

Leaders or Laggards: Engendering Sub-national Governance through Women's Policy Agencies in Spain and Poland

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ABSTRACT: International best practice and women and politics scholarship demonstrate that women's policy machinery (WPM) is a crucial tool for promoting feminist policymaking. A new and unstudied form of WPM is emerging at the sub-national level. In this paper, we examine why some regional WPMs are Leaders while others are Laggards. We employ Stetson and Mazur's model of effective, feminist WPM and operationalize WPM Influence and Access provided to feminist groups. We examine whether leftist party governance and federalized state structure make regional administrations leaders in women's rights, drawing on four regional cases within Spain and Poland. We conclude that regional leftist governance best predicts whether a regional WPM offers feminist policy and empowers feminist groups, however, state structure modifies the impact of party governance.

“While many states are considering devolved government under pressure from ethnic or regional movements and economic possibilities within their polities, we need to consider the gender-specific implications of decentralization and whether such decentralization is beneficial to the work of national machineries.”¹

I. Introduction

More than three decades of international best practice and a rich body of scholarship demonstrate that women’s policy machinery (WPM) is a crucial tool for engendering the state and for promoting feminist policymaking.² Stetson and Mazur define WPM as “any structure established by government with its main purpose being the betterment of women’s social status.”³ At last count, 127 countries around the world have national-level WPM.⁴ With varying degrees of success, these WPM are working to improve women’s status in two key ways: encouraging gender equality policy and promoting women’s activists to consult with and to influence elected officials and bureaucrats. In fact, Weldon⁵ argues that women’s policy machinery and women’s movements are superior agents of women’s representation and are preferable to individual female legislators because they contain many individuals and therefore are more likely to represent the diversity of women’s interests. As states have begun to decentralize governmental functions to sub-national governments, a new and relatively understudied form of WPM is now emerging at the sub-national/provincial/regional level of politics. This decentralization of WPM raises an important question: why do some sub-national WPMs successfully advance women’s issues and develop new and innovative policies to expand women’s economic social and political participation, while other sub-national WPMs lag behind or even entrench traditional gender roles?

This paper uses a most similar comparison of four sub-national WPMs, two in Spain and two in Poland, that have had starkly different rates of success in advancing women's issues. We develop a categorization of the WPMs as either leaders or laggards, arguing that regions are leaders if they both: (i) influence regional institutions and gender regional policies in a feminist⁶ way and (ii) offer feminist groups or women's advocacy organizations⁷ access to state institutions. In contrast, laggards are those regional administrations that do not rate highly on either dimension. We expect that two variables are important predictors of leaders. First, the extant literature indicates that left-leaning governments are generally more likely to appeal to female voters, to promote female politicians, and to advance feminist policies.⁸ Therefore, we expect WPMs in left-leaning regions to be leaders whereas WPMs in right-leaning regions will tend to be laggards. Second, we expect leaders to emerge in political systems that truly allow regional governments to "do their own things." As a result, Spain, as a quasi-federation with strong, durable regional governments, is more likely to have pronounced leaders than Poland as a unitary state with decentralized features.⁹ Compared to the weaker decentralized regions in Poland, Spain's federal arrangement allows greater freedom for its regional WPMs to be leaders apart from the Spanish national WPM.

This analysis is fruitful, first of all, because Spain and Poland are comparable; they share Catholic identity, recent democratizations, and sub-state transformations following democratization. Second, a great deal of scholarship on WPM has been focused on advanced industrial democracies.¹⁰ This paper constitutes an important extension of WPM across Southern and Eastern Europe, which is scant in recent scholarship. The Spanish and Polish dynamics serve a theory-generating purpose¹¹, thus establishing some general parameters of comparison

for future research on emerging sub-national WPMs in new democracies of Eastern Europe and Latin America.

II. Decentralization's Impact on Women's Representation

As a host of countries pursue decentralization of policy competencies from the national to the sub-national level¹² we are beginning to observe the first significant wave of sub-national WPMs at both the regional and municipal levels. The first Women's Offices were established in the U.S. states in the early 1900s.¹³ An international wave of WPM occurred in the late 1970s after second-wave women's movements and following United Nations conferences on women beginning in 1975.¹⁴ Though cross-national analysis has yet to be conducted to the knowledge of the authors, sub-national WPMs have emerged beginning in the 1980s in countries as varied as Northern Ireland, Spain, Poland, Chile, Brazil, Pakistan, and India. It is therefore reasonable to ask what these sub-national institutional developments mean for women citizens. One can begin to answer this question by examining the benefits national WPMs offer women and then by asking whether and how sub-national WPMs provide the same or greater benefits.

The outcomes that feminist policy scholars expect out of national WPMs pertain to policymaking and to offering women activists' access to the state. Eisenstein first conceptualized the term "femocrats" in relation to Australia, arguing that bureaucrats who represent feminist goals bring feminism into state institutions, thereby promoting the feminist gendering of policies.¹⁵ Comparative feminist policy research also demonstrates the policy advantages of WPM.¹⁶ WPMs tend to represent a broader diversity of women and women's interests than female legislators, to help in the process of gender mainstreaming, and often to foster links with society, thus potentially opening the state to women's advocacy organizations.¹⁷ Therefore, a two-fold effect occurs: not only is women's activism promoted through state-society

links, but policy outputs may be more desirable given the influence and expertise of women's advocacy groups.

As national WPMs are expected to improve gender equality policies in their respective countries, the trend of decentralization, in particular decentralizing WPM functions, may also increase women's political participation and status in society. Research focusing primarily on developed democracies suggests that decentralization will lead to improvements in gender equality. For example, scholars suggest that regional parliaments may be more open to women than national assemblies because of their proximities to familial responsibilities, their reputations as lower status, lower stakes entities, and their tendencies to focus on social policy issues in a more consensual decision-making environment.¹⁸ Furthermore, the work on state-movement interactions by Banaszak, Beckwith, and Rucht¹⁹ theorizes that downloading of state authority from the national government to local government empowers women. The authors argue that "as states decentralize their power, feminist organizing, as well as feminist office seeking, is likely to increase at the local level."²⁰ Therefore, sub-national WPMs could yield policy and benefits for activists and perhaps do an even better job than national WPMs of opening the state to women citizens. Similar findings emerge from the Research Network on Gender, Policy, and the State network.²¹ Outshoorn and Kantola find that regional "women's policy agencies [in advanced democracies] have grown in strength over the last decade,"²² whereas Orbals concludes that municipal WPM promote cooperative connections with local women's civil society.²³ Driven by these findings, one would conclude that sub-national government positively influences woman citizens.

Emerging research focused on new and developing democracies, however, suggests that decentralization is not promoting women's representation²⁴ in the legislative and bureaucratic

spheres. First, fewer women actually hold sub-national office than serve at the national level in many new and developing democracies.²⁵ Often the presence of fewer women translates into women holding lower status and prestige in sub-national institutions.²⁶ This is particularly the case where regional governments are more conservative than their national counterparts. For example, research on decentralization's effects on women in Ghana, South Africa, Indonesia, and Cuba all suggest that women face more patriarchal or *machista* political culture and patronage in the sub-national sphere, thus making it less conducive to women's representation.²⁷ Overall, research on sub-national governance in new democracies seems to contradict findings in advanced democracies. This is significant given that international and transnational organizations advocate decentralization to regional level governments as a way to increase citizen participation.²⁸

These contradictions lead to the question of why regions are sometimes leaders and sometimes not. Regions in Spain and Poland provide data that begin to answer these questions, for these two country cases straddle the categories of advanced industrial and new democracies. They are European yet newly democratized and decentralized states and thus provide research implications for the larger world context. We examine two factors potentially impacting regional WPMs in Spain and Poland. We ask whether leftist political party governance and/or the institutional structure of the sub-state determine whether or not regions are leaders in women's rights. Whereas party governance is often discussed in feminist policy literature, sub-state structure is a heretofore unstudied factor that is relevant to sub-national WPM.

