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*Presidentas* Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?

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Note: Results are for four robustness checks and a test of an alternative explanation. All tests are two-tailed.

Table 1. Robustness Check #1 Female Empowerment Indicators Included

Table 2. Robustness Check #2 Bachelet’s Inaugural Cabinet Removed

Table 3. Robustness Check #3 Clustered Standard Errors by President

Table 4. Robustness Check #4 Dropping End-of-Term Cabinets for Presidents whose Terms Ended Unexpectedly

Table 5. Alternative Explanation: Do *Presidentas* Make a Difference According to Ministry Prestige?

Table 1. Robustness Check #1 Female Empowerment Indicators Included

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Full Models | | | Inaugural | | | End-of-Term | | | Feminine | Masculine,  Neutral |
|  | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | Logistic | Logistic |
| *Presidenta* | 0.06\* | 0.25 | 0.38\* | 0.11\*\* | 0.42\* | 0.48\* | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.65\* | 0.25 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.17) | (0.21) | (0.04) | (0.23) | (0.27) | (0.05) | (0.31) | (0.35) | (0.39) | (0.26) |
| Cabinet gender score | -0.22 | -1.41\* | — | 0.25 | 1.60 | — | -0.42\*\*\* | -0.257\*\* | — | — | — |
|  | (0.13) | (0.77) | — | (0.21) | (1.38) | — | (0.15) | (1.06) | — | — | — |
| Ministry gender | — | — | -0.82\*\*\* | — | — | -0.75\*\*\* | — | — | -0.92 | — | — |
|  | — | — | (0.09) | — | — | (0.12) | — | — | (0.13) | — | — |
| Cabinet prestige score | -0.12 | -0.53 | –– | -0.22 | -1.29 | –– | -0.26 | -1.07 | — | — | — |
|  | (0.11) | (0.66) | — | (0.16) | (1.01) | — | (0.15) | (1.10) | — | — | — |
| Ministry prestige | — | — | -0.35\*\*\* | — | — | -0.39\*\*\* | — | — | -0.35\*\* | -1.27\*\*\* | -0.43\*\*\* |
|  | — | — | (0.11) | — | — | (0.15) | — | — | (0.17) | (0.27) | (0.11) |
| % Female in Congress | 0.06 | 0.57 | 0.58 | 0.09 | 0.88 | 1.04 | 0.01 | 0.07 | -0.03 | 0.74 | 0.43 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.59) | (0.73) | (0.15) | (0.86) | (1.07) | (0.15) | (0.94) | (1.13) | (1.40) | (0.86) |
| # Female in predecessor’s cabinet | 0.1\*\* | 0.03 | 0.05\* | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.12\* | 0.05 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.01) | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.04) |
| Far left | 0.20\*\*\* | 0.90\*\*\* | 1.32\*\*\* | 0.13\*\* | 0.64\* | 0.97\*\* | 0.24\*\*\* | 1.21\*\*\* | 1.87\*\*\* | 1.52\*\*\* | 1.25\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.23) | (0.28) | (0.06) | (0.33) | (0.40) | (0.07) | (0.41) | (0.48) | (0.55) | (0.33) |
| Left | 0.05 | 0.19 | 0.30 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.36 | 0.69\*\* | 0.73\* | 0.07 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.18) | (0.21) | (0.04) | (0.25) | (0.28) | (0.04) | (0.30) | (0.34) | (0.40) | (0.25) |
| Right | 0.05\* | 0.29 | 0.40\* | 0.04 | 0.25 | 0.38 | 0.06 | 0.29 | 0.47 | 0.80\* | 0.18 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.19) | (0.23) | (0.05) | (0.26) | (0.31) | (0.04) | (0.30) | (0.35) | (0.43) | (0.27) |
| Far right | 0.001 | -0.03 | -0.10 | -0.03 | -0.08 | 0.02 | 0.01 | -0.01 | 0.02 | 0.57 | -0.50 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.25) | (0.28) | (0.05) | 0.33 | (0.36) | (0.06) | (0.48) | (0.53) | (0.50) | (0.35) |
| Year appointed | 0.003 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.002 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.06\*\* | 0.08\*\* | 0.02 | 0.03 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.003) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.004) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Cabinet size | -0.01\*\*\* | 0.002 | -0.05\*\*\* | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.04\*\* | -0.01\*\*\* | -0.02 | -0.05\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.04\*\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.004) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.005) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Female in labor force | -0.002 | -0.01 | -0.02\* | -0.004\* | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.002 | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.01 | -0.03\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.002) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.002) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| Fertility rate | -0.04\*\* | -0.23\*\* | -0.35\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.42\*\*\* | -0.51\*\*\* | -0.01 | -0.10 | -0.13 | -0.71\*\*\* | -0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.11) | (0.13) | (0.02) | (0.15) | (0.18) | (0.02) | (0.18) | (0.21) | (0.25) | (0.15) |
| Female education | -0.001\*\* | -0.004\*\* | -0.01\*\* | -0.001\*\* | -0.005 | -0.01\*\* | -0.0006 | -0.003 | -0.001 | -0.004 | -0.01\*\* |
|  | (0.0004) | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.0005) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.0006) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.003) |
| N | 104 | 104 | 1,908 | 56 | 56 | 999 | 48 | 48 | 909 | 365 | 1,543 |

