

Women in executive positions. The influence of institutional factors and gender stereotypes on women's representation in the Peruvian presidential cabinet*

Mujeres en el poder ejecutivo. La influencia de los factores institucionales y estereotipos de género sobre la representación de las mujeres en el gabinete presidencial del Perú

Petra Poskočilová**
Universidad de Hradec Králové

Resumen

El presente artículo de reflexión trata de la representación de las mujeres en el poder ejecutivo en los sistemas presidenciales, especialmente en el gabinete presidencial del Perú donde el número de las mujeres entre 2001 y 2014 aumentó del 11 a 50 %. El objetivo de este trabajo es el de examinar el impacto que otros elementos del poder, como el presidente o el parlamento, y los estereotipos de género, que posiblemente tienen sobre el nombramiento de las mujeres. El análisis de datos se concentra en la ideología política del presidente, si es de izquierda o de derecha, y el número de las mujeres en el parlamento. En conclusión se revela el impacto de las cuotas de género para las elecciones legislativas y el número creciente de las mujeres en parlamento como los factores más influyentes sobre la representación de las mujeres en el gabinete.

Palabras clave: Cuotas de género, Gabinete, Mujeres, Perú.

Abstract

This research paper deals with the representation of women in executive positions in presidential systems, specifically in a presidential cabinet of Peru, where the representation of women was progressively growing from 11 per cent in 2001 to 50 per cent in 2014. The main purpose of the article is an exploration of the impact that other components of power, like the President and the Parliament, and gender stereotypes can have on the appointment of women. In the conclusion, the paper reveals the impact of the legislative gender quota and related higher representation of women in parliament on the number of female ministers.

Key words: Cabinet, Gender quotas, Women, Peru.

Cómo referenciar este artículo: Poskočilová, P. (2015). Women in executive positions. The influence of institutional factors and gender stereotypes on women's representation in the Peruvian presidential cabinet. *Pensamiento Americano*, 8(14), 92-108.

Recibido: Diciembre 10 de 2014 • Aceptado: Febrero 12 de 2015

* Este artículo es parte del proyecto de investigación "Participación política de las mujeres en Perú".

** Candidata de doctorado de la Universidad de Hradec Králové. petra.poskocilova@uhk.cz

Introduction

The theme of equality between women and men, and their political participation is, at the turn of the 70th and 80th, became an important part of the international community agenda. In 1979, the UN adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979), which sets out the areas of discrimination against women, from political representation to family law, and outlines measures to be taken to its end.

In 1995 in Beijing it was held, under the auspices of the United Nations, the Fourth World Conference on Women, in which Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (UN, 1995) were adopted, which again, although this time much more extensively, questioned the discrimination and the status of women in the political, economic and social spheres. Participating states were encouraged to ensure equal representation of women at all levels of decision-making in national and international institutions.

Currently, a considerable amount of scientific literature dealing with the representation of women in the legislature, the variables that affect whether the nominated candidates are really selected or any obstacles which hinder them in the election, is available. In contrast, the number of comprehensive studies that would pay similar attention to women in the executive, especially in presidential cabinets, and factors influencing their appointment is

still relatively limited and many of them focuses more on the fields, or the individual states of western Europe, Canada and USA (Blondel & Thiébault, 1991; Davis 1997; Kerby, 2009; Studlar & Moncrief, 1997; Tremblay, 2012) and less on other regions (Escobar-Lemmon & Taylor-Robinson, 2005), or cabinets throughout the world (Krook & O'Brian, 2012).

One reason is probably the fact that women relatively recently have managed to break into the highest executive offices, and in most countries of the world even today their number in these positions is significantly lower compared to men, although in last years it has been gradually increasing. In 1987, according to a survey of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nation Office of Vienna, only 3.5 % of ministerial posts in approximately 155 countries around the world, were occupied by women. About ten years later, in 1998, women were accounted for 8.7 % of the presidential cabinets in 180 countries (Tremblay, 2012, p. 159) and by 2012 this number increased to 16.3 % in 188 countries around the world.

In Latin America significant differences among countries can be observed about this particular. There are countries with a high number of women both in legislation (Argentina, Costa Rica and Nicaragua around 40 %) and in the executive (Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua over 40 %). In the presidential election also increasingly women are candidates,

while in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama they succeeded in the election and occupied or hold the post of the head of state. In contrast, in Haiti, Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay and Uruguay women are represented in parliament only by 8-12 % and in Paraguay, Uruguay and Guatemala, their number in the executive posts does not exceed 10 %. We can say that during the last two decades in almost all countries of Latin America occurred some increase in women's representation in politics, but sometimes this increase was only slight, while in somewhere else their number increased significantly (IPU, 2014).