III. Research Approach and Origins of Decentralization in Spain and Poland

Before discussing the cases, we must explain data sources, definitions, and measurements of variables. This paper's data are from original interviews, policy documents, and secondary sources. The authors conducted interviews with officials from sub-national women's policy agencies and women's organizations during 2002-2003 in Spain and 2004 in Poland. In both countries, interviewees were asked questions about the goals of the women's policy agencies and movements as well as the nature of interaction between women's associations and regional WPMs. Moreover, we rely on the publications of the WPMs and the regional administrations to identify WPM goals and regional priorities. Secondary sources, including newspaper articles and scholarship by other authors, supply supplementary information.

Dependent Variable

To define regional WPMs as either leaders or laggards, we build upon Stetson and Mazur's path breaking national-level analysis of effective, feminist WPMs in Western Europe.²⁹ They categorize WPMs as being high or low in terms of two policy-related dimensions: *Influence*, whether WPMs actively pursue feminist policymaking and impact the state in these matters, and *Access*, whether WPMs provide local women's activists with contacts to public officials. Stetson and Mazur's 1995 work demonstrates that the WPMs in Norway, Denmark, and Australia are effective and feminist; they rank high on both dimensions of Influence and Access. However, the authors note that WPMs in Poland and Spain are weak and/or ineffective; Poland ranks low on both Influence and Access, and Spain (like a handful of other countries) ranks Low on Access.

We build upon Stetson and Mazur's model of effective, feminist WPM in two ways. First, we extend the model from the national level to sub-national level politics. By evaluating the Influence and Access of regional WPMs, we can determine whether regions connect with local feminist activists and whether they further feminist policymaking more than the national governments. Alternatively, we may find that regions, similar to their respective national governments, rank low on one or both dimensions. Second, we build on Stetson and Mazur's model by setting out expanded conditions for what constitutes high versus low in both Influence and Access. Specifically, we develop four indicators of both Influence and Access. These indicators of Influence and Access are developed in the context of Poland and Spain, but as we note in the conclusion, these measures are generalizable indicators for further research on comparative state feminism. We measure each WPM on whether it displays each attribute or not, scoring it a zero or one, and total the scores for each dimension. A WPM with a total score of zero to two is designated low for that dimension; a WPM with a score of three or four is designated high for that dimension. We categorize WPMs that rank high on both dimensions as leaders and WPMs that rank low on both dimensions as laggards.³⁰

-Insert Table One About Here-

The Policy *Influence* of a WPM refers to the extent to which bureaucrats serving in it can shape policy formation processes, can influence executive ministries, bureaucracies, and lawmakers, and can affect what policy emerges from said deliberations and is ultimately implemented. We operationalize WPM *Influence* according to the following four indicators:

- (1) *The WPM has institutional capacity*; that is, the WPM is legally established within regional institutions with a separate sustainable budget and staff to implement programs.
- (2) *The WPM acts on its own competencies to pursue policy*; for example, the WPM advances programs designed and funded by the WPM itself, such as women's help centers, information campaigns, job training programs, and so forth.
- (3) *The WPM engages in mainstreaming, coordinating with other executive ministries and bureaucracies on gender issues*; that is, the WPM equips bureaucrats to further equality policies in a variety of policy areas and lends expertise to regional ministers and ministries.
- (4) *The WPM impacts legislative bodies*; for example, the WPM influences legislative debates or informs legislators of gendered concerns in legislation.

The *Access* dimension of WPM refers to whether the WPM effectively empowers feminist groups and women's advocacy organizations in the policy process. We operationalize *Access* according to the following indicators:

- (1) *The WPM meets and interacts with feminist groups and women's advocacy organizations*; for example, the WPM hosts meetings or events for provincial women's groups to meet, to network, and to discuss issues.
- (2) *The WPM promotes collaboration on joint initiatives*; for example, the WPM promotes joint WPM-women's organization events to celebrate International Women's Day or joint initiatives to inform voters about female candidates in upcoming elections.
- (3) *The WPM helps feminist groups and women's advocacy organizations gain access to funding opportunities*; for example, the WPM gives regular subsidies to women's

advocacy groups, funds pilot programs, or offers grant-writing classes to help the groups compete for external funding.

(4) *The WPM links feminist groups and women's advocacy organization leaders with other public officials;* for example, the WPM organizes private meetings or open forums between non-WPM public officials and women's group leaders.

Causal Factors

We argue here that regional WPM leaders emerge based on two factors: leftist regional governance and durable sub-state structure.³¹ First, there is a great deal of support for the hypothesis that left-leaning parties support women's issues, ally with feminist movements, and produce the most effective WPMs when leading national administrations.³² Leftist parties more frequently aim to attract female candidates and voters, and they tend to support an expanded welfare state and access to reproductive health services. Moreover, women's movements are often more connected to the left. Spanish feminism historically has been tied to the left, and expansion of women's rights in Poland, though often just window-dressing, has been tied more to the communist past and the socialist parties as well.³³ Past research shows that WPMs have been more effective at promoting feminist outcomes, such as agencies providing high levels of influence over policy and access to women's groups, when leftist parties control the government.

Therefore, it seems likely that *regional leftist governance* may determine whether a region is a WPM leader or not. For the purposes of this study, left-led regions are those in which leftist parties have won control of regional legislatures or are key coalition partners in regional legislatures in elections surrounding the formation of regional WPMs. Right-led cases are those in which rightist parties hold that leadership position in a regional government. Using this

criterion, Andalusia, Spain and Śląskie, Poland, are leftist-led regions, and Galicia, Spain and Małopolskie, Poland are rightist regions.³⁴

Institutional structure of the sub-state may also impact WPMs. Authors often refer to decentralization's benefits in a general fashion, but we stress here variety in sub-national institutional arrangements. We ask whether federalism or decentralization determines the impact of a state brought closer to its citizens. A federal system may be defined as "two (or more) levels of government ...combining elements of *shared-rule*...and *regional self-rule* for the governments of the constituent units."³⁵ Decentralization may be defined as "a process of state reform composed by a set of public policies that transfer responsibilities, resources, or authority from higher to lower levels of government in the context of a specific type of state."³⁶ Decentralization shares with federalism sub-national units that have policy competencies and often hold elections of their own. However, regional governments in a decentralized system tend to have less autonomy and be less durable than their federal counterparts, whose powers are constitutionally derived and understood as shared and are not derived solely from national institutions. By choosing one federalized case (Spain and one decentralized case Poland, we can gauge the effect of sub-state structure.

Spain and Poland both have long historical traditions of regional governance that were revived following transitions to democracy. Spanish regions lost political power after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) when the right-wing Franco dictatorship (1936-1975) promoted strong centralization. The 1978 Spanish Constitution puts forth a State of Autonomies (*Estado de Autonomías*) that allows for regional autonomy but confirms the unity of the Spanish state. For this reason, Spain is considered a quasi-federal state or one with "federal arrangements."³⁷ The 17 Spanish regions (*Comunidades Autónomas*) signed autonomy statutes in the 1980s and

gained policy competencies in the 1980s and 1990s, including health, education, culture, agriculture, and so on.³⁸ Spanish regional elections determine the composition of regional legislatures and the regional executive (*presidente*).

Polish regions (*województw*) also have a lengthy cultural-historical tradition. However, the communist period (1945-1989) is associated with strong state centralization. During the transition to democracy in Poland, the opposition Solidarity movement sought to dismantle communist centralization and promoted decentralization instead. This desire came to fruition on July 24, 1998, when a group of four laws, including the law on the three-tier territorial division of Poland, created 16 new political regions in Poland.³⁹ The regional level of government in Poland is not as durable as in Spain. Rather, the Polish Constitution in Chapter One Article Three establishes Poland as a unitary state; the right of the Prime Minister to appoint the regional executive or governor (*wojewode*) supports this framework. On the other hand, the 1998 legislation establishes directly elected regional parliaments and some significant policy competencies in the areas of health, education, and public administration⁴⁰.

The autonomy of regions in Spain allows them to pursue their own unique policies. The Spanish constitution enshrines powers associated with regional autonomy. Therefore, we expect greater variation among regions in Spain; we expect the presence of distinct leaders and laggards and predict Andalusia to be the most advanced leader of the four regional cases in this paper.

Before analyzing the cases, we note several variables that provide a modicum of control. First, Spain and Poland share important cultural and historical similarities. In particular, Spain and Poland have in common the strong role of the Catholic Church in shaping and reinforcing traditional gender roles, the impact of supranational European Union on their domestic politics, and a push for decentralization following their respective democratizations.

