

Women Political Leaders

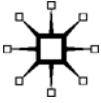
This page intentionally left blank

Women Political Leaders

Breaking the Highest Glass Ceiling

Jane S. Jensen

palgrave
macmillan



WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS
Copyright © Jane S. Jensen, 2008.

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2008 978-0-312-22338-0

All rights reserved.

First published in 2008 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world,
this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited,
registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies
and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States,
the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-38572-0 ISBN 978-0-230-61685-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9780230616851

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Jensen, Jane S.

Women political leaders : breaking the highest glass ceiling / Jane S.
Jensen.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Women heads of state. 2. Women cabinet officers. 3. Women in
politics. 4. Women heads of state—Biography. 5. Women cabinet
officers—Biography. I. Title.

HQ1236.J46 2008
920.72—dc22

2008017171

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: December 2008

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

*To my husband, Lloyd Jensen,
who has been my most
ardent critic and my
most enthusiastic supporter*

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

<i>Preface</i>		xi
One	Introduction	1
	Acquiring the Right to the Franchise	5
	Why So Few Women in Politics	6
	Where Women Hold Sway	10
	Those Who Became Leaders	12
Two	Political Legacies	15
	Widows	15
	Daughters	26
	Conclusions	35
Three	Professional Politicians	37
	Stopgap Appointment	37
	Challengers for Party Leadership	39
	Appointments to Aid Faltering Parties and Troubled Governments	45
	Leaders of Former Soviet Republics	52
	The Finnish Duo	54
	Leaders of Plural Executives	55
	Leaders of Micro States	56
	Elected Executive Presidents	59
	Conclusions	60
Four	Temporaries, Tokens, and Ceremonial Leaders	63
	Leaders Overseeing Elections	63
	Leaders Chosen to Deal with Civil Conflict	67
	Interim Leaders	69
	Tokens	72
	Ceremonial Leaders	73
	Conclusions	77
Five	The Early Years	79
	Parental Political Activities	79
	The Father/Daughter Relationship	85

	The Mother/Daughter Relationship	89
	Sibling Relationships	94
	Conclusions	95
Six	Educational Experiences	97
	Formal Education	98
	Extracurricular Activities	107
	Conclusions	109
Seven	Balancing Family and Political Career	111
	Ambivalence about Marriage and Family	117
	Husbands as Political Liabilities	120
	Divorce and Widowhood	125
	Conclusions	126
Eight	Early Political Experience	127
	Getting Started in Politics	128
	Climbing the Political Ladder	134
	Starting at the Top: Widows and Daughters	140
	A Push up the Ladder: The Role of Mentors	144
	Conclusions	146
Nine	Running for Office	149
	Physical Characteristics of Leaders	150
	Coping with the Rigors of a Campaign	152
	Meeting Her Family Responsibilities	155
	Is She Competent?	156
	Is She Tough?	159
	The Special Case of Widows and Daughters	162
	Running against a Woman	165
	Conclusions	170
Ten	Forming Governments	173
	Cabinet Selection	174
	Presidential Systems	178
	Dual Systems	179
	Plural Executive and Multiparty Systems	180
	Military Dominated States	182
	Selection by Widows and Daughters	182
	Selection by Temporary Leaders	186
	Portfolios Assumed by Leaders	187
	Conclusions	188

Eleven	Political Decision Making and Management Styles	191
	The Cabinet's Role in Decision Making	192
	Alternatives to Formal Cabinet Decision Making	195
	Personal Advisers and Outside Experts	197
	Management Style	202
	Conclusions	204
Twelve	Political Leadership	207
	Party Leadership	208
	Legislative Leadership	212
	Popular Leadership	214
	Responding to Leadership Challenges	216
	Conclusions	221
	Epilogue	223
	<i>Appendix: Background of Women Leaders</i>	229
	<i>Notes</i>	235
	<i>Index</i>	261

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

As a student of South Asian politics, I became interested in women political leaders as this region has surprisingly accounted for a number of women presidents and prime ministers. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) became the first woman prime minister, followed by Indira Gandhi of India. Among those women who rose to the top in 2007 was Pratibha Patil who was elected president of India, a largely ceremonial post. In the interim, Benazir Bhutto served as prime minister of Pakistan and Chandrika Kumaratunga served as both prime minister and president of Sri Lanka. Two women, Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina have dominated Bangladesh politics since 1991.

Since more than 60 women have now reached the top, we can begin to make more meaningful generalizations about those women who have broken the highest glass ceiling and compare them to their male counterparts. I was curious to know if anything set them apart from other women. How did their early years prepare them for political office? Did women have special problems in getting nominated for office and in running for office once nominated? What sorts of problems did they encounter in balancing family obligations and the demands of a career? Finally, how successful have they been in office and how have their decision making and management styles varied?

I wish to thank the staffs of the many libraries in the United States and abroad that made it easier for me to use their collections of books, periodicals, and newspapers. Especially useful for my purposes were the Library of Congress, the British Library, and the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Some smaller specialized ones in London were found helpful. Also, I wish to thank my family, friends, and colleagues who encouraged me to stay with the project.