Peru is one of those states that have reached in this respect a great progress. Women got the suffrage here relatively late compared to other countries in Latin America, in 1955. Until the introduction of gender quotas in 1997, the representation of women in the Peruvian Parliament barely exceeded 10 %, and then gradually increased to the current 21.5 %. Although in Peru so far no woman held the office of President, some presidential candidates managed to achieve a considerable electoral support. For example, Lourdes Flores ended up in the presidential race in 2001 and 2006 in third place and Keiko Fujimori in the elections of 2011, advanced to the second round. In the government then women began to appear in 1987. Since 2013, the Peruvian cabinet gender has been perfectly balanced; nine out of eighteen ministries are controlled by women and nine by men (Worldwide guide to women in leadership, 2014).

This article will focus on the representation of women in the executive of Peru, specifically in the Presidential Cabinet, which so far in the literature is not given as much attention as the legislation. The main objective is to determine what factors contributed to such a significant increase in the number of women ministers in the last decade. Attention will be focused in particular on the impact that can have other components of the power, namely the President and the Parliament on the appointment of women. In this connection, will be tested two hypotheses: a) leftist presidents tend to create a gender- balanced cabinets and b) the increasing number of women in the legislature is also reflected their higher representation in the executive. The paper will also address to the issue of the impact of gender stereotypes on appointments to the ministerial office: c) women are more likely to be appointed to head of ministry, whose scope covers the area that is associated with a traditional female role (e.g., family, health, and social affairs). Presidential administrations since 2001 will be examined, when also gender quotas began to be applied in the legislative, which contributed to a significant increase in the representation of women in parliament.

Factors affecting the participation of women in Cabinet

Some factors influencing the appointment of the cabinet result of the nature of the system in which they are located. In parliamentary and semi-presidential systems, the parliament must

express confidence or no-confidence to the newly appointed government during its term of office. In contrast, in presidential systems individual components of state power operate separately and do not derive their legitimacy from each other. For this reason the president acting in the presidential system has more freedom in the selection of ministers than has the Prime Minister in the other political systems. In addition, in parliamentary systems there is often a rule that members of the government are also members of parliament, while in the presidential ones there is not such a requirement. In some countries a member of legislation, if he wants to be named, has to resign his parliamentary function (Escobar-Lemmon & Taylor-Robinson, 2005, p. 830). The article deals with the government cabinets in Peru, which is the presidential system, which will be based on further theoretical discussion.

The ideological orientation of the President. Political ideology is considered by many authors as a variable that influences the attitude of political actors towards women in politics (Baldez, 2012; Htun, 2005; Kittilson, 1997; Matland & Studlar, 1996; Tremblay, 2012), their study focus mainly on attitude of political parties. They agree that leftist parties are more inclined to because one of the fundamental pillars of the ideology of left-wing parties is the principle of equality, including equality of women and men. First wave of feminism arose in the context of industrialization, modernization, and liberal politics and is connected

to liberal women's rights movements as well as early socialist feminism in the late 19th and early 20th century in the US and Europe. Thorough the 20th century, the idea of equal opportunities for women influenced women in both Western and Eastern societies. The second wave feminism emerged in the 60s and 70s in the postwar Western welfare societies, together with other oppressed groups, such as Blacks, within the New Left movements. According to Matland and Studlar (1996, p. 729): "Left-wing parties feel the need to pay attention to groups that have been traditionally excluded from the power circles". Next, they point out "that these parties have usually strong internal women's movements that help to promote the interests of women within the party" Matland and Studlar (1996, p. 729). Kittilson (1997) then states that "their egalitarian ideology justifies the left-wing political parties to intervene in the selection process of candidates" (p. 4). Although right-wing political parties may also address the issue of women's representation, usually this trend begin leftist parties and the center-left parties, the other gradually join them (Sacchet, 2005, p. 10), in order to get more support of voters and to strengthen their position in parliament. It can therefore be assumed that the left-wing presidents interest in setting up a similar position in the Cabinet order to expand the electoral base and strengthen its position in parliament. However, Escobar-Lemmon, Schwindt-Bayer & Taylor-Robinson (2012) argue that in Latin American countries various parties are seeking the favour of women, not

just the leftist ones so that the ideology has only a small influence on the formation of the Cabinet.

Representation of women in legislation.

Political elites have been recruited for a long time from the most powerful groups in the country. Over time, however, in many countries there has been a shift and it began to dominate the belief that the composition of the government should reflect as much as possible the society that it represents. With regard to the fact that women make up approximately 50 % of the population, pressure began to be put gradually on their inclusion in the governing institutions at national and local level. The most frequently used way to achieve an increase in the number of women in politics in Latin America, is the introduction of legally binding gender quotas for candidate lists of political parties created for the parliamentary elections.

