canton; Bern and Zurich hold the most seats in the chamber with respectively 24 and 35 delegates, since they have the densest population in Switzerland. Concerning religion, on average 44% of the Swiss citizens are Catholics. The rates vary greatly from one canton to another, from 15.6% in Bern to 79.6% in Uri.

The internal political recruitment dimension was represented by the opportunity index of the campaign "Helvetia calls" – Opport_Index. As a reminder, the index is based on the position candidates have on the electoral rolls and is used to indicate the total chances all female candidates have in comparison to male candidates. Generally, it can be affirmed that parties slightly placed their accent on male candidates as the mean of the index is negative and under 0 – which stands for equal chances between both genders – (0.23). In the two cantons of Uri and Nidwalden, only men had chances to be elected (-1), then in Glarus and Appenzell Ausserrhoden, the chances were equality shared between both genders. The highest chances of elections for women were held in the cantons of Basel Land (0.46), however according to the index, in none of the Swiss cantons only women had chances to win.

Then the last dimension of the model concerns the demand of gatekeepers and the supply of candidates. The variable female gatekeeper – Gtkp – was used in order to illustrate the demand side of the political recruitment. Generally, in the eight principal parties per cantons, there are more male than female presidents, thus there is, on average, 1.76 women occupying the highest strategical position in a party. As Zurich has five women presidents, in the cantons of Uri, Appenzel Innerrhoden, Jura and Tessin, such functions are occupied by men only. The supply of candidates is represented by the percentage of educated women in the canton – Educ – and the gender time inequality index – Time_Ineq_Index. In average, only 23.68% of women aged 15 years and older have completed a tertiary education. There is a wide gap between cantons, hence only 13.10% of women in the canton of Uri obtained a diploma for their higher education compared to Basel Stadt, in which 38.40% of women achieved either professional or academic higher education. Furthermore, the gender time inequality index considers the gender gap between the time spent doing unpaid domestic work in proportion of the respective total volume of working time; the higher the value, the

higher the inequalities between women and men. There are four cantons in which the domestic tasks are evenly separated (0): Neuchâtel, Zurich, Basel Stadt and Geneva; two in which gender time inequalities are high: Appenzel Innerrhoden and Nidwalden. Finally, in Switzerland the burden of reproductive work is generally unequally separated as the average of the index lays at 0.52.

5.2 Multivariate (OLS) regression

Table 5 presents the result of the OLS regression, which allows to define the correlation between the proportion of women on the electoral rolls and the various structural, parties' internal recruitment, supply and demand factors of Norris and Lovenduski's model of political recruitment.

Model 1: OLS Regression

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
Intercept	0,18	11,60	0,11	0,91	
SeatsNC	-0,01	0,00	-2,57	**0,02**	*
Catho	0,11	0,12	0,91	0,38	
Opport_Index	0,30	0,05	6,51	**7,22E-06**	***
Gtkp	0,04	0,02	2,46	**0,03**	*
Educ	-0,55	0,35	-0,16	0,88	
Time_Ineq_Index	-0,15	0,08	-1,77	0,10	.
Age_Mean	-0,02	0,01	-1,48	0,16	
PercPop	2,40	3,94	0,61	0,55	
Lng	0,01	0,02	0,55	0,59	
N				26	
R^2				0,852	
Adjusted R^2				0,768	
p-value				4,21E-05	

*** p < 0,001 ** p < 0,01 * p < 0,05 . p < 0,1

Table 5: *OLS regression results for Model 1*

The initial OLS regression was used to test the previously described variables; this regression includes an electoral system variable, a religious aspect, an index measuring women's actual chances to win in comparison to men, a variable presence of women presiding cantonal parties, an educational indicator and an index comparing women's and men's propensity to undertake reproductive work. The model explains nearly 77% (adjusted R-square 0.768) of the variance in the female share of candidates. The model can be considered useful, as its p-value is 4.21e-05.

