



**POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND THE GENDER GAP:
NEW YORK CITY AND LONDON**

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**A thesis submitted for the Joint Master's degree in
Global Economic Governance & Public Affairs (GEGPA)**

Academic year
2020 – 2021

July 2021

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Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Plagiarism Statement.....	4
List of Abbreviations.....	5
Introduction	6
Literature Review	8
Methodology	13
Chapter 1: System Overviews of London and New York City.....	15
1.1 Greater London Authority	16
1.1.1 Function.....	17
1.1.2 Elections	17
1.2 New York City Hall.....	24
1.2.1 Function.....	25
1.2.2 Elections	26
Chapter 2: Assessing the Gender Gap in Local Office	29
2.1 Election History Findings: New York City	30
2.1.1 Mayor of the City of New York Elections	30
2.1.2 New York City Council Elections.....	34
2.2 Election History Findings: London	38
2.2.1 Mayor of London Elections.....	38
2.2.2 London Assembly Elections.....	42
2.3 Comparing the Results.....	52
Conclusion.....	55
Bibliography.....	58
General Literature and Sources	58
Data Sources for London Elections	62
Data Sources for New York City Elections.....	65
Annex	93

Abstract

In order to effectively enact policies and best represent the people of a city, local governments need to reflect the composition of their constituency. As cities change, grow, and develop we find that gender gaps in public office are still commonplace around the world today. Briefly discussing where the existing scholarly literature has been focused and what noticeable gaps in the research persist, we are able to take note of what work needs to be done to enrich this field of study. New York City and London are two prime examples of major cities with worldwide significance that have long-lasting trends of gender disparity in local office. By examining and comparing these two similarly important cities in different developed, democratic countries we are able to take a deeper look at how their local governments operate, where these gaps are most acute, where the greatest successes are, and how these cities and their political parties can learn from each other.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Council Member Helen Rosenthal, Assembly Member Hina Bokhari, and Assembly Member Caroline Pidgeon for taking the time to speak with me about their roles and experiences. Their insight was invaluable to the shaping of my thesis and inspired me to dive deeper into my research and pursue my passions.

Thank you also to my classmates in the GEGPA, EUDIPLLO, and MIPA programs. I could not have asked for a better set of peers. You are what made this last year the amazing experience that it was, despite everything that was going on in the world around us. I am incredibly glad to have made such wonderful friends to have shared this experience with. I look forward to meeting you all again someday soon.

To Renata, for holding me accountable until the very end. I cannot thank you enough for all your help and support.

To Melinda, for taking my calls at all hours of the day and holding my hand throughout everything.

Lastly, thank you to my loving friends and family for supporting me in my crazy decision to quit my job and pack up and move across the world in the middle of a global pandemic to pursue my master's degree for a year. I appreciate you all more than you could possibly know.

Plagiarism Statement

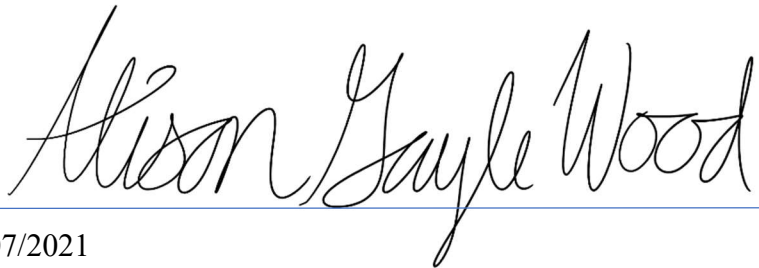
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List of Abbreviations

AM	Assembly Member
BAME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BNP	British National Party
BOE	Board of Elections
CFB	New York City Campaign Finance Board
CM	City Council Member
CRO	Constituency Returning Officer
GLA	Greater London Authority
GLC	Greater London Council
GLRO	Greater London Returning Officer
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NY	New York State
NYC	New York City
NYSBOE	New York State Board of Elections
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
USA	United States of America