Gender quotas represent a certain “supportive measures, setting out what the minimum number or percentage (e.g. 20, 30, 40 or 50 %) of members of a certain group, whether it is the list of candidates, the Parliamentary Assembly, the Commission or the government, must form representatives of a specific group, in this case women” (Dahlerup, 2005, p. 141). The main objective of the quota system is to increase the representation of women in publicly elected or appointed institutions, such as governments, parliaments and local authority.

In Latin America, most gender quotas were adopted during the 90s. The first Latin American country which at the beginning of the decade began to use the quota was Argentina. In 1991 there was a law passed which required all political parties whose candidates will participate in the parliamentary elections that at least 30 % of the candidates in each constituency must be women. Thus set quota so does not guarantee to the nominated women a seat in Parliament, only increases their chance of being elected. Five years later, a similar law was adopted also in Costa Rica, Paraguay and Mexico, and the following year also in Bolivia, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, and Peru. In 2000, Honduras also joined, Uruguay in 2009, Nicaragua in 2012, and El Salvador in 2013.

Nearly fifteen years after states began to pass laws on quotas, it can be said that this measure significantly contributed to increasing women's political participation in the Latin American region. Of the twelve countries, only in Mexico exceeded 15 % the proportion of women in the lower house of parliament before the adoption of quotas. After the introduction of quotas in many countries the number of women in the legislature doubled. Currently, women are represented in the lower house of parliament on average by 24 % in Latin American countries, which introduced quotas, and only 17 % of countries where quotas were not introduced. This average significantly increases Nicaragua, where in the last elections the number of

women in parliament surprisingly more than doubled to 40.2 %, although in the previous three election periods was only around 16 %. The impacts of quotas are not limited only to the mechanical increase in the proportion of female Members of Parliament. Quotas would indirectly have a positive effect on the position of women in politics also in countries that after the adoption of this measure have not experienced such a significant increase in the number of women in the legislature, because: “The very effort required to enforce gender quotas strengthened women and help their unions across the political spectrum” (Sacchet, 2005, p. 7).

The presence of legislative quotas for women has obvious direct implications for their legal representation. But this institutional parameter has mediated and indirect implications for other levels of governance, including the executive level. Quotas generally strengthen the position of women in political parties, increase the number of capable, educated women with the necessary professional experience in the field of politics and management of states and have a symbolic function in terms of women’s political participation.

Increased number of women in parliament can spontaneously lead to further increases. Pande and Ford (2011, pp. 12-13) point out that elected female members of Parliament and senators represent an example for other women who intend to apply for these offices. The

fact that the given leading function is actually unavailable to them, can encourage women in their determination to reach it, and also to motivate them to develop their education, decision-making skills and other necessary qualities. Higher representatives may also influence the formation of the position of women in society and vice versa. If the public gets used to seeing women in the highest decision-offices and their operations in these positions will be considered a routine matter and not something special or inappropriate, the breaking into high politics will be considerably easier for women. Their previous political experience in elected office then can greatly increase the chances of a presidential appointment to the Cabinet.

Increasing number of women in the legislature so should lead to an increase in the proportion of women ministers in government cabinets (Davis, 1997). Tremblay, however, argues that the above statement is applicable only to the coalition governments typical for European parliamentary democracies, where the government is usually made up of representatives of a greater number of parties elected in the elections, but not for the countries where there are represented members of one government party. On the other hand, he admits that the president or the prime minister who appoints the members of the Cabinet, is in the head of government as a representative of the population, and therefore can take into account the percentage of women in the legislature during the compilation of the Cabinet,

reflecting the will of the people (Tremblay, 2012, p. 160). According to Studlar and Moncrief (1999, pp. 382-385) the number of women in the Cabinet is rather affected by how they are represented in the ruling party that in the Parliament, however, they recognize that their parliamentary representation in this direction is also an important variable.

For more influential factor, but not directly related to the gender composition of Parliament, considers Sykes the absence of strong legislative majority (Sykes, 2009, p. 54). If the ruling party does not have a legislative majority in parliament, the party leader can support the appointment of a woman to extend his electorate base of votes of women and strengthen his position in parliament in the next election.

Gender stereotypes. “The social stereotype is a summary of the judgments of personality traits or physical characteristics of the whole group of people. The use of stereotypes allows fast processing and storage of information, including its distortion” (Hartl & Hartlová, 2000, p. 564). Gender stereotypes are then “general belief of both the characteristics and qualities ascribed to one or other sex. Expectations and assumptions about the abilities that men and women should or should not have, on the contrary, among others, determines that a certain type of profession is considered appropriate or inappropriate for them” (Sikdar & Mitra, 2009, p. 3).