The four factors SeatsNC, Opport_Index, Gtkp and Time_Ineq_Index are statistically significant. First, the index reporting the chances of women winning is highly significant at 0.1%-level. As expected from the theory, the higher the index, the more women there are on the electoral rolls; i.e. cantons in which parties placed women either on mandate or fighting positions on the lists, also are the cantons in which there were the most female candidates. Second, the number of seats each canton has in the National Council correlates to the proportion of women on the electoral lists (significance at 5%-level), however the estimated coefficient is relatively low (-0.01). The model predicts that the lowest the number of seats cantons have in the National Council, the more women there are on the cantonal lists; the described relation is interesting as it goes against the acknowledged influence of the electoral system on women's active political representation. Therefore, it was necessary to run further tests in order to understand the particular relationship.

Bivariate regression
PercList and SeatsNC

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
Intercept	0,34	0,03	10,00	4,94E-10	***
SeatsNC	0,004	0,003	1,30	0,21	
N				26	
R^2				0,065	
Adjusted R^2				0,026	
p-value				0,210	

*** p < 0,001 ** p < 0,01 * p < 0,05 . p < 0,1

Table 6: *Bivariate regression - female share on the electoral rolls and district magnitude*

Table 6 shows the result of a bivariate analysis between SeatsNC and PercList. When tested separately from the other variables, the correlation between the dependent and independent vanishes (adjusted R-square - 0.03, p-value - 0.21). Furthermore, from Figure 3 it can be observed that the values for the electoral system variable is unequally spread among the data points. Out of 26, there are six cantons which only possess one seat, 16 cantons which have between two and 12 seats, and only four have between 16 and 35 seats. Thus, also considering the value of the mean (7.69) and the median (5.5), it can be presumed that the model is highly influenced by the extreme – both low and high – cases. Therefore, the results concerning this indicator must be considered carefully.

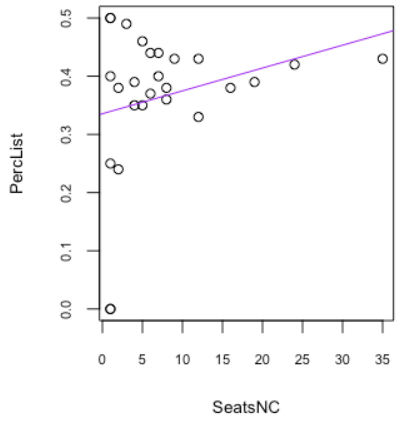


Figure 3: *Plot of relation between female share on the electoral rolls and district magnitude*

The third result observable on Table 5 is the significance of the indicator concerning the presence of women occupying the presidency function in cantonal parties (significance at 5%-level). The correlating relationship between the number of female presidents and the proportion of female candidates is positive, hence the more female presidents, the more women on the lists. Furthermore, there is an additional slightly significant variable (significance at 10% level), the gender time inequality index, which negatively correlates with the proportion of women on the electoral rolls. The higher the index, i.e. the more reproductive tasks are unequally separated, the less female candidates on the lists. Finally, none of the two other indicators – Catho and Educ –, as well as the control variables – Age_Mean, PercPop and Lng – have a common relationship to women's political recruitment.

Model 1: OLS Regression without control variables

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
Intercept	0,40	0,08	5,16	5,54E-05	***
SeatsNC	-0,004	0,002	-1,93	0,07	.
Catho	0,21	0,11	2,00	0,06	.
Opport_Index	0,31	0,04	7,10	**9,37E-07**	***
Gtkp	0,03	0,01	2,18	**0,04**	*
Educ	0,14	0,25	0,56	0,58	
Time_Ineq_Index	-0,21	0,07	-3,25	**0,004**	**
N				26	
R^2				0,820	
Adjusted R^2				0,762	
p-value				3,64E-06	

*** p < 0,001 ** p < 0,01 * p < 0,05 . p < 0,1

Table 7: *OLS regression results for Model 1 without control variables*

Additionally, it was decided to run the OLS regression without the control variables as they do not have any noticeable link with the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls. As observable in the above Table 7, when only testing for the influence of the contextual factors, the model is still useful as 76.3% of the variance of women's presence on the lists can be explained by the model (adjusted R-square 0.763, p-value 3.637e-06). In this scenario, only three indicators remain highly significant. The opportunity index (significance at 0.1%-level) stays the factor correlating the most with the female share of candidates, then the gender time inequality index's significance (1%-level) has increased in this model and the presence of female gatekeepers also still correlates (significance 5%-level) with the dependent variable. The lightening of the model has reinforced the link between the already acknowledged significant variables and women's political recruitment.