\*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01

Table 2. Robustness Check #2 Bachelet’s Inaugural Cabinet Removed

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Full Models | | | Inaugural | | | Feminine | Masculine, Neutral |
|  | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | Logistic | Logistic |
| *Presidenta* | 0.04 | 0.22 | 0.36 | 0.08 | 0.40\* | 0.50\* | 0.78\* | 0.16 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.18) | (0.23) | (0.05) | (0.24) | (0.28) | (0.42) | (0.28) |
| Cabinet gender score | -0.25\*\* | -1.56\*\* | — | 0.09 | 0.72 | — | — | — |
|  | (0.12) | (0.74) | — | (0.20) | (1.23) | — | — | — |
| Ministry gender | — | — | -0.82\*\*\* | — | — | -0.74\*\*\* | — | — |
|  | — | — | (0.09) | — | — | (0.12) | — | — |
| Cabinet prestige score | -0.09 | -0.47 | –– | -0.14 | -1.10 | –– | — | — |
|  | (0.11) | (0.66) | — | (0.17) | (1.00) | — | — | — |
| Ministry prestige | — | — | -0.36\*\*\* | — | — | -0.41\*\*\* | -1.18\*\*\* | -0.45\*\*\* |
|  | — | — | (0.11) | — | — | (0.15) | (0.27) | (0.11) |
| % Female in Congress | 0.23\*\* | 1.31\*\* | 1.68\*\* | 0.37\*\* | 2.11\*\* | 2.64\*\* | 2.05 | 1.63\* |
|  | (0.10) | (0.56) | (0.73) | (0.16) | (0.84) | (1.03) | (1.37) | (0.83) |
| # Female in predecessor’s cabinet | 0.01\*\*\* | 0.04\* | 0.08\*\* | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.08 | 0.08\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.04) |
| Far left | 0.16\*\*\* | 0.68\*\*\* | 1.004\*\*\* | 0.09 | 0.38 | 0.69\* | 1.12\*\* | 0.92 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.22) | (0.29) | (0.06) | (0.32) | (0.38) | (0.55) | (0.32) |
| Left | 0.05 | 0.18 | 0.29 | 0.009 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.79\* | 0.03 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.18) | (0.23) | (0.04) | (0.24) | (0.28) | (0.41) | (0.26) |
| Right | 0.06\* | 0.31\* | 0.40\* | 0.04 | 0.27 | 0.41 | 0.69 | 0.21 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.18) | (0.24) | (0.05) | (0.25) | (0.29) | (0.42) | (0.27) |
| Far right | 0.02 | 0.03 | -0.04 | -0.02 | -0.05 | -0.003 | 0.44 | -0.35 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.24) | (0.29) | (0.06) | (0.33) | (0.02) | (0.51) | (0.35) |
| Year appointed | 0.003 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.002 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.003) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Cabinet size | -0.01\*\* | 0.007 | -0.04\*\* | -0.004 | 0.02 | -0.03 | -0.06\*\* | -0.03\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.004) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| N | 103 | 103 | 1,890 | 55 | 55 | 981 | 360 | 1,530 |