Second, the timing of national governance in each state provides a unique context in which to evaluate sub-state structure. Although there is a time difference between the development of regional institutions in Spain and Poland for which we cannot control, as Spain and Poland decentralized respectively in the 1980s and late 1990s; regional WPMs in each country first emerged during leftist national governance which later passed to right-wing governance. These national governance changes assist us in demonstrating whether decentralization provides for a durable WPM. Regional WPMs developed in the early 1990s in Spain and in 2003 in Poland, and conservatives took national office in Spain and Poland in 1996 and 2005 respectively. We can therefore ask whether national conservatives in Poland stymied regional WPM developments after 2005 and/or whether regional autonomy in Spain ensured that progressive regions could continue equality work despite conservative national officials elected in 1996.

Finally, we note a variable for which we cannot control in the context of a two-nation, four-region case comparison: namely, how partisan support of decentralization is situated in party systems following distinct authoritarian regimes. In Poland, decentralization arose as an issue of the rightist Solidarity movement and its successor parties rather than leftists who were tied to centralized communism. In Spain, federalization emerged from the leftist Socialist opposition to the Franco regime. Leftist national governments throughout the 1980s and 1990s promoted federalization, and regionalist political parties are of different ideological stripes.⁴¹

IV. Comparing Spanish and Polish Engendered Regional Governance

Spain

Although Spanish women gained the right to vote in the 1931, the Franco regime disallowed voting for women as well as men, promoted a traditional Catholic view of women as wives and mothers, and did not permit divorce or abortion. During Spain's democratic transition, the women's movement mobilized in support of abortion, divorce, women's education, and other issues. The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español - PSOE*) national administration during the early 1980s passed divorce and abortion reforms and established the national Women's Institute (*Instituto de la Mujer*) in 1983 with the main goal of advancing gender-equality policy.⁴² In addition to addressing national policy during the 1980s, the national Women's Institute established local help centers across Spain to provide women with legal and health information as well as opportunities to participate in recreation. The national administration and socialist party later encouraged regions and municipalities to provide their own equality services for women, and regional women's policy agencies were established in the late 1980s to early 1990s.⁴³

The process of federalization in Spain occurred at the same time as the development of the national Women's Institute. The Constitution of 1978 prescribed the abovementioned regional policy competencies and, in the early 1980s, regions gained power to design their own equality policies.⁴⁴ Therefore, Spanish regions may pursue progressive gender equality policies or very little policy at all. The cases of Andalusia and Galicia demonstrate that regional autonomy allows for variation in WPM institutional design, policymaking, and impact on civil society. Data show that Andalusia is a regional leader, a region that exerts policy influence and

provides access to women's activists, whereas Galicia began with a weaker WPM that slowly developed policy influence but has not provided access to feminist activists.

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Spanish Regional Case 1: Andalusia (Leader: Policy Influence=4; Access=3)

The longevity of socialist leadership of the national Women's Institute, from 1983 until 1996, provided "an unprecedented opportunity for the development of equality policies."⁴⁵ Socialist party feminists had "a willingness to work the system for women."⁴⁶ They advocated the establishment of the Women's Institute. Within a decade, the "goals, budget, and human resources" of the institute matched that of other Western European countries.⁴⁷ The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party of Andalusia (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Andalucía or PSOE-A*) has governed Andalusia since the time of its autonomy in 1981⁴⁸, and socialist party feminists have positively influenced the region's equality policies. The socialist party of Andalusia has been oriented towards women's issues, including gender equality in its election platforms and vocalizing that gender equality is an important concern of the region.

Though the Andalusia Women's Institute (IAM) was not immediately established upon the grant of regional autonomy in 1981, the regional administration and politicians of the 1980s promoted equality by maintaining provincial women's centers established in 1979, by discussing the poor situation of women in the community, and by brainstorming potential solutions for inequalities. A regional study administered in 1987 demonstrated the region's gender inequalities, and, in 1988, the Andalusian parliament established the Andalusia Women's Institute by law without political resistance from parliamentary members. Therefore, the Andalusia Women's Institute has achieved *institutional capacity* (1). Moreover, it has demonstrated innovation since its creation. It was the second regional autonomous institute in

Spain and has largely been ascribed to the regional Ministry of the Presidency, which scholars claim is the strongest institutional positioning of a Spanish regional WPM.⁴⁹ As of 2004, the Andalusia Women's Institute is part of the regional Ministry of Equality and Social Welfare. In 2000, Andalusia became the first Spanish region to establish gender units, defined as support structures within regional administration that promote gender mainstreaming.⁵⁰ The Andalusia Women's Institute has been granted a budget every year since its creation.

Since the early 1990s, the institute has funded many programs and coordinated with regional ministries in accordance with goals of gender mainstreaming. The Andalusian WPM has acted on its own *policy competencies (I)* to issue two equality plans and a plan against violence, and it has facilitated an extensive network of local women's centers. Furthermore, the Andalusia Women's Institute offers a variety of services to women such as job training, women's studies library, exercise classes, and social activities.⁵¹ The institute has *coordinated with other ministries (I)*, specifically with the regional education and health ministries to engender public policy. For example, the Andalusia Women's Institute and education ministry designed teacher training classes in non-sexist practices and distributed related publications to Andalusian schools and academics. Other Spanish regions recognize Andalusia as a leader in non-sexist education policies. Andalusia also stands out because of its health initiatives. Although Spanish women's policy agencies typically have a tepid approach to sexualities⁵², the Andalusia Women's Institute does not ignore reproductive issues, for it has debated abortion in its magazine and has worked with the regional health ministry and the Andalusian Youth Institute to provide information about and access to morning-after-pills. Finally, the Andalusia Women's Institute has *impacted the regional legislature (I)* by reporting its actions to parliament and communicating with the parliamentary committee on equality.

Women's policy machinery in Andalusia thus exhibits a high level of policy *Influence*, scoring four out of four. Moreover, the socialists' loss in national elections in 1996 did not alter Andalusian regional equality politics that continued to be directed by socialist regional officials. Andalusia was a leader by that point and would remain so. In fact, Andalusian officials vocally opposed the inadequacies that they perceived in conservative national gender policy in the late 1990s.

The women's movement is broad in Andalusia and includes feminist organizations and women's associations with a variety of goals. Because women's participation outside the familial sphere has been minimal in Spain and particularly low in Andalusia, the Andalusia Women's Institute has encouraged women to form and to participate in women's associations, many of which are recreational. As of 1989, only 151 women's associations could be documented in the region. However, by 1993, there were 600 women's associations. By the early 2000s, well over 1,000 associations existed. In addition to encouraging the growth of women's organizations, the Andalusia WPM *interacts with feminist groups (1)* and helps them to network. The Andalusia Women's Institute used a council (*consejo*) of women's organizations, including some feminists, to help develop the region's second equality plan in 1995. Several organizations use the Andalusia Women's Institute facilities for their meetings and thus have access to institute officials. Moreover, the Andalusia Women's Institute's *Programa Asocia* networks women in associations through social events and technological means, and the Andalusia Women's Institute hosts yearly feminist retreats for women in the region.

The Andalusian WPM also helps women's advocacy organizations *gain access to funding* (1). For example, the institute supported the 2000 national meeting of Spanish feminists in Cordoba and has funded women's organizations fighting against gender violence. In fact, a

2002 questionnaire shows that one purpose of communication between the institute and women's organizations is to discuss subsidy opportunities.⁵³ There are important cases of *collaboration on joint initiatives* (1) between the Andalusia Women's Institute and women's organizations, but the collaboration is not as great as it might be. For example, the institute edits volumes on feminist themes, works with feminist groups to commemorate International Women's Day, and publicizes women's movement protest on that day. However, other opportunities for women's advocacy groups to influence the regional Women's Institute's policies have been limited. In part, this is because feminists consider the institute to be a bureaucratic agency that prioritizes and funds recreational associationalism as much as feminist activities and not as radical as the feminist organizations themselves. As of late, many feminists have discussed the need for a permanent women's council (*consejo*) to work with the Andalusia Women's Institute on equality plans. This forum has not been developed, nor has the institute made significant attempts to *link feminist groups with other public officials* (0). In terms of access, Andalusia's WPM scores three out of four.