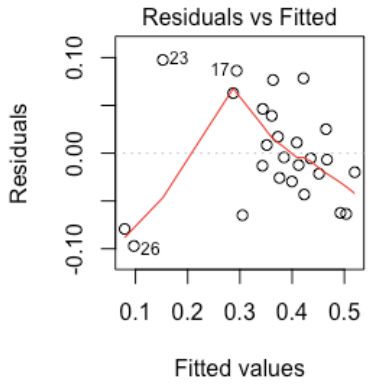


Figure 4: *Residuals vs Fitted values of Model 1*

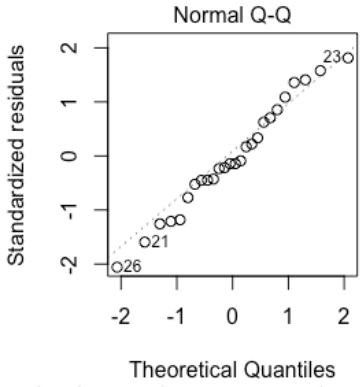


Figure 5: *Analysis of the residuals of Model 1*

Figures 4 and 5 serve as analysis of the model's residuals. While the standardized residuals appear to be normally distributed (see Figure 5), the variance of the error term is not constant (see Figure 4). Eventually, the model suffers from heteroskedasticity which is not uncommon with a small number of cases, but which affects the reliability of the previous evaluation of significance. There are various tests that aim at obtaining heteroskedasticity robust standard errors and the corresponding t values; the one chosen in this thesis is the White standard error test and the results can be observed in Table 8. Thus, after controlling for heteroskedasticity, the three previously significant variables – Opport_Index, Gtkp and Time_Ineq_Index – still correlate with the proportion of female candidates on the lists. Furthermore, the number of seats the cantons held in the lower legislative chamber is significant at 5%-level again. Nevertheless, the estimated coefficient remains very low (-0.004). Through the previous tests, it can be acknowledged that the recruitment variable opportunity

index, the demand of gatekeeper and the supply factor of gender time inequality index highly correlate with the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls.

Model 1: OLS Regression without control variables
White standard error test

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
Intercept	0,40	0,08	4,88	1,04E-04	***
SeatsNC	-0,004	0,001	-2,67	**0,02**	*
Catho	0,21	0,12	1,73	0,10	
Opport_Index	0,31	0,07	4,19	**4,93E-04**	***
Gtkp	0,03	0,01	2,28	**0,03**	*
Educ	0,14	0,21	0,65	0,52	
Time_Ineq_Index	-0,21	0,08	-2,75	**0,013**	*
N				26	

*** p < 0,001 ** p < 0,01 * p < 0,05 . p < 0,1

Table 8: *OLS regression results for Model 1 without control variables and with heteroskedasticity robust standard error*

In order to check the robustness of the model, it was decided to restrain the OLS regression on the cantons with proper PR, i.e. official electoral rolls[13]. The correlating relationship between the share of female candidates and the opportunity index, the female gatekeeper, as well as the gender time inequality index, will, then, be confirmed as long as they remain significant when tested in this additional setting. Tables 9 and 10 present the results of the OLS regression for the second model, respectively before and after controlling for heteroskedasticity.

Model 2: OLS Regression

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
Intercept	0,31	0,07	4,60	4,96E-04	***
SeatsNC	-0,002	0,002	-1,09	0,30	
Catho	0,14	0,08	1,69	0,12	
Opport_Index	0,16	0,05	2,94	**0,01**	*
Gtkp	0,02	0,01	1,59	0,14	
Educ	0,33	0,20	1,66	0,12	
Time_Ineq_Index	-0,99	0,07	-1,50	0,16	
N				20	
R^2				0,609	
Adjusted R^2				0,428	
p-value				0,031	

*** p < 0,001 ** p < 0,01 * p < 0,05 . p < 0,1

Table 9: *OLS regression results for Model 2*

[13] The model includes the 20 cantons having more than one seat in the National Council. Uri, Appenzell Innerrhoden, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Glarus, Obwalden and Nidwalden are excluded.