One of the reasons for the low representation of women in political institutions in Latin America is considered very deeply rooted traditional perceptions of gender roles in society. According to this concept, a woman carries responsibility for home and family, while the man provides finance income and participates in political life. The legacy of colonialism made a contribution to a highly stratified society on the basis of social class, race or gender. After the colonization of Latin America and the expansion of European colonialism, “the subsequent constitution of Europe as a new identity needed the elaboration of a Eurocentric perspective of knowledge, a theoretical perspective on the idea of race as a naturalization of colonial relations between Europeans and non-Europeans” (Quijano, 2000, p. 535). It was a new way of legitimizing old ideas and practices of relations of superiority and inferiority between dominant and dominated. Since the 16th century it has proven very effective instrument of universal social domination. The conquered and dominated people were considered naturally inferior. Except the racial relations, this new perspective affected the older sexual relations of domination as well. The position of women, especially indigenous, has become all the more inferior (Quijano, 2000, p. 555).

In the second half of the 19th century feminists were concerned with three specific issues: gaining women's suffrage, protective labour laws, and access to education. In 1910 then took place the first meeting of the organiza-

tion of International Feminist Congresses in Argentina. Many of participating women were members of women groups or political parties, and the central issue of the Congress was the question of equality between men and women. However, even before than all Latin American women gained the right to vote and to be elected, feminist mobilization had been rising in the context of non-gendered struggles.

Latin American political systems in the twentieth century were mostly characterized by authoritarianism which had allowed a little access for the majority of the population to the decision-making. In this context, the women's struggle for political participation had been all the more difficult. Julie Shayne defines feminism in Latin America as a "revolutionary feminism" (Shayne, 2007, p. 1685). She describes a revolutionary feminist movement as "the one born of revolutionary mobilization", and states five factors necessary to its emergence: women's experiences in revolutionary movements need to have presented permanent challenges to status-quo understandings of gendered behaviour and roles, women need to have acquired training in the movements. Then, a political opening of some sort needs to be available in the aftermath of the revolutionary struggle to provide the opportunity for feminists to organize, women need to find themselves with many of their needs unmet by their revolutionary movements, and finally, a collective consciousness needs to emerge in order for feminists to have a will to organize (Shayne, 2007, p. 1686).

Despite many obstacles women participated in the revolutionary movements in varying capacities. According to Piscopo "during the authoritarian era, women used their feminine attributes to legitimize public activity under repressive governments. They entered the civic realm as nurturers, denounced military human rights abuses against their husbands and sons, organized as widows to provide community services, and contributed to the protest politics that generated the military regimes withdrawal" (Piscopo, 2006, p. 17).

The belief that there is not any place for women in politics often persisted even after women were gradually given an active and a passive suffrage. An important aspect that is reflected positively in terms of penetration of women into politics was undoubtedly the transition to democracy, which has undergone most of Latin American countries during the 80th of 20th century. There was a restoration of democratic institutions and political parties, as well as the development of social movements, including women's organizations. On the other hand, despite these emphasis on women's mobilization, their representation in the highest offices and leading positions remained low. Women most often stayed in the informal sphere, or concentrated among the bottom tier of political party activists (Alvarez, 1998). Female members of the party were more likely to act as a supporting staff organizing meetings and fundraisers than become leaders.

Previous division of roles, under which the men are involved in the public sphere, while women are in charge of the private sphere, was considerably reflected in their involvement in politics. While female candidates tend to be more associated with the 'feminine' subjects, on the contrary, men are attributed the greater capabilities in terms of 'male' themes. A different strategies for their election campaigns depended on it. Men tended to focus more on economic issues, women on social issues (Aalberg & Jensen, 2007, p. 18).

Traditional gender stereotypes are similarly reflected in the way of filling cabinet. Women are mainly allocated ministries associated with their traditional gender roles, such as health, social affairs, education, family, culture and women's issues. In contrast, they are rarely entrusted Ministries associated with traditional male roles, such as economics and finance, agriculture, labour, defence, budget and foreign affairs. In the last decade then also start to grow departments that Krook and O'Brian call gender-neutral ones, which are symbolically connected with neither sex. These include the environment, planning and development, transport and communications or tourism (Krook & O'Brian, 2012, pp. 842-844).

However, Krook and O'Brian argue that the allocation of portfolios is not to for gender roles, but rather that, what prestige the position provides. The most important positions are usually occupied by men. Nevertheless, if

the prestige is defined on the basis of political influence, access to resources and the interests of the public and the media about in area, then many 'female' ministries, such as health, education and social issues, which create a prominent parts of the state budget could be considered more prestigious than some 'masculine' departments, such as the development of science and technology (Krook & O'Brian, 2012, p. 842).