Spanish Regional Case 2: Galicia (Policy Influence=3; Access=2)

The regional center-right People's Party of Galicia (PP-G) dominated politics from the time of Galician autonomy in 1981 until June 2005, when a leftist coalition gained control in the parliament.⁵⁴ The PP-G's stance on gender equality is muddled by its conservative ideological posture. The party is considered more right-wing in its orientation than the national People's Party, and women were not prominent in Galician politics for many years after autonomy. The regional administration had no female ministers until 1991, when Manuela Besteiro was appointed head of a new Ministry of Family, Women, and Youth. Moreover, Manuel Fraga, the

regional president from 1989 to 2005, was a minister in the Franco regime, occasionally makes sexist comments, and is a strong proponent of family policies. The PP-G's frame for equality policies hinges on family policies instead of typical feminist causes. Because of regional demographic decline, the Ministry of Family, Women, and Youth has proposed measures to assist families with many children. Leftist politicians and feminist activists interpret these policies as pronatalist, and they also disagree with the PP-G's oppositional stance on gender quotas for election party lists.

The Galician case presents a contrast to Andalusia in several ways. Galicia pursued no equality policies until 1988. The establishment of the regional WPM was divisive as politicians contested the need for an institute from 1987 until 1991⁵⁵. When the PP-G established the Galician Equality Service (SGI) in 1991, it placed the agency within the Ministry of Family, Women, and Youth. The SGI was not incredibly influential during the early 1990s. Initially, the capacity of the SGI to pursue gender equality was in question. The SGI was legally established and assigned its own budget, endowing it with *institutional capacity (1)*. Because of its positioning in the family ministry and because of Minister Besterio's close association with Fraga, many suspected the ministry would advance old-fashioned, traditionally gendered policymaking reminiscent of the Franco regime. Moreover, the SGI's first equality plan was not substantial, and the plan's evaluation does not document many policy activities. However, the SGI more fervently pursued policymaking in the late 1990s, a period that corresponds to national conservative governance. Demonstrating its *policy competencies (1)*, the SGI has since issued four equality plans that have promoted non-sexist education, women's health, child care services, entrepreneurship, and job training. The SGI also proudly reported its efforts to fight gender violence and establish women's centers in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The SGI has *coordinated with other ministries (1)*, for organized conferences with

the regional education and justice ministries, respectively, about non-sexist education and resources for professionals working with woman victims of violence. It has developed a curriculum with the education ministry about equality in the regional language. However, evidence indicates that the SGI largely did not *impact the regional legislature (0)*. Parliamentary proceedings show that leftist opposition parties often questioned the work of the SGI. The SGI did not promote a 2001 law against gender violence debated in the regional parliament. PP-G politicians argued against the law, claiming that it was unnecessary due to the SGI's charge. The SGI, however, did advocate the region's equality law in parliamentary debates. The conservative parliament passed the law in 2004, but the law is considered weak and possibly a creative way to do away with regular equality plans.⁵⁶ The SGI therefore ranks high (three out of four) in terms of *Influence*.

The SGI *interacts with feminist groups (1)* through a women's commission (*Comisión Autónoma da Muller*) designed to include a variety of key societal actors in its equality work. This commission, established by the regional parliament in 1997 includes rural women, businesswomen, housewives, and social organizations, the category that includes feminists. Despite this formal institution, the relationship between the SGI and feminists during the 1990s was difficult. *Collaboration on programs between the SGI and feminist groups was nil (0)*. For example, officials did not participate in feminist International Women's Day events, feminists have protested the family ministry on occasion, and one feminist group claimed in a questionnaire response that the negatively affects its goals.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, feminists are a small percentage of the over 600 women's organizations in the region, and other women's organizations were satisfied with the conservative-led Galicia Equality Service.⁵⁸ The SGI has offered limited *financial support to feminist groups (1)*, including funding a 2004 international feminist conference hosted in Galicia by feminist activists. Despite the women's commission,

no evidence indicates that the helped feminists *network with other public officials in the region (0)*. Although the agency formally included some feminists in its equality policymaking and funded some feminist activities, by and large the SGI and feminists did not collaborate during conservative governance. Therefore, this regional women's policy machinery ranks low (two out of four) on the dimension of *Access*.

Poland

Polish women gained the right to vote in 1918 during the interwar period. Though traditional Catholic ideals of womanhood (*Matka Polka*) would persist throughout Poland, forty-five years of communist rule (1945-1989) shifted many gender norms in the public sphere. For example, widespread women's participation was encouraged in the labor force, but the lack of a truly autonomous feminist movement meant that women's roles in the private sphere were largely unchanged from pre-communist times⁵⁹. Within the Communist Party, there was a Woman's League (*Liga Kobiet*), but Robinson argues that it was primarily a recruitment tool for the Communist Party and was not, in fact, feminist.⁶⁰ In response to global pressure for women's equality in the Nairobi Conference, Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski moved to establish national level WPM in 1986.⁶¹ Even after Poland's 1989 democratization, Polish WPMs shifted toward a pronatalist mission when right wing or Solidarity successor parties were in power. As of 1995, Robinson⁶² reported that the Influence and Access provided by the Women's League were both low.

However, Polish WPMs took a feminist turn during the period of 2001-2005. In 2001, the communist successor Alliance of the Democratic Left (*Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej* or SLD) reinstated the National Plenipotentiary for the Equal Status of Women and Men (PESW) and appointed Izabela Jaruga-Nowacka, an active feminist, to the post. In 2003, women's groups

and legislators from the SLD and the leftist Labor Union successfully fought to create 16 regional-level Plenipotentiaries of Equal Status (PESs). Each of the sixteen regional governors (*wojewodes*) was required to nominate a regional PES by July 1, 2004. However, the location, structure, and mission of WPMs at the national and regional levels shifted yet again after 2005 parliamentary elections brought the rightist Law and Justice party into power. The national WPM is now the newly created Department for Women, Family, and Counteracting Discrimination within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. Regional WPMs are in the process of being re-nominated by rightist regional governors. At the time of this writing, WPMs are established in just seven of the sixteen regions. Given this reorganization, the sustainability of regional plenipotentiaries is in question.

Despite this backdrop of change, we argue in the section below that Śląskie region was among the regional leaders⁶³ in providing access to women's groups and limited influence over policy while Małopolskie is a laggard. The following sections detail that a strong leftist presence in Śląskie has aided the regional WPM, whereas the generally conservative culture in Małopolskie has made feminist organizing difficult. Moreover, both Polish regions suffer from the uncertainty in weakly decentralized systems in which elections overturn crucial policy decisions and institutional structures formed by prior governments.

Polish Regional Case 1: Śląskie (Policy Influence=2; Access=4)

The main leftist post-communist successor party in Poland, the SLD, has had a strong presence in the southern industrial and coal-mining region of Śląskie. Prior to the formation of provincial WPMs in 2003, the SLD with leftist PSL (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe*) party won control of Śląskie provincial legislature. The regional women's policy machinery, active in Śląskie between May 30, 2003, and late October 2005, gained basic measures of Influence and

high levels of Access. Although the Influence provided by the Śląskie WPM may appear slight in comparison with the Andalusian WPM, this agency was exceptional for the WPMs in Poland during this period. For example, regional WPM leader Dorota Stasikowska-Wozniak was the only regional WPM leader to have negotiated a separate salary and office⁶⁴, achieving high levels of *institutional capacity (1)*. Prior to her appointment by the regional governor, Stasikowska-Wozniak had been a prominent journalist, SLD party activist, and leader in women's groups, so she was a natural candidate for the position and could provide women's groups with access to regional SLD politicians. In terms of *policy competencies (1)*, the Śląskie WPM initiated many of its own programs, including training for women in the coal mining business, a program for sexual education of youngsters, and a regional program to counteract domestic violence.