Introduction

There has been much research into the field of gender gaps in public office, where they exist, how they are being addressed, where the gaps have closed, the roles political parties play, and cultural attitudes and perceptions of these issues. However, few studies have investigated the gap in political representation and participation in city level office, especially in Europe. Most research is skewed towards the national level or towards the policies implemented to address the gender gaps in South American countries or within political parties. There is not much on where these gaps persist in developed countries with little change for decades despite widespread knowledge of the issues and the implementation of policies and programs aimed at closing them. There is little to no research on the state of gaps at a local level and how larger cities are progressing in closing their gaps. In fact, there have been no controlled studies which compare the differences in political gender gaps within democratic cities. In order to better assess the state of play at a municipal level, more research needs to be done to contribute to this underdeveloped field. This dissertation seeks to obtain data which will help to address these research gaps. With the aim of evaluating what is working, what is not, and improvements that can be made this paper will compare and contrast two very similar cities: London, England in the United Kingdom (UK) and New York, New York in the United States of America (USA). In order to effectively study these two cities, election data for the last two decades has been collected, organized, and analyzed. The purpose of this paper is to provide future researchers easy access to complete election data and to contribute to the ongoing debate surrounding gender gaps.

Throughout this paper, the term ‘gender gap’ will be used quite frequently. With the object of providing a clear understanding of the nature of this topic and an overview of the research presented within this paper, it is necessary here to clarify exactly what is meant by ‘gender gap’ and as such a definition will need to be established. The World Economic Forum defines the gender gap as “the difference between women and men as reflected in social, political, intellectual, cultural, or economic attainments or attitudes” (Harris, 2017). Intrinsicly, the term gender gap is very broad, and it can be used to explain a whole host of matters. To name only a few, gender gaps can take the form of the difference in wages

between the average salaries of men and women, they can refer to a gaps in educational attainment between the sexes, and they can point to the gaps in participation within the labor market¹. In this dissertation, the term ‘gender gap’ will be used to refer the gap in political achievement between men and women in particular.

The political achievement gender gap exists fairly ubiquitously around the world today. Only 25% of the political gender gap has been closed as of 2020 and at the rate things are currently going, it will likely take 94.5 years to close the gap in political achievement entirely based on an analysis of 153 countries’ Gender Gap Index assessments (Schwab *et al.*, 2019). Iceland is leading the world in political empowerment gender parity with score of 0.701² while Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea are performing the worst with scores of 0 each. Unfortunately, Iceland appears to be somewhat of an outlier as political gender parity in their country is nearly eleven percentage points greater than the country ranked just below it and roughly four times higher than all other countries on average. These low average scores are not solely due to small developing nations like Papua New Guinea, they are contributed to by many large and developed countries as well. The United Kingdom sits in 20th place with only 39.6% political parity and at the same time the United States sits in the paltry position of 86th place with a meager 16.4% gender parity. The number of women that run and are elected to public office in the US and UK are far below what they need to be. In fact, the World Economic Forum also states that North America is roughly 151 years away from achieving gender parity whilst Western Europe is estimated to need about 54 years to close the gap (Schwab *et al.*, 2019). There is a nearly 100-year difference between these two values and given that these regions are predominantly composed of developed nations the staggering difference between the two timelines engenders questions as to the causes of this

¹ The gender gap does not only refer to an enduring quantitative difference between men and women but all gender identities. This paper, however, will primarily be focusing on representation gaps between those who identify as male and those who identify as female. This is because that is where most of the current research is focused and because there are little to no cases of non-binary individuals running for or being elected to public office in either of the two cities focused on in this dissertation.

² Political Empowerment scores can range from 0 to 1 and countries are ranked from highest to lowest scores. The country with the highest score is performing the best overall while the country with the lowest score is performing the worst. A score of 1 represents 100% political gender parity in the country.

significant disparity. A comparison of London and New York could prove particularly revealing given their similar socioeconomic and democratic compositions.

Research into the gender gap in political empowerment and achievement is important for a number of reasons. The more that is known about this topic, the more can be done to better address it and the issues that gender gaps cause. Equal representation is beneficial to everyone in a society, not just those that are gaining increased representation. Governmental systems profit from electing people with diverse backgrounds, perspectives, and experiences. Increasing representation means increasing the range of skills and talent at the disposal of the public. Women often have different legislative priorities than men and increasing the number of elected female officials likely means an increase in policies promoting reproductive health, gender equality, or directed at improving the health and welfare of children and families. Last but not least, increased representation actively empowers women and girls of all ages. Women in office act as role models for others by showing them that politics are a field for women and encouraging them to run for office themselves. Increased female representation can increase future female representation by serving as inspiration for the next generation.