Case study: Peru

Although the women in Peru were provided an active and a passive suffrage already in 1955, their representation in Parliament was increasing-very slowly, and in presidential cabinets began to appear in the second half of the 80s. The power to appoint and dismiss ministers at the presidential cabinet, in this case, in the Council of Ministers (*Consejo de Ministros*) belongs according to the Peruvian Constitution to the President of the republic. The President then, with the consent of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is also appointed or even dismissed by the President, makes the proposal of the cabinet composition. The first two female ministers were appointed in 1987 in the cabinet of President Alan García (1985-1990), and during his entire term of the office the post of minister was held by three women.

In the following years the number of women in presidential cabinets gradually increased. Over the decades of authoritarian rule of Alberto Fujimori were named eight female min-

isters, their proportion increased from 3.9 % in the period 1985-1990 to 4.6 % in the period 1990-1995 and 7.5 % in the period 1995-1999 (Rousseau, 2006, p. 137). During the Fujimori's reign also two significant events occurred concerning the political representation of women. In 1996 was established *Ministerio de Promoción de la Mujer y del Desarrollo Humano* (Ministry of Women's Affairs and Human Development). In 1997, gender quotas for candidate lists for elections to the national parliament were adopted. At the same time, however, the government harshly violated women's reproductive rights. Within Fujimori's National Program of Population (1991), on the one hand Fujimori, after the UN Conference on Women in Beijing, vigorously defended women's access to information and the provision of contraceptive methods, and emphasized sexual education and family planning as tools to fight against poverty and social injustice. In 1995 sterilization was included as a part of contraceptive methods provided by the state. Nevertheless, Vasquez (2006) mentions conclusions of the report of Peruvian feminist Julia Tamayo showing that only 10 % of almost 315 thousands of women were sterilized with real consent, the majority of the interventions was forced (pp. 114-115).

This sudden Fujimori's interest in gender equality issues could be partially explained as a political strategy to strengthen his position, gain more public support, and improve his chances of re-election in the future election

contest. The representation of women in the leadership of the traditional political parties that Fujimori vigorously attacked had been extremely low. Moreover, the presence of women in the highest positions made easier to protect the government against foreign and domestic criticism questioning the regime's commitment to democracy after the 1992 *autogolpe*, continuing human rights abuses, and the president's quest for the third term (Schmidt, 2011, p. 100).

During the year-long transitional government of Valentin Paniagua Coraza (2000-2001) only one woman was represented in the Cabinet, Susana Villarán in the head of the Ministry for Women's Affairs, however, during the five-year term, of Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006) at the ministerial positions emerged six women and during the next five years of the government of Alan García (2006-2011) even thirteen. Since the beginning of Ollanta Humala's government in the head of various ministries appeared twelve women so far. The current presidential cabinet is gender balanced, consisting of nine female ministers and nine male ministers.

Since 2001 there were three presidents in the head of state so far. Alejandro Toledo for the political party *Perú Posible*, which is presented as central, alternatively a center-left party, but officially does not belong to any ideological, political or economic dogma, Alan García for the *Partido Aprista Peruano* (Peruvian Aprista

Party), a center-left party and Ollanta Humala for leftist *Partido Nacionalista Peruano* (Peruvian Nationalist Party). It seems, therefore, that as the ideological orientation of the president moves to the left, the number of women in their cabinet also increases. In a broader context, however, the importance of this variable is rather controversial. Some political parties lack ideology, which could be rightly included within the right-left spectrum, the more to distinguish the nuance between the individual right-wing and left-wing parties. Within the article, the parties are put on the basis of how they officially present themselves, but this does not always correspond to their real politics. In addition, the left-wing Alan García appointed to his cabinet women for the first time, however, for example the right-wing Alberto Fujimori as well and additionally he introduced a number favourable measures for women (e.g. legislative quotas for women, the Ministry for Women's Affairs). In Fujimori's case, however, his decision to appoint more female ministers had little to do with any political ideology, more likely it was about a power maintenance strategy.

In 1997, in Peru a gender quota was adopted, concerning all political parties in the country that wish to participate in parliamentary elections. The government's proposal was not very popular in Peruvian parliament but Fujimori intervened decisively by stating publicly that he would propose a quota bill to Congress. Whereas most deputies had been

against quotas, the majority of them was aware of Fujimori's power and did not dare to oppose the president, instead immediately changes its position and applauded president's initiative (Schmidt, 2011, p. 101).