Model 2: OLS Regression
White standard error test

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
Intercept	0,31	0,09	3,25	0,01	**
SeatsNC	-0,002	0,002	-0,94	0,36	
Catho	0,14	0,12	1,23	0,24	
Opport_Index	0,16	0,06	2,64	**0,02**	*
Gtkp	0,02	0,01	1,30	0,21	
Educ	0,33	0,22	1,53	0,15	
Time_Ineq_Index	-0,99	0,06	-1,60	0,13	
N			20		

*** p < 0,001 ** p < 0,01 * p < 0,05 . p < 0,1

Table 10: *OLS regression results for Model 2 with heteroskedasticity robust standard error*

The value of this regression model is less predictive than the one in the first model. Indeed, it only explains 42,8% (adjusted R-square 0.428) of the variance in the share of female candidates on the electoral rolls. Nevertheless, the F-test confirms the utility of the model (p-value 0.031). The first result of this model, used as robustness check, is that the relationship between the three less significant indicators, female gatekeeper, number of seats in the National Council, and gender time inequality index, does not remain when only considering cantons with PR. Eventually, the only remaining significant indicator is the opportunity index (5%-level); as expected from the literature, the cantons in which the parties awarded women a strategical position on their lists, are also the cantons in which the most women run for office. It is important to note that the latter indicator was also the most significant one in the first model. Furthermore, it is quite unsurprising that the remaining variable correlating with the female share of candidates is an indicator of the recruitment dimension. In fact, Norris (1997b, p. 1,3) stresses the fact that the recruitment process, by influencing who gets to run for office, is one of the core functions and, perhaps, the most decisive factor of a political system. The next chapter considers further links between the present findings and the theory about women's political recruitment.

6 Discussion

In line with the expectations from the literature about women's political recruitment, the results of the multivariate regression have brought to light a connection between multiple factors and women's active electoral participation. Also, in Switzerland, the three levels of Norris and Lovenduski's model are nested together; hence, female share on electoral rolls cannot be reduced to only one specific factor but is influenced by the combination of multiple. The present chapter deepens the relation of the three decisive factors from the two model's levels of analysis and women political recruitment, while highlighting the limitations of the research.

Authors have argued that the electoral system was the most influential factor for female candidates (Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 841,843; Wängnerud, 2009, p. 54; Tremblay, 2007, p. 537), however, none of the variables from the first level of analysis – structure of opportunities – appeared to systematically correlate with the proportion of female candidates on the electoral roles; thus, female candidacies were not affected by the general context of the 2019 National Council elections in Switzerland. Nonetheless, the absence of correlation between the structure of opportunities and female active political participation does not diminish the importance of regulations, electoral rules, and party systems. On the contrary, according to the Federal Commission for Women's Issues (2018b, p. 1), even if gender equal policies were developed rather late in Switzerland, in present times, there are few remaining de jure inequalities. Consequently, the reason for the halting of unequal treatments between female and male candidates is to be found in the two other levels of analysis, which encompass de facto practices.

Lovenduski (2016, pp. 518, 520) highlights the influence of informal rules, as well as the persistence of sexist habits and practices; and Norris (1997b, p. 2) acknowledges that the recruitment process taking place within political parties is strongly dependent on party's organization, culture, and rules. Therefore, it is not surprising to find the most significant factor, parties' support for female candidacies and women's election chances on the electoral rolls, in the second level of analysis. As a reminder, the core function of parties is to determine who will be nominated under the party name (Norris, 1997b, p. 11) and, in Switzerland, parties can constitute their lists according to their preferences. In truth, there are few legal rules concerning the composition of the list (Federal Chancellery, 2018, p. 13), especially in

terms of regulating the position of candidates on the slates, as there are none. Nevertheless, as already highlighted under *3.2.2*, the composition of party list indicate the priorities of parties and, thus, indirectly reflects the attitudes they have towards their female candidates (Bütikofer et al., 2008, p. 636). There are various measures that parties can undertake in order to promote women's active political participation. Of course, placing women on mandate or fighting positions not only highlights their candidacies, but also provides them with more chances of winning the elections (ibid., p. 637).