This paper will be focusing solely on the gender gap in political office at a municipal level. In this instance, the gender gap refers to the disproportionate number of men and women in publicly elected office in the cities of London and New York. In the pages that follow, an overview of the literature written on this topic will be discussed, a summary of the political and election systems in both cities will be provided, and an analysis of election data contextualized by the insights of women currently in office will be presented.

Literature Review

As the world develops and more women become elected officials, the debate about the importance of gender equality has become a global issue. There is a large volume of published studies describing the role of the gender gap in public office and political parties, however there is a relatively small body of literature that is concerned with the degree to

which these gaps occur within local offices in democratically operating and developed countries. Much of the current literature pays particular attention to national or federal level offices, gender quota policies, and the roles of political parties. Existing research is not predominantly found in one specific format or other. Due to the vast amount of existing research, it regularly takes the form of books, reports, and peer reviewed academic journal articles to name only a few resource types.

Because of the all-encompassing nature of gender gaps, the research into this field of study is equally as broad. The trouble comes when trying to search through the decades of research and synthesize only materials related to this niche topic. The initial intent of this dissertation was to look at the broad successes and failures of two similar cities in different parts of the world and look at how policies had shaped the representation of people elected. The initial intent was derived from a basic knowledge of the topic of gender gaps but without knowing much about the specifics and an understanding of how each city government operated.

After diving deeper into the available literature, the research began reveal large vacancies where applicable information should exist. There existed little research that specifically looked at local level office in either of New York City or London let alone any other local levels of government in developed nations. Curious to understand why, the natural progression of study explored the available data on election history in both cities. Once the published election records were obtained it was clear that the available data poorly organized, hard to identify and an all-around mess. With the hope of creating a clear understanding of how both government bodies operate and increasing the availability of clean and easily accessible data, this dissertation's purpose took on a new form. If there was a hole in the research and limitations to the usability of existing data then this dissertation's goal would then become to solve these problems, at least to a certain extent, and to plainly explain how the two bodies operate and compare.

According to scholars, gender studies emerged as an integral part of academic research in the '80s (Hennig, 2019). Gender equality has become a part of the global political agenda and the United Nations even incorporated gender equality and female empowerment into Agenda 2030 as Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG) (United Nations, n.d.). Though

research into the gap in political achievement and participation between men and women has been looked into for decades, the bulk of the research focused on for this dissertation was written in the last decade. Due to the specific nature of this dissertation and its overall goal of filling the hole in existing research and data, there is little overlap with available research. A quick internet search for ‘gender gap’ provides a large amount of information. Major news outlets, governments, state agencies, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have all published a significant body of material on the subject. Academic literature on general gender gap topics is readily available on the internet without paywalls. It is when specific subcategories within the field are searched that literature begins to thin and paywalls arise. A large portion of this research focused on the concept of gender quotas in both public office and within political parties.

There has been a growing call for more efficient methods to achieve a gender balance in politics. One example of this is the introduction of quotas. Gender quotas are measures that aim to accelerate the achievement of gender-balanced representation and participation. They are usually used to establish a defined proportion of seats or places for women and men in a given institution. In this field of research gender quotas refer to the required number of positions or balance of gender representation within political parties and elected office. The quotas can take several forms including the legislation requiring a minimum number of elected women at various levels of government or policies within political parties focused on nominations procedures and staffing. Roughly eighty countries have adopted laws that enable political parties to make pre-election selections that are based on gender (Bjarnegård and Zetterberg, 2016). A lot of the research on gender quotas utilizes data from developing countries where gender quota policies are common and have been in place for some time (Barnes and Holman, 2020; Kerevel, 2019; Brown *et al.*, 2018).