The quota law stipulates that at least 30 % of the candidates placed on the list of candidates of the party must be composed of women. In constituencies where the lists with at most three candidates are presented, at least one of these candidates should be a woman. Regarding the effectiveness of this quota, since 2001, women's representation in the legislature increased from 17.5 % to 21.5 %, which does not represent any significant increase, however, it is necessary to add that in the period 2006-2010 reached this representation in average 28 %. Representation of women during the period under review increased even more significantly from 11.1 % in 2001 to 50 % in 2013.

Unlike the term of office of Members of Parliament, the function period of the members of the Cabinet is not firmly established. They are usually rotated much more frequently and they carry out their office for one or two years, sometimes only for a few months. Therefore, during the comparison of the representation of women in the Parliament and the Presidential Parliament we monitored the numbers for each year in the period 2001-2013. The graph 1 shows that from 2001 to 2005, women were represented in parliament in more percent than in the Cabinet, and in both cases this rep-

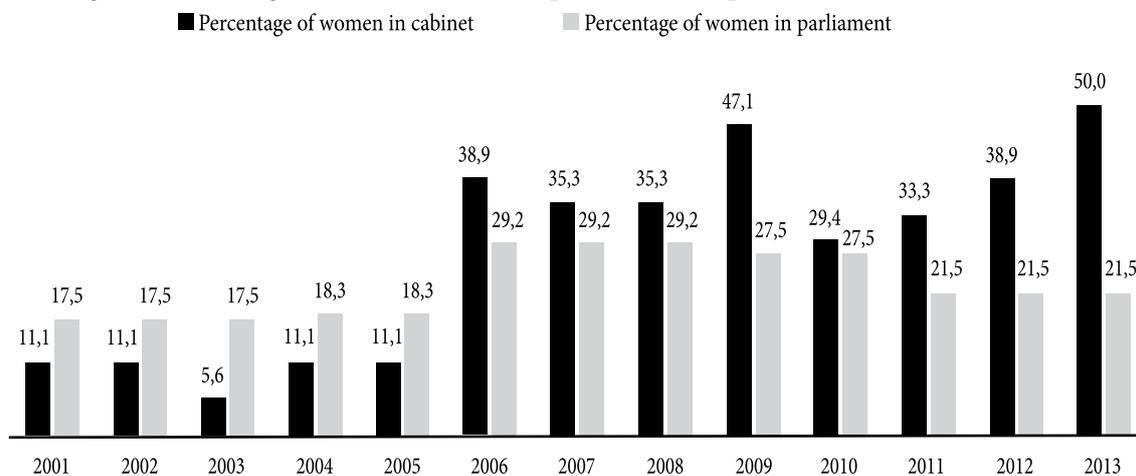
resentation has not almost changed (except for short-term decrease of ministers in 2003). A substantial break then occurred in 2006, when the number of women in the legislature increased by 10 % and in the Cabinet has increased more than three times. This year and also for the first time during that period women were represented in the President's Cabinet with more per cent that in the Parliament and this trend did not change until 2013. While in the following term the representation of women in parliament again significantly decreased in the Cabinet remained at high. It is, however, necessary to point out that while the cabinet is composed of 18 ministers, there are currently 130 members of parliament that is why the achievement of a greater percentage is much easier in the Cabinet.

In 1995, before the introduction of gender quotas women were in the legislation represented with 10.8 %, after their introduction this

representation increased to 20 % in 2001, with a slight decline to 18.3 % in 2001. Although, in 2011 there was a decrease of 6 %, the current representation of women in parliament doubled, in comparison with the period before the introduction of quotas. So, it is not possible to say that it was not effective. The number of women in the Presidential Cabinet began to increase since 2006, compared to legislation there was a delay of about one election period, which corresponds to the above mentioned theoretical arguments. Thus, the increase is first reflected in legislation so that it could subsequently affect the increase in the executive branch.

Since 2001, the number and type of occupied ministries slightly altered. In 2006, it decreased from 18 to 17, but since 2011 again 18 ministries are appointed. In the period 2001-2006 there were a Ministry of the Presidency, Ministry of Industry, Tourism, Integration and

Figure 1. Percentage of women in Peruvian parliament and presidential cabinet (2001-2013)



Source: IPU, Worldwide guide to women in leadership and Portal del Estado Peruano.

International Commercial Negotiations and Ministry of Fishing. These three ministries were abolished in 2006 and Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Culture were established. In 2011 also the Ministry of Social Development and Inclusion was added.

In the table 1, there are individual Peruvian Ministries and they are categorized into those whose departments correspond approximately to the male gender role, women's role and which are gender-neutral. The position of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers was not

included in the overall listing, although it is part of the government, even though he does not manage any of the resorts because his position and function differs substantially from that of other ministers.