Although the Śląskie WPM actively created local programs to meet the needs of regional women, Stasikowska-Wozniak argues that the most important policy change for the women of Śląskie happened at the national level. One of her top priorities as regional WPM leader was the 2004 amendments to the Polish Labor Code that made employer sex discrimination illegal. According to Stasikowska-Wozniak, the passage of this law opened up her agenda for regional issues; afterwards, she said: "now we can really begin to work on women's unequal status."⁶⁵ A heavy emphasis on national issues lends support to the notion that regional WPMs in Poland are less institutionalized than regional WPM in Spain. Despite its successes, the Śląskie region WPM did not, in its short tenure, engage broadly with other regional ministries in a program of *gender mainstreaming (0)*. Although Stasikowska-Wozniak did begin to build ties with legislators, no evidence indicates that the regional WPM lobbied to *influence regional legislators (0)*. All told, Śląskie has a total score of two of four and a rates low in terms of *Influence*.

On the other hand, the regional WPM in Śląskie has succeeded in providing women's groups in this region with a great deal of Access by bringing them into contact with state actors. The *Directory of Women's Organizations and Initiatives in Poland* (2004) listed eight women's groups in the Śląskie region. Notably smaller than the number of women's organizations in either Andalusia or Galicia, this result was somewhat expected due to lower levels of civil society in post-communist states like Poland. The organizations in Śląskie include breast cancer support groups (*Amazonki*), groups for women and children, groups for women in crisis, women's business associations, a group for women over 40, and two chapters of the Women's League.

The Śląskie WPM ranked highly on all four indicators of Access. First, the Śląskie WPM regularly solicited *input and feedback* (1) from women's groups on issues such as maternity, the health of women, domestic violence, homophobia, alimony, and women's contributions to art and literature. This regional WPM also *collaborated on joint initiatives* (1) with women's groups of Śląskie. For example, it worked with non-government organizations to produce an "Action Plan for Women of the Śląskie Region 2004-2010" and a regional program "To Overcome Violence" on domestic violence issues. Connecting regionally-based women's groups to *avenues of financial support* (1) was a priority of the Śląskie WPM, which held training for women on how to get grants from the European Social Fund and other sources. Lastly, one of the most successful ventures of the Śląskie WPM was to bring together women's groups and public officials in three Forums on the Women of Śląskie held in 2003. Through these forums, Stasikowska-Wozniak *linked women's groups to legislators* (1). A female regional legislator in Poland from the leftist SLD party described how:

“The style of forum was wonderful, I would say even precious, to women. There was no formalized agenda. Women coming to the meeting could express freely whatever issues were of concern to them. We discussed violence in the family, women’s unemployment... Women face more problems that men do and this was a place we could talk openly about it, which we cannot do in the regional parliament and other places.”⁶⁶

Interviews with other women’s group leaders and legislators in the region confirmed that the regional WPM successfully brought together members of women’s groups and provided them with access to female legislators. For example, another legislator stated that the best opportunity for bringing women into regional politics was the work of the Śląskie regional WPM. In its brief tenure, from mid-2003 until 2005 when national elections brought a center-right government, the leftist Śląskie WPM achieved low levels of Influence (two of four) but very high levels of *Access* (four of four). Since the recent appointment of a new head of the Śląskie WPM, its new role remains to be seen.

Polish Regional Case 2: Małopolskie (Laggard: Policy Influence=1; Access=2)

The region of Małopolskie includes the cultural capital of Krakow and the boyhood home of Pope John Paul in Wadowice. Małopolskie has traditionally been a more European Polish city; during Poland’s Third Partition by neighboring empires, this area fell under Austro-Hungarian rule. Unlike the Russian and Prussian influences, Austro-Hungarian rule included an early tradition of human rights, and the region even had its own legislature (*sejmik*). This early if brief tradition of self-rule would be built upon in 1918, when women from Krakow were among strongest voices demanding women’s suffrage.

Currently, regional politics in Małopolskie favor right-of-center political parties. For example, Law and Justice, Civic Platform, and the nationalist League of Polish Families have dominated the coalition government. Małopolskie was the last region in Poland to nominate a regional WPM late in 2004. The leftist regional governor was tepid on the issue of appointing anyone to head the WPM because of the strong conservative traditional roots of the people and their elected regional legislators in Małopolskie.

Overall, the Influence and Access provided by the regional WPM in Małopolskie is the lowest of the four regions surveyed in this study. It is important to note that the regional WPM in Małopolskie had a very brief window for influence, as the regional leader was the last to be appointed in Poland in late 2004 and the 2005 parliamentary elections of the rightist government entailed complete reorganization of national and regional WPMs. As in Galicia, the late appointment of a WPM was due in large part to strong regional opposition towards the need for a WPM in Małopolskie.

As one of the last appointed, it is not surprising that the Małopolskie WPM did not develop *institutional capacity (0)*, as it did not have separate facilities and offices and budget. One women's group leader said that regional WPM leader Professor Teresa Sasińska-Klas had broad support among women's groups. However, the group leader worried that the office was such a low priority for the regional governor and, although it had few resources, that it would be burdened with other regional administrative duties in the realm of social welfare policy.⁶⁷ Professor Teresa Sasińska-Klas was seen as a good candidate for WPM in Małopolskie because she would not pursue the role very strongly in accordance to the values of many regional legislators and citizens in Małopolskie.

In terms of *policy competencies (1)* the Małopolskie WPM promoted a broad “anti-discrimination” mission rather than a mission of gender equality which was perhaps more controversial in this region where the regional legislature prohibited public marches by Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgender (LBGT) supporters. The regional WPM did implement two basic programs: a Library Center with information on tolerance and integration of immigrants into the European Union and a program to overcome violence against women. The WPM in Małopolskie did not work with other regional ministries with regards to *gender mainstreaming (0)*. Although connections between the regional WPM leader and women’s groups in Małopolskie were fairly good, the regional WPM in Małopolskie did not *influence regional legislators (0)* who tended to be on the political right and were skeptical of feminist groups as will be described later. Therefore, in terms of *Influence*, the WPM in Małopolskie ranks low with a score of one of four.

The Access provided by provincial gender equality machinery in Małopolskie was similarly low. The national women’s organization OŚKA and Directory of Women’s Organizations (2004) indicate that Małopolskie had twelve women’s groups, four more than Śląskie. These groups include: the successor organization for the Women’s League, a Women’s Crisis Center shelter, a LBGT group and Campaign against Homophobia, breast cancer support groups, and women’s business groups. In 2001, prior to the formation of the Małopolskie WPM, many of these groups collaborated to form a Pre-Electoral Coalition of Women, designed to promote female candidates and to inform female voters about politicians’ stands on women’s issues. According to Siemienska, the coalition was composed of groups that were “located somewhere between the center and left.”⁶⁸ However, the ideals of women’s groups in Małopolskie that advanced the cause of changing women’s status in society conflicted with

rightist regional politicians on issues such as appointing an activist regional WPM and holding marches in support of LGBT rights in Małopolskie.

In terms of Access, the Małopolskie WPM *regularly met with and included feminist groups in regional discussions (1)*. Professor Sasińska-Klas held regular meetings with a variety of local women's groups, including feminist groups and the National Minister Jaruga-Nowacka. *Feminists also participated in the aforementioned pre-electoral coalition that constituted a joint collaboration between the regional WPM and local groups (1)*. However, no evidence indicates that the Małopolskie WPM provided women's groups with advice and access to *avenues of financial support (0)*. The WPM also failed to *link women's groups to non-WPM public officials (0)* in this case, legislators. As previously noted, the ideals of women's groups in Małopolskie conflicted with rightist regional politicians. For example, one women's group leader in Małopolskie argued that Małopolskie regional legislators were aligned with the Catholic Church and therefore very hesitant to work with local feminist groups:

“[Regional government] contracts with feminist organizations are treated as controversial. When feminists offer good suggestions on how to make police more aware of sexual harassment, for example, the police take over the idea as if it were theirs. Here in Krakow, a man has won a large government contract to help women victims of domestic violence. His organization won the contract because they were pro-family and allied with the church. Feminist organizations are assumed to be rich.”

This comment, while anecdotal, creates an interesting comparison to findings on decentralization in Italy. Della Porta⁶⁹ found that decentralization benefited Italian women's groups, as they received many government contracts for service provision for women regardless of the party in control of the regional government. In Poland, at least, strong regional control by

rightist parties, particularly ones such as the League of Polish Families which mobilize a nationalistic Catholic base through the radio station Radio Maryja, may not be hospitable climates for the development of regional WPM leaders. Overall then, the rightist region of Małopolskie ranks as a laggard: both low (scoring one of four) on *Policy Influence* and low (scoring two of four) on *Access*.