Moreover, the two other factors, the presence of women in the cantonal party elites and the unequal distribution of housework, even if less significant, support the importance of non-formal rules from the third level of analysis – supply and demand. On the one side, the gendered repartition of domestic work certainly highlights, both, the persistence of traditional sex roles towards the division of labor, as well as the importance of the time resource, when considering a political career (Norris, 1997a, p. 230; Stadelmann-Steffen & Koller, 2014, p. 529). On the other hand, the presence of female president in cantonal parties encourages women to run for office; according to Lawless and Fox (2010, p. 7) the phenomenon is linked to the concept of symbolic representation and the increased visibility of women in politics. It is, however, important to note that both factors did not remain significant in the second model, used as robustness check, hence, were correlating with the female share on the electoral rolls only when tested on all the cantons of Switzerland.

Whilst the research unveils three contextual factors linked to the female share of candidates on the slates, it is necessary to also mention the limits of the undertaken investigations. The empirical method used in the thesis does not allow conclusion for causal effects. Through the conducted multivariate (OLS) regression, it is only possible to acknowledge that the position of women on the party lists correlates with the female share of candidates on the electoral rolls for the 2019 National Council elections and, when considering all cantons, the female cantonal presidents, as well as the unequal distribution of domestic work, can be associated to female candidacy. With the data set being limited to contextual factors, there is no indication on the attitudes of selectors or on the clear priorities of parties. Furthermore, in small samples, such as the 26 cantons of Switzerland, the estimations of the multi linear regression could depend on extreme values, as it was noticed with the electoral system variable (see 5.2). Hence, Jann (2004) warns that the reliability of the findings can be highly reduced. Therefore, information must be considered carefully, especially the results of the first model, which contains all the cantons and more extreme values, considering

that in six subnational units there were few candidates running for the single cantonal seat. Additionally, the research design was based on one electoral year and only on the women selected to run for office. A comparison with previous years, as well as the inclusion of women willing to pursue a political career, but never successful in becoming candidates, could possibly have reduced some bias by completing the model. Finally, due to the high discrepancies with regards to the national dynamics linked to political recruitment and representation (Ruedin, 2012, p. 4), the present findings are difficultly transferrable.

Nevertheless, by highlighting the contextual factors correlating with the female share of candidates on the slates, the thesis contributed to the limited knowledge about women political recruitment and cantonal differences in gender inequality. The role of political parties in promoting and supporting female candidacies is essential in the development towards a gender equal representation in parliament. In order to do so, it would make sense to consider implementing instruments to increase the incentives for parties to recruit women. Among others, Ballington and Matland (2004), Cool (2013), as well as Savard and Pasquier (2013), brought to light different measures to ensure that parties nominate more women. Besides the most popular and effective policy tool, gender quotas, the authors suggest special funds used to cover female elections expenses, financial incentives to parties selecting a minimum threshold of female candidates, more air time for parties nominating women, or the introduction of a target increasing the number of influencing positions held by women within parties. Eventually, through its variety of political institutions and implication of subnational levels, the Swiss political system meets the conditions for such political experiments (Bühlmann et al., 2006, p. 1).

7 Conclusion

The 2019 Swiss National Council elections surely can be considered a triumph for women's representation in the politic arena; 40% of candidates on the electoral rolls of PR cantons were women and they ended up making 41.5% of politicians in the lowest legislative chamber (Federal Assembly, 2019; Seitz, 2019). It is an important milestone towards gender equality, especially for a country in which women's ascent to the political elite was described as low and static (Seitz, 2016, p. 2). Even if there are few legal barriers blocking women to run for office, and substantial progresses have been observed in formal gender equality, due to informal practices, legislative recruitment remains a shadowy pathway. Women in politics must still face discriminations when running for office, which negatively affects high quality representation in parliament. Furthermore, in the federalist structures of Switzerland, cantons form an electoral district from which the candidates are elected, and, hence, play a central role in the legislative recruitment of women (Beyeler & Annesley, 2011, p. 145; Gruner, 1970, p. 773). Because of this, the relationship between cantonal contextual factors and the female share on the electoral rolls for the 2019 National Council elections was investigated. Based on the three levels – structure of opportunities, recruitment processes, and supply-demand of aspirants, as well as gatekeepers – of Norris and Lovenduski's influential political recruitment model, six hypotheses were developed. The following influences on female candidacies were analyzed through a multivariate (OLS) regression: district magnitude, the Catholic religion, parties' support towards female candidacies, women in cantonal party elites, female degree of education, and repartition of domestic tasks.