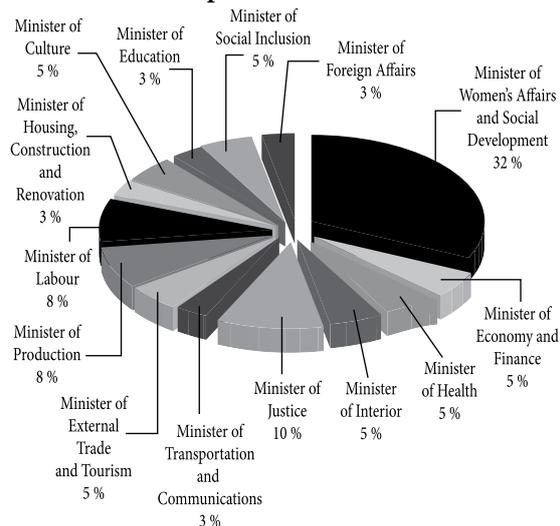
Since 2001, in Peru were named 38 ministers but in total there were only 31 women because some women have been named more than once. 12 of 38 women were in the head of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development. Graph 2 shows the percentage of women in the head of various ministries.

Table 1. Ministries of Peru in the period of 2001-2013 according to their connection with the traditional gender role

Male	Female	Neutral
Foreign Affairs	Women and Social Development	Housing, Construction and Sanitation
Defence	Health	Foreign Commerce and Tourism
Agriculture	Education	Justice and Human Rights
Labour and Promotion of Employment	Culture	Environment
Economy and Finance	Social Inclusion and Development	Industry, Tourism, Integration...
Transportation and Communications		Presidency
Production		
Energy and Mines		
Interior		
Fishing		

Source: Worldwide guide to women in leadership and Portal del Estado Peruano.

Figure 2. The percentage of women ministers according to the managed resort in the period of 2001-2013



Source: Worldwide guide to women in leadership and Portal del Estado Peruano.

Half (50 %) of the appointed female ministers was entrusted a resort related with their traditional gender roles, 21 % resort associated with a male gender roles and 29 % resort gen-

der neutral. Several of the remaining ministries in the graph are not shown because they have never been a controlled by a woman driving. It is the Ministry of Defence, Agriculture, Energy and Mines, Fishing falling within the male and gender neutral Ministry of the Presidency.

Conclusion

The article dealt with the topic of women representation in presidential cabinets in Peru in the period 2001-2013. The aim was to find out how this representation is affected by the ideological orientation of the President, a growing number of women in parliament and gender stereotypes. The first tested hypothesis, that the presidents of the left-wing parties were more inclined to nominate women than the rightest presidents, was confirmed within the period under review in Peru. Looking further into the past it is possible to observe in Peru the same attitude in the right-wing president. In this case, however, it was a part of his political strategy. It is therefore possible that rather than ideological orientation, as such, a powerful motive for presidents for the appointment of women could be the effort to strengthen their position, whether in Parliament or directly by the voters, especially women.

The second hypothesis, that with the increasing number of women in the Peruvian legislature also increases the number of women in the Cabinet, was also confirmed. After the introduction of gender quotas for elections to Parliament, the representation of women

in these state authorities has doubled and in the next term then significantly increased the number of women ministers too. With the increased number of women Members of Parliament the number of women with political experience and contacts at the level of national policy, a suitable potential candidates for the post of minister, also increased. Also, the president could reflect the change and to evaluate the appointment of a woman as beneficial. With the growing number of women in parliament strengthens their bargaining position and the pressure on the more equal representation also in the executive branch. Furthermore, given that voters allowed the entry into Parliament to a greater number of women, they will be likely more supportive a gender- balanced government. In contrast, there are no concerns by means of the appointment of more women could suffer the seriousness and credibility of government.

The last hypothesis was also confirmed, according to which women are more likely to be appointed to the head of the ministry, whose scope covers the area that are associated in some way with the traditional female role. In the period under review, 79 % of women were appointed to the head of the resort falling into traditionally more female areas or gender-neutral areas. 32 % of them represent female ministers for Women's Affairs. In contrast, four of the five ministries that have never been managed by women belonged to the traditionally masculine ones, then the fifth ministry to

the gender neutral ones. In other traditionally male departments women have already appeared (Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Economy and Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion), which indicates that these positions may not be in the future for women really unavailable. In contrast, the availability of Ministry of Women's Affairs and Human Development for men does not seem to be very real because of the growing influence of women in politics and less interest of men.