Table 3. Robustness Check #3 Clustered Standard Errors by President (Logistic Models)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Full Model | Inaugural | End-of-Term | Feminine | | Masculine, Neutral |
| *Presidenta* | 0.49\* | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.15 | 0.86\*\* | 0.33 | |
|  | (0.29) | (0.27) | (0.39) | (0.39) | (0.35) | |
| Ministry gender | -0.82\*\*\* | -0.75\*\*\* | -0.92\*\*\* | — | — | |
|  | (0.10) | (0.12) | (0.13) | — | — | |
| Ministry prestige | -0.34\*\*\* | -0.38\*\*\* | -0.34 | -1.19\*\*\* | -0.42\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.10) | (0.12) | (0.94) | (0.28) | (0.11) | |
| % Female in Congress | 1.47\* | 2.20\*\* | 0.38 | 1.89 | 1.41 | |
|  | (0.82) | (0.10) | (0.94) | (1.40) | (0.99) | |
| # Female in predecessor’s cabinet | 0.08\*\* | 0.06\* | 0.14\*\* | 0.09 | 0.08\*\* | |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.04) | |
| Far left | 1.05\*\*\* | 0.67\*\* | 1.67\*\*\* | 1.16\*\* | 0.97\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.34) | (0.28) | (0.58) | (0.47) | (0.35) | |
| Left | 0.30 | 0.12 | 0.59 | 0.78\* | 0.05 | |
|  | (0.27) | (0.26) | (0.37) | (0.40) | (0.31) | |
| Right | 0.38 | 0.39 | 0.39 | 0.66 | 0.21 | |
|  | (0.28) | (0.26) | (0.37) | (0.43) | (0.33) | |
| Far right | -0.09 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.41 | -0.39 | |
|  | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.51) | (0.46) | (0.34) | |
| Year appointed | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.07\*\* | 0.03 | 0.02 | |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | |
| Cabinet size | -0.04\*\*\* | -0.04\*\* | -0.05\*\* | -0.07\*\*\* | -0.04\*\* | |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | |
| N | 1,908 | 999 | 909 | 365 | 1,543 | |

\*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01

Table 4. Robustness Check #4 Dropping End-of-Term Cabinets for Presidents whose Terms Ended Unexpectedly