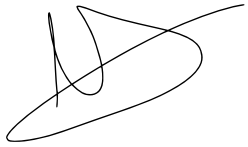
It has been argued that women are less likely to bring themselves forward as candidates (Lovenduski, 2016, pp. 514–515), however, the results of the present thesis underline the importance of contextual factors and support the theorized, gendered, feminist, and institutional model of Norris and Lovenduski. There are three outstanding factors correlating with the female share on the slates. The first one is the presence of women in the cantonal party elites; female gatekeepers are positively linked to women's active political participation. The authors of various other studies (Cheng & Tavits, 2011; Lawless & Fox, 2010) argue that, on one hand, women presidents support policies encouraging female candidacies, as well as lift the candidates, themselves, up, and, on the other hand, their visibility serves as symbolic representation that favors women's political engagement. The second significant variable is

the index measuring the gender gap between women's and men's working time spent completing unpaid, domestic work, in proportion to their respective total volume of working time. The gender unequal distribution of housework is negatively linked to the female share on the electoral rolls. Gendered repartition of housework reflects the persistence of traditional sex roles and, consequently, the difficulty for women to cope with the burden of domestic tasks, work responsibilities, and a political career (Norris, 1997a, p. 230; Stadelmann-Steffen & Koller, 2014, p. 529). Finally, the third, and final, correlating variable is the index accounting for parties' support for female candidates and their election chances on the electoral rolls. The ratio of chances of all female candidates to male candidates is the most important factor of the three and, even if no causal link was researched, it was possible to prove its positive correlation with the female share on the electoral rolls. Indeed, not only can parties support female candidacies by actively recruiting women, but also by balancing their electoral rolls and placing them strategically on the lists, such as in mandate or fighting positions. The findings underline the importance of informal rules, established practices, and habits, as well as parties' fundamental role in the recruitment of female candidates (Cool, 2013, p. 4; Norris, 1997b, pp. 2, 11).

To conclude, in order to go beyond the established correlation between parties' support for female candidacies, female gatekeepers, and the distribution of housework with the female share on the electoral rolls for the 2019 National Elections, future researches should not consider women as a single homogeneous group, but should include micro-level variables in order to refine the study. Moreover, due to the divergences and the opacity of cantonal parties' recruitment process in Switzerland, further investigations on the recruitment process in each party could light up women's paths to office. Finally, studies about women's active political participation should go further than descriptive representation and consider including ways of researching substantive and symbolic representation, as all three aspects are essential to achieve what equality genuinely calls for.

8 Selbstständigkeitserklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich diese Arbeit selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen benutzt habe. Alle Stellen, die wörtlich oder sinngemäss aus Quellen entnommen wurden, habe ich als solche gekennzeichnet. Mir ist bekannt, dass andernfalls der Senat gemäss Artikel 36 Absatz 1 Buchstabe o des Gesetzes vom 5. September 1996 über die Universität zum Entzug des aufgrund dieser Arbeit verliehenen Titels berechtigt ist.



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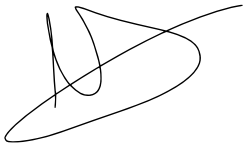
9 Einverständniserklärung zur Veröffentlichung der Masterarbeit

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich der Veröffentlichung der von mir verfassten Masterarbeit im Falle einer Benotung von 5.0 oder höher auf der Homepage des KPM zustimme. Die Arbeit ist öffentlich zugänglich.



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10 Einwilligung zur Ausleihe

Der Verfasser / die Verfasserin .....Nadine Aebischer.....

Ist einverstanden, dass die vorliegende Arbeit ausgeliehen werden darf.

Ort und Datum: ..Bern, 18.05.2020.....

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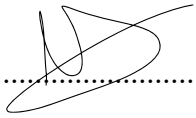

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