References

- Aalberg, T. & Jenssen, A. (2007). Gender stereotyping of political candidates: An experimental study of political communication. *Nordicom Review*, 28(1), 17-22.
- Alvarez, S. (1998). Latin American feminism "Go Global": Trends of the 1990s and challenges for the new millennium. In S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino & A. Escobar, *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements* (pp. 293-324). Boulder: Westview Press.
- Baldez, L. (2012). Gender. In P. Kingstone & D. Yashar, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics* (pp. 319-332). New York: Routledge.
- Blondel, J. & Thiébaud, J. (eds.) (1991). *The profession in government ministers in Western Europe*. New York: Saint Martins Press.
- CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) (1979). Recuperado de <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf>
- Dahlerup, D. (2005). Increasing women's political representation: New trends in gender quotas. In J. Ballington & A. Karam, *Women in Parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 141-153). Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).
- Davis, R. (1997). *Women and power in Parliamentary democracies. Cabinet appointments in Western Europe, 1968-1992*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Escobar-Lemmon, M. & Taylor-Robinson, M. (2005). Women Ministers in Latin America Government: When, where, and why? *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), 829-844.
- Escobar-Lemmon, M. C., Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. & Taylor-Robinson, M. M. (2012). "Representing women: Empirical insights from legislatures and cabinets in Latin America". Ponencia presentada en el IV Congreso Uruguayo de Ciencia Política, Montevideo, 14-16 noviembre.
- Hartl, P. & Hartlová, H. (2000). *Psychologický slovník*. Praha: Portál.
- Htun, M. (2005). Women, Political parties and electoral systems in Latin America. In J. Ballington & A. Karam, *Women in Parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 112-121). Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).

- Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU) (s.f). *Parline Database*. Recuperado de <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>
- Kerby, M. (2009). Worth the wait: Determinants of Ministerial appointment in Canada 1935-2008. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 43(3), 593-611.
- Kittilson, M. (1997). Women's representation in Parliament: The role of political parties. *Party Politics*, 5(1), 79-98.
- Krook, M. & O'Brien, D. (2012). All the president's men? The appointment of female Cabinet Ministers worldwide. *The Journal of Politics*, 47(3), 840-855.
- Matland, R. & Studlar, D. (1996). The contagion of women candidates in single-member District and proportional representation electoral systems: Canada and Norway. *The Journal of Politics*, 58(3), 707-733.
- Pande, R. & Ford, D. (2011). *Gender quotas and women leadership. Background paper for the World Development Report on Gender*. World Bank.
- Portal del Estado Peruano (s.f.). *Ministros*. Recuperado de <http://www.presidencia.gob.pe/gabinete-de-ministros>
- Piscopo, J. (2006). *Engineering quotas in Latin America. Working Paper 23*. University of California, San Diego. Recuperado de http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/parlamenta/descargas/BIBLIOGRAFIA/Cuotas/Piscopo_2006_Working_Paper_23_Cuotas.pdf
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America. *Neplan-ta: Views from South*, 1(3), 533-580.
- Rousseau, S. (2006). Women's citizenship and neopopulism: Peru under the Fujimori regime. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 48(1), 117-141.
- Sacchet, T. (24 de octubre de 2005). *Political parties: When do they work for women?* Paper presented at the United Nations Expert Group Meeting. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Schmidt, D. (2011). Gender quotas in Peru: Origins, interactions with electoral rules, and re-election. In A. Piatti-Crocker, *Diffusion of gender quotas in Latin America and Beyond* (pp. 98-113). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Shayne, J. (2007). Feminist activism in Latin America. In G. Ritzer, *The Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 4 (pp. 1685-1689). Blackwell Publishing.
- Sikdar, A. & Mitra, S. (2009). An exploration of gender stereotypes in perception and practice of leadership. *Working Paper 79*. University of Wollongong, Dubai. Recuperado de <http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=dubaiwp>
- Studlar, D. & Moncrief, G. (1999). Women's work? The distribution of prestige of portfolios in the Canadian Provinces. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 12(1), 379-395.
- Sykes, P. L. (2009). Incomplete empowerment: Female Cabinet Ministers in Anglo-American Systems. In J. Kane, H.

- Patapan & P. t'Hart, *Dispersed democratic leadership: Origins, dynamics and implications* (pp. 37-58). New York: Oxford University Press).
- Tremblay, M. (2012). Women's access to Cabinets in Canada: Assessing the role of some institutional variables. *Canadian Political Science Review*, 6(2-3), 159-170.
- UN (1995). *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. Recuperado de <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform>
- Vazquez, E. (2006). Invisible women: Forced sterilization, reproductive rights, and structural inequalities in Peru of Fujimori and Toledo. *Estudios e Pesquisas em Psicologia*, 6(1), 109-124.
- Worldwide guide to women in leadership (s.f.). *Woman ministers and Heads of Government*. Recuperado de http://www.guide-2womenleaders.com/women_heads_of_governments.htm