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Full Models | | | Inaugural | | | End-of-Term | | | Feminine | Masculine,  Neutral |
|  | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | OLS | Poisson | Logistic | Logistic | Logistic |
| *Presidenta* | 0.06\* | 0.30\* | 0.45\* | 0.12\*\* | 0.54\*\* | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.02 | 0.14 | 0.19 | 0.80\*\* | 0.30 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.17) | (0.24) | (0.05) | (0.23) | (0.26) | (0.05) | (0.30) | (0.35) | (0.39) | (0.29) |
| Cabinet gender score | -0.28\*\* | -1.72\*\* | — | 0.06 | 0.51 | — | -0.50\*\*\* | -2.86\*\* | — | — | — |
|  | (0.13) | (0.76) | — | (0.21) | (1.21) | — | (0.17) | (1.10) | — | — | — |
| Ministry gender | — | — | -0.85\*\*\* | — | — | –0.75\*\*\* | — | — | -0.98\*\*\* | — | — |
|  | — | — | (0.09) | — | — | (0.12) | — | — | (0.14) | — | — |
| Cabinet prestige score | -0.06 | -0.27 | –– | -0.12 | -0.96 | –– | -0.18 | -0.73 | — | — | — |
|  | (0.12) | (0.67) | — | (0.18) | (0.98) | — | (0.17) | (1.08) | — | — | — |
| Ministry prestige | — | — | -0.32\*\*\* | — | — | –0.38\*\* | — | — | -0.30\* | -1.13\*\*\* | -0.42\*\*\* |
|  | — | — | (0.11) | — | — | (0.15) | — | — | (0.17) | (0.27) | (0.11) |
| % Female in Congress | 0.19\* | 1.11\*\* | 1.53\*\* | 0.29\* | 1.71\*\* | 2.20\*\* | 0.09 | 0.48 | 0.29 | 1.87 | 1.44 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.55) | (0.77) | (0.17) | (0.82) | (1.00) | (0.13) | (0.85) | (1.01) | (1.32) | (0.89) |
| # Female in predecessor’s cabinet | 0.01\*\* | 0.04\* | 0.08\*\* | 0.01\* | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.13\*\* | 0.08 | 0.08\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.01) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.04) |
| Far left | 0.16\*\*\* | 0.67\*\*\* | 0.99\*\*\* | 0.09 | 0.38 | 0.67\* | 0.21\*\*\* | 1.01\*\* | 1.65\*\*\* | 1.09\*\* | 0.94\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.22) | (0.31) | (0.07) | (0.32) | (0.38) | (0.07) | (0.40) | (0.46) | (0.53) | (0.35) |
| Left | 0.04 | 0.14 | 0.26 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.12 | 0.05 | 0.21 | 0.48 | 0.78\* | -0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.18) | (0.24) | (0.05) | (0.24) | (0.28) | (0.04) | (0.30) | (0.34) | (0.40) | (0.28) |
| Right | 0.05 | 0.26 | 0.36 | 0.04 | 0.26 | 0.39 | 0.05 | 0.20 | 0.32 | 0.62 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.18) | (0.25) | (0.05) | (0.25) | (0.29) | (0.04) | (0.30) | (0.35) | (0.42) | (0.29) |
| Far right | 0.001 | -0.07 | -0.16 | -0.02 | -0.10 | –0.07 | 0.02 | -0.12 | -0.18 | 0.32 | -0.45 |
|  | (0.04) | 0.25 | (0.31) | (0.05) | (0.32) | (0.35) | (0.06) | (0.48) | (0.54) | (0.50) | (0.37) |
| Year appointed | 0.002 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.002 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01\*\* | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.003) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.004) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Cabinet size | -0.01\*\* | 0.01 | -0.04\*\* | -0.005 | 0.02 | –0.04\* | -0.01\*\* | -0.02 | -0.05\*\* | -0.07\*\* | -0.04\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.005) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.005) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| N | 100 | 100 | 1,837 | 56 | 56 | 999 | 44 | 44 | 838 | 354 | 1,483 |

\*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01

Table 5. Alternative Explanation: Do *Presidentas* Make a Difference According to Ministry Prestige?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | High Prestige | Medium Prestige | Low Prestige |
| *Presidenta* | 0.68\* | 0.37 | 0.96\* |
|  | (0.39) | (0.28) | (0.49) |
| Ministry gender | 0.06 | -0.90\*\*\* | -1.51\*\*\* |
|  | (0.39) | (0.11) | (0.26) |
| % Female in Congress | 1.77 | 0.55 | 2.57 |
|  | (1.35) | (0.94) | (1.60) |
| # Female in predecessor’s cabinet | 0.09 | 0.07\* | 0.08 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Far left | 0.58 | 1.17\*\*\* | 1.21\*\* |
|  | (0.59) | (0.37) | (0.55) |
| Left | 0.02 | 0.30 | 0.45 |
|  | (0.42) | (0.30) | (0.42) |
| Right | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.52 |
|  | (0.43) | (0.31) | (0.43) |
| Far right | -0.08 | -0.36 | 0.29 |
|  | (0.52) | (0.40) | (0.60) |
| Year appointed | -0.02 | -0.04\*\* | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Cabinet size | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.11\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| N | 634 | 986 | 288 |

\*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01