V. Analysis

While Stetson and Mazur reported in 1995 that national-level WPMs in Spain and Poland were not feminist, ranking low in terms of both Policy Influence and Access, this updated and regionalized analysis suggests that within these two countries, some very innovative regions have emerged. For example, Andalusia, Spain, emerges as an impressive leader in gender equality policymaking. The Andalusian WPM promoted leading non-sexist educational practices, increased women's participation in civil society, enhanced gender mainstreaming across regional government bureaus, and even engendered municipal level governments by encouraging a network of women's help centers. Galicia, Spain, and Śląskie, Poland, demonstrate middling progress for sub-national-level gender equality machinery. After a slow start, the conservative region of Galicia became influential in terms of policy, but did so with an almost complete lack of collaboration with local feminist groups. In a mirror case, in Śląskie, feminist groups were given high levels of access to the WPM and regional politicians, but the brief tenure and limited reach of the office allowed for little policy change. Slower yet was Małopolskie, Poland, in which the WPM carried out just two programs. One was local implementation of a nationally coordinated anti-violence campaign that interviews suggest privileged church groups over feminist groups. The second was a library with information about

tolerance of other cultures and immigrants to the EU. The WPM in Małopolskie did not address the gender equality issue *per se*.

Although Spanish and Polish regions are institutionally distinct and offer different outcomes, they are strikingly similar with regards to leftist leadership promoting women's issues and women's civil society. At the regional level, leftist governance leads to greater policy influence and access. The presence of leftist allies in government was found to be important in explaining why we see more active regional WPMs in Andalusia and Śląskie and why the WPMs in rightist regions Galicia and Małopolskie tended to be less active. Andalusia was the second region in Spain to create a women's institute, whereas Galicia put off responding to women's issues until the early 1990s. Similarly, the rightist region of Małopolskie was late in developing WPM as its leftist governor, responding to the conservative citizenry and dominance of rightist parties in the regional legislature, was the last to appoint regional WPM leadership. On the other hand, the leftist region of Śląskie was the first to appoint a director, who incidentally fomented good rapport with women's groups and was on a trajectory to be influential in the region. In both Galicia and Małopolskie, regional governments controlled by rightist parties did not appeal to regional feminist groups, but the Galician WPM did appeal to other women's organizations. Andalusia, though not perfectly catering to feminists, did appeal to women in civil society and can even be credited with promoting new civil society.

The structure of the sub-national state, our second variable, is very much related to this point. We conclude that a federalized sub-state does not ensure immediate WPM development, but it permits early development and ensures greater stability than that afforded to WPMs in decentralized contexts. In Spain, formal, regional WPMs were not established until a decade after regional autonomy was granted. However, Andalusian socialists made women's centers a

priority in the late 1970s, before regional autonomy was granted, and put forth innovative gender policy in the decades that followed, even after the socialists lost national elections in 1996.

Afterwards, conservatives national leaders did not dramatically change the national Women's Institute, though that was within their bounds, and they could not stymie regional WPMs developed in the 1980s and 1990s due to regional autonomy on equality matters. Just as Galicia was within its own bounds to not pursue policy machinery until the 1990s, Andalusian regional outcomes were not quelled by the 1996 national election that brought in rightist governance.

This stands in great contrast to the situation in Poland following 2005. Provincial WPMs were only a possibility after women's groups and legislators lobbied for plenipotentiaries and the Polish national legislature (*Sejm*) passed a law creating regional WPMs. Furthermore, the Śląskie WPM, though a leader in the Polish context, has been challenged by recent national rightist government. After the 2005 elections, national conservatives dismantled the national and local WPMs. Instead, they created a new WPM, the regional office of Family, Women and Counteracting Discrimination, with a different mission, and the rightists initiated the regional governors' appointment of new officials to lead the regional WPMs.

This is particularly disappointing given the progress the Śląskie WPM had made in such a short period of time. The Śląskie WPM had developed relationships with legislators and linked women's activists to those in power. Because of these strong foundations, we question our own definition of regional leader in this paper. On one hand, Śląskie cannot be compared to Andalusia because its WPM lacks influence and longevity. Nevertheless, one would not expect advancements on par with Andalusia due to Poland's institutional and economic limits. We therefore argue that, within Poland, Śląskie is a WPM leader. In future studies of regional WPM, especially those in democratizing contexts, we suggest evaluative means that are contextually

grounded. Because influence and access in regions may be low due to national determinants, international and intra-national evaluations of regional WPMs are needed.

VI. Conclusion

Therefore, we conclude that more research on these matters must be completed. The study of decentralized policymaking occurs in the context of distinct national politics, which often undergo changes after major national elections, and with parties situated in different electoral-historical contexts. In future studies, we note the importance of looking at what WPMs do and the framework in which they do it. We note here three areas meriting further exploration of decentralized state feminism.

First, we acknowledge that regional governance does not stand alone. In fact, regions are very much influenced by national party governance, though distinctly, in both decentralized and federalized states. At the national level in Spain, institutionalization of state feminism is attributed to the stable leftist governance of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. Because of the "longevity" of national socialist governance from 1982 to 1996, both national and regional WPMs became influential, and all regions have had WPMs for over a decade. Polish state feminism received more support under the national governance of the leftist SLD. However, after Poland elected a rightist national government in 2005, WPMs and equality policies came under question and, as of this writing, only seven of sixteen regional officers of Anti-Discrimination have even been appointed and still serve in this capacity. Therefore, Spain's national political environment has provided a context that encourages equality policies but allows for sub-state variation, whereas Poland's national political environment more directly determines regional outcomes due to weak decentralization.

Second, political parties frame the appropriate scope of action for national and regional WPMs, evident in the bureaucratic name-changing that can occur with shifts in partisan control. For example, we find intriguing the growth of family discourses in Spain and Poland. Galicia pursued a family perspective in its WPM while under rightist regional governance, and so too one finds family discourse within the new national Polish administration. Many women's organizations in Poland protested in 2005 when the rightist Law and Justice government abolished the PESW and instead created a new Department for Women, Family, and Counteracting Discrimination. These organizations wrote letters voicing concerns about the new agency's mission as the new Undersecretary of the State, Vice Minister Joanna Kluzik-Rostkowska, supports women's equal employment and access to fertility treatments but opposes discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or expanding access to abortion.⁷⁰ Similarly, in Galicia, a family perspective on women's issues may have been a creative way to frame WPM actions to yield less influence and access. We therefore suggest future research that examines indicators of policy influence and takes into account the ideological frames in which policy is embedded.

Third, the scope of this analysis does not allow us to systematically examine the positioning of regionalism and party systems. However, we suspect that how left-wing parties are situated in party systems regarding the issue of decentralization also influences the success of regional WPMs. In some countries, like Spain, leftist parties are both women-friendly and pro-decentralization: a case of reinforcing cleavages that encourages engendered regional governance despite regional variance. In Poland, rightist parties are stronger advocates of decentralization, particularly to the regional level. Issue cleavages in cases such as Poland are cross-cutting and counter our expectations that decentralization of women's policy machinery will

straightforwardly enhance women's representation. Our future cross-national research will explore these questions.

We close with the same puzzle that opened our theory discussion, whether sub-national WPMs provide the same or greater benefits than national WPMs. We have shown here that regional WPMs have great potential and sometimes provide high levels of Policy Influence and Access. Regional WPMs appeal to women's activists, and they propose equality policy plans that have the potential to change women's lives. This is significant given that a decade ago Spain received low marks on access and Poland had been deemed low on policy influence and access (see Valiente 1995; Robinson 1995). We have also answered why some WPMs are greater leaders than others. We see leftist governance as the best way to ensure progressive outcomes, and we argue that federalism provided a better opportunity for WPM development and growth in Spain. Decentralization, though certainly an opportunity for Poland to develop regional equality measures, has not led to strong, stable WPMs. Whether this final conclusion holds true for all cases of decentralization can only be determined by a larger-N, regional-level case comparison.

Table One-Leaders and Laggards among Regional Women’s Policy Machinery (WPM) offices in Spain and Poland

| | | Influence | |
|--------|------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | High | Low |
| Access | High | Andalusia (Spain) | Śląskie (Poland) |
| | Low | Galicia (Spain) | Małopolskie (Poland) |

Adapted from: Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur, eds. Comparative State Feminism (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Press, 1995).

Table Two- Regional Women’s Policy Machinery Scores on Indicators of Influence and Access

| | | | WPM INFLUENCE | | | | | ACCESS | | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Region (Country) | Region Gov’t Control | Regional Gov’t Durability | Capacity | Policy Competency | Coordinate with Other Ministries | Impact Legislators | INFLUENCE TOTAL | Solicit Input | WPM-Feminist Groups Collaborate | \$ | Link Feminist Groups to Officials | ACCESS TOTAL |
| Andalusia (SP) | Leftist | High | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| Galicia (SP) | Rightist | High | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Śląskie (PL) | Leftist | Low | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Małopolskie (PL) | Rightist | Low | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |

NOTES

1 Shirin Rai, ed., *Mainstreaming Gender, Democratizing the State? Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 34.

2 See Joni Lovenduski, *Feminizing Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Amy Mazur, *Theorizing Feminist Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Dorothy McBride Stetson, ed. *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the Democratic State: A Comparative Study of State Feminism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur, *Comparative State Feminism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995); Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur, "Women's Movements and the State: Job-Training Policy in France and the U.S.," *Political Research Quarterly*, 53 (September 2000), pp. 597-623; S. Laurel Weldon, "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking," *Journal of Politics*, 64 (November 2002), pp. 1153-1174.

3 Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur, *Comparative State Feminism*, p.3.

4 Rai, p. 1.

5 Weldon, S. Laurel.

6 By *feminist*, we mean policies that do more than purport equality, for many institutions and actors worldwide concede a basic adherence to equality and women's policy agencies. See, for example, Kathleen Staudt, *Women, International Development, and Politics*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997). Instead, we look for policy that furthers equality between men and women *and* has the potential to confront the ill effects of patriarchy in women's lives. For example, see Karen Beckwith, "Beyond Compare? Women's Movements in Comparative Perspective," *European Journal of Political Research*, 37 (June 2000), pp.431-468; Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, *Gender Consciousness in Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

7 Like Stetson and Mazur (p.274), we specifically examine the effects of state feminism on “feminist and women’s advocacy organizations,” although we note in the paper where decentralization of WPMs also expands the access of non-feminist women’s groups to the state.

8 *ibid.* p. and also see Miki Caul, "Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidate Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Analysis." *Journal of Politics*, 63 (November 2001), 1214-1229.

9 Although readers may note the importance of the level of institutionalization of women’s policy agencies, we view federalism as causally prior to institutionalization. By definition, federalism allows for regional self-rule. See Ronald Watts, *Comparing Federal Systems*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999). In other words, federalism allows regional institutions to be durable.

¹⁰ See Celia Valiente, “Developing countries matter: an overview of research on state feminism worldwide.” Paper for the ECPR joint session of workshops, Granada, Spain, 14-19 (April 2005).

¹¹ See Arend Lipjhart, “Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method,” *American Political Science Review*, 65 (September 1971), pp.682-693.

¹² See Daniel J. Elazar. *Exploring Federalism*. (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1987); Jeanie Bukowski, Simona Piattoni and Mark Smryl, eds. *Bewteen Europeanization and Local Societies: The Space for Territorial Governance* (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield, 2003).

¹³ McBride Stetson and Mazur, *Comparative State Feminism*, 1995; Jeanine Parry, “Women’s Policy Agencies, the Women’s Movement, and Political Representation in the U.S.,” in *Women’s Movements and Political Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Lycklama a Nijeholt, Virginia Vargas, and Saskia Weringa, eds. *Women's Movement and Public Policy in Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean*. (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998).

¹⁵ Hester Eisenstein, *Inside Agitators: Australian Femocrats and the State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).

¹⁶ Amy Mazur, *Theorizing Feminist Policy*.

¹⁷ Weldon 2004; Jacqui True, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5 (November 2003), pp. 368-396; McBride Stetson and Mazur, 1995. Amy Mazur, *State Feminism, Women's Movements, and Job Training: Making Democracies Work in the Global Economy*. (New York: Routledge Press, 2001). .

¹⁸ Mark Neylan and Doug Tucker, "Women in Local Government," in Barbara Sullivan and Gillian Whitehouse, eds. *Gender, Politics & Citizenship*. (Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press). Robert Darcy, Susan Welch and Janet Clark. *Women, Elections and Representation*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

¹⁹ Lee Ann Banaszak, Karen Beckwith and Dieter Rucht, *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

²⁰ Ibid. p. 22.

²¹ Dorothy McBride Stetson, ed. *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the Democratic State: A Comparative Study of State Feminism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²² Joyce Outshoorn and Johanna Kantola. *Changing State Feminism: Women's Policy Agencies Confront Shifting Institutional Terrain*. (Palgrave, forthcoming) p. 367.

²³ Candice D. Ortobals, *Embedded Institutions, Activisms, and Discourses: Untangling the Intersections of Women's Civil Society and Women's Policy Agencies in Spain*. Ph.D. Dissertation (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2004).

²⁴ We conceive of women's representation as an integrated concept including formal, descriptive, substantive and symbolic dimensions, following scholars Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer and William Mishler, "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation," *Journal of Politics* 67, (May 2005) pp. 407-428; Hannah Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, (University of California Press, 1967).

²⁵ Richard Vengroff, Zsolt Nyiri and Melissa Fugiero, "Electoral System and Gender Representation in Sub-National Legislatures: Is there a National Sub-National Gender Gap?" *Political Research Quarterly*, 56 (June 2003), pp. 163-173.

²⁶ Meg Rincker, "Masculinized or Marginalized: Decentralization and Women's Status in Polish Regional Institutions." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, forthcoming.

²⁷ Gifty Ohene-Konadu, "Gender Analysis and Interpretation of Barriers To Women's Participation in Ghana's Decentralized Local Government System." (University of Cape Town South: African Gender Institute); Jo Beall, "Decentralizing Government and De-centering Gender: Lessons from Local Government Reform in South Africa," *Politics and Society*, 33 (June 2005), pp. 253-276; Asima Yanty Siahaan. "Women and Decentralization in Indonesia: Bringing Local Government Closer to Women?" www.policy.hu/siahaan/Polycypaper1.htm Third Biennial Conference of the International Development Studies Network of Aotearoa New Zealand. Massey University, 5-7 (December 2002); Melani Budianta, "Decentralizing Engagement: Women and the Democratization Process in Indonesia," *Signs*, 31 (2006) pp. 916-

939; Ilja Luciak, "Party and State in Cuba: Gender Equality in Political Decision-making," *Politics & Gender* (June 2005) pp.241-263.

²⁸ Jennie Litvack and Jessica Seddon, *Decentralization Briefing Notes*. (World Bank Institute Working Papers, 2002).

²⁹ McBride Stetson and Mazur, 1995.

³⁰ There are regions in this analysis that fall in between high on one dimension and low on the other dimension, we strive to identify factors contributing to the range of possible outcomes

³¹ Within-country regional comparisons rule out two main alternative explanations for Leading subnational WPM: regional strength of women's movements and level of regional wealth. If the women's movement has been historically strong in a particular region, we might expect the movement to successfully push for responsive state feminist institutions. Likewise, regions with higher per capita GDP may have higher government revenues to innovate and fund feminist policy initiatives. Andalusia and Galicia both historically have had few women's groups (although civil society grew after democratization). Similarly, both Śląskie and Małopolskie have very few women's groups, yet the regions differ in terms of their Leader or Laggard status. In terms of wealth, Andalusia and Galicia are both among the poorer regions in Spain, and Śląskie and Małopolskie are among the more affluent regions in Poland (notwithstanding the pains of economic and political transition in 1989), but again regions differ in terms of the influence and access provided by regional WPM. .

³² McBride Stetson and Mazur 1995; McBride Stetson and Mazur 2001; McBride Stetson 2001; Ortals 2004.

³³ On Spain see Monica Threlfall, "The Women's Movement in Spain," *The New Left Review* 151, (May-June 1985), pp. 44-73, and on Poland, Małgorzata Fuszara, "New Gender Relations in

Poland in the 1990s,” in Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, eds. *Reproducing Gender: Politics Publics and Everyday Life After Socialism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2000).

³⁴ This paper focuses on developing and justifying indicators of WPM Influence and Access, using the four regional cases to illustrate the utility of these indicators, for future use in comparing WPMs at various levels of government cross-nationally. This objective lends itself to in-depth examination of interview and secondary sources, which precludes a fuller quantitative analysis of all the regions in Spain and Poland in this paper. However, in none of the rightist regions in either country do Leaders clearly emerge. All Leaders emerge as left-run regions. There are leftist regions in which Leaders do not emerge, suggesting that a fuller large-n study of regional agencies and partisan control would be useful.

There are regions in this analysis that fall in between high on one dimension and low on the other dimension, we strive to identify factors contributing to the range of possible outcomes.

³⁵ Watts 1999, p. 7.

³⁶ Tulia Falletti, “A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective,” *American Political Science Review*, 99 (August 2005), pp. 327-346.

³⁷ Spain is quasi-federal because its constitution does not define it as federal and its national Senate does not provide regional representation. Though the lack of regional representation in the Senate distinguishes Spain from other federal states, it does not subtract from regional competencies regarding gender equality policy.

³⁸ The main regionalist political party since the time of the transition is leftist-oriented, though it has not experienced much electoral success in recent years. In 2000, the party gained one seat in the national legislature, and it continues to govern a limited number of Andalusian municipalities

³⁹ From 1975-1998, there were 49 regions in Poland. Communist Party leader Edward Gierek installed a large number of regions in 1975 as a means to weaken lower levels of government vis-à-vis the national level. Likewise, the reduction to 16 vovoidships in 1998 was intended to create stronger sub-national units.

⁴⁰ Wiktor Glowacki, "Regionalization in Poland,"

<http://igi.osi.hu/publications/2002/105/Marcou-Poland.pdf>. (Open Society Institute: 2003).

⁴¹ Regionalism is a center-right issue in Catalonia.

⁴² See Celia Valiente, "The Power of Persuasion: the Instituto de la Mujer in Spain," in Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur, eds., *Comparative State Feminism* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), pp. 221-236; *ibid.*, "State Feminism and Gender Equality Policies: The Case of Spain (1983-95)" in Frances Gardiner, *Sex Equality Policy in Western Europe* (London: Routledge Press), pp. 127-141; *ibid.*, "The Women's Movement, Gender Equality Agencies and Central-State Debates on Political Representation in Spain," in Joni Lovenduski, ed. *State Feminism and Political Representation* (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2006) pp. 174-194; Monica Threlfall, Christine Cousins and Celia Valiente Fernandez, *Gendering Spanish Democracy* (London: Routledge Press, 2005). The Women's Institute is a department within the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (*Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales*), though it has been moved a couple of times. Original goals of the institute were to study the situation of women in Spain, to inform women about their constitutional rights, and to receive complaints about discriminations against women.

⁴³ Maria Bustelo, *La evaluación de las políticas de género en España*. (Madrid: La Catarata, 2004).

⁴⁴ *ibid.* p.

⁴⁵ Monica Threlfall and Sheila Rowbotham, *Mapping the Women's Movement* (London: Verso Press, 1996) p. 124.

⁴⁶ Threlfall, "The Women's Movement in Spain," p. 54.

⁴⁷ Maria Bustelo and Candice D. Ortals, "The Evolution of Spanish State Feminism, A Fragmented Landscape," in Joyce Outshoorn and Johanna Kantola, eds., *Changing State Feminism: Women's Policy Agencies Confront a Shifting Institutional Terrain* (London: Palgrave 2007).

⁴⁸ Spain as a presidential system has elected regional presidents. In Poland's semi-presidential system, the Prime Minister appoints regional governors. As of 2004 in Poland, Prime Minister Leszek Miller from the leftist successor party SLD had appointed all leftist SLD regional governors in Poland. While all the regional executives in Poland were leftist at the time of this study, the elected regional assemblies form the political environment in which regional governors work. We therefore expect regions with a leftist regional parliament to create a more conducive environment in which an SLD governor can appoint active regional WPMs than in regions with a conservative regional parliament opposed to reshaping traditional gender norms and non supportive of the need for regional WPMs.

⁴⁹ The IAM was transferred to the Ministry of Social Services in the early 1990s and then placed back in the Presidency in the late 1990s. Bustelo argues that the presidency ministry empowers WPM because it provides access to the executive and does not imply that the WPM is to solely address the policies of a particular ministry, such as social issues via a ministry of social affairs. See Maria Bustelo, *La evaluación de las políticas de género en España*.

⁵⁰ Bustelo and Ortals, 2007.

⁵¹ The IAM has hosted feminist learning conferences, flamenco parties, and activities at municipal women's centers for the women's associations.

⁵² Raquel Platero, "Are lesbians considered women by Spanish femocrats? The representation of non-normative sexualities in the national and regional equality policies," Paper presented at the 3rd ECPR General Conference at Budapest, (September 2005).

⁵³ Ortals 2004.

⁵⁴ This study looks at Galicia until the 2005 change to leftist governance. Some evidence indicates that the region has changed its perspective on equality policies since the change in governance, yet extensive research on new developments has yet to be conducted.

⁵⁵ Institutes are considered stronger and more institutionally stable than interdepartmental commissions, which must coordinate policy goals among various regional ministries.

⁵⁶ Bustelo and Ortals, 2007.

⁵⁷ Ortals 2004.

⁵⁸ In fact, the SGI has celebrated International Women's Day with rural women's associations and is now acceptable to a broad sector of women's organizations. These signs of progress and state-society cooperation indicate that more Galician women have been brought into political realm than in years before. See Candice D. Ortals, "Jumbled Women's Activism: Subnational and International Influences on Galician Equality Politics." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (forthcoming).

⁵⁹ See Barbara Einhorn, *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe*, (New York: Verso, 1992); Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, eds. *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Rincker, Meg. 2006. *Women's Access to*

the Decentralized State: Engendering Regional Governments in Poland. Ph.D. Dissertation. (St. Louis, MO: Washington University, 2006).

⁶⁰ Jean Robinson, "The Liga Kobiet in Poland," in Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur, eds. *Comparative State Feminism* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications) pp. 203-220.

⁶¹ The former Office of Women's Affairs was housed within the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs. This office was responsible for "political recruitment and dissemination of contraceptive information, developing child care options, protecting working women, promoting healthy pregnancies, and encouraging fathers to take a more active role in parenting" (Robinson 1995). This office was not staffed until 1991, for additional information see Elzbieta Matynia, "Provincializing Global Feminism: The Polish Case."

http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_2_70/ai_107489501/print. 2003.

⁶² Jean Robinson, "The Liga Kobiet in Poland," in Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur, eds. *Comparative State Feminism* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Press, 1995). pp. 203-220.

⁶³ Two other Polish regions, Mazowieckie and Opolskie, also achieved comparatively high levels of influence. Opolskie was a leftist region, and Mazowieckie is the region containing the capital of Warsaw and also the bulk of women's groups in Poland.

⁶⁴ The Plenipotentiary's bargaining power in Śląskie was greater, as her husband owns an important and influential consulting firm.

⁶⁵ Interview with author, May 2004.

⁶⁶ Interview with author, May 2004.

⁶⁷ Interview with author, May 2004.

⁶⁸ Renata Siemienska, “Gender Party Quotas in Poland.” A paper presented at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.” (www.quotaproject.org/CS/CS_Poland-siemienska.pdf., 2004).

⁶⁹ Donatella Della Porta, “The Women’s Movement, the Left, and the State: Continuities and Changes in the Italian Case,” in Lee Ann Banaszak, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht, eds., *Women’s Movements and the Reconfigured State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 48-68.

⁷⁰ Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities of the European Commission, “Bulletin: Legal Issues in Gender Equality” (2006) p. 46.

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/gender_equality/docs/2006/bulletin06_1_en.pdf.