The use of quotas has been associated with the goal of increasing women's representation. Studies have shown that quotas increase the diversity of political leaders in office by transforming the political networks and attitudes of potential leaders (Barnes and Holman, 2020). They ensure the inclusion of women in political assemblies; they also open up the nomination process to more transparency and formalization. Studies have also shown that

gender quotas affect the perception of political office by women and men (Krook, 2014). At the same time, they have raised a number of questions and been met with criticism (Krook and Norris, 2014). What do the quotas for women in politics entail and how do they contribute to the empowerment of women? Are electoral quotas a violation of liberal democracy? Does the narrow focus on gender quotas hinder researchers and stop them from exploring other effective policies (Krook and Norris, 2014)?

The academic literature on the interaction between political parties and female representation has revealed the emergence of several themes. Women are elected at roughly the same rate as men (Ashworth *et al.*, n.d.; Lawless and Fox, 2013). Women are more likely to be in left-leaning parties (Barnes and Cassese, 2017; Campbell and Erzeel, 2018; Lizotte, 2017; Shames *et al.*, 2020). And when a political party adopts feminist ideologies, they are more likely to have female participation within their parties, even in right-leaning parties (Campbell and Childs, 2015; Celis *et al.*, 2014; Winter, 2010). The Conservative Party in the UK and Republican Party in the US have been the subjects of significant academic research. These parties boast the most significant gender gaps of all the major political parties in both countries. Research suggests this is because of their association with and regular promotion of traditional gender ideologies (Campbell and Erzeel, 2018). Research has shown that rightist parties that adopt feminist gender beliefs are more likely to secure more women's votes than those that do not. Through the act of incorporating more policies and ideals that appeal to women these parties have the ability to increase party membership amongst women (Barnes and Cassese, 2017; Campbell and Erzeel, 2018; Winter, 2010). Beyond this, gender gaps persist in public office and much study has been made of how women are recruited to become candidates and the gap in political ambition.

Some studies have suggested gaps in political representation have to do with how women are recruited (Brechenmacher, 2018; Jeffery *et al.*, 2018; Preece *et al.*, 2016). Preece *et al.* states that within certain parties, equitable recruitment practices often backfire and can worsen female recruitment overall. To address this, parties need to change how they are recruiting men and women and create targeted recruitment campaigns to increase female participation (Preece *et al.*, 2016). Women have been shown to be less likely to consider

candidacy than men and unlike men, they feel the need to work their way up the ladder rather than run directly for the position they wish to be in to ensure they are the best prepared (Ashworth *et al.*, n.d.; Lawless and Fox, 2013). Another possible contributing factor is the lack of awareness of the issues related to and caused by gender gaps among all citizens, primarily men, because of a significant lack of available educational programs on the subject (Evans and Amery, 2016). Women are often the victims of sexist remarks, appearance-based commentary, and social media slander which consistently discourages women from running (Cardo, 2021; Hennig, 2019). In order to increase female participation in politics the consensus appears to be that women need to feel safe and empowered to do so (Kerevel, 2019).

The available research on political gender gaps is broad and can hardly be fully covered within this section. The largest problem with existing research is that it is repetitive, it touches on topics already covered by many researchers before. There are few articles that look at local levels of public office and do so within major cities in developed nations. The purpose of this dissertation is to generate one easily accessible source for gender-based election data in NYC and London because of the significant lack of research on either city. This paper aims to explain how each locality operates and use the compiled data to contribute to the ongoing debate on gender gaps in the process.

Methodology

The objective of this section is to explain how the research was conducted for this dissertation and its purpose.

After assessing the state of existing research on this topic and the information directly pertaining to local level government in NYC and London there appeared to be a decidedly small amount of material available on this specific area of research. Existing research did not focus primarily on these particular levels of government or cities. Based on these gaps in research, the aim of this dissertation is to consolidate and clarify the election data available for both cities and make it accessible to future researchers so that a clear understanding of the state of the political gender gap in both locations can be assessed and understood.

The election data for both cities, while published and made publicly available by both cities, was available in inconsistent formats, hard to read, and often hard to locate. Data pertaining to six GLA election cycles was collected from London Elects across 31 separate documents. Likewise, the data pertaining to the last five general elections and recent primary elections for the city of New York was collected from the NYC Board of Elections across 237 documents. All key features of the data were compiled within spreadsheets which are included in the Annex section of this paper. Once the data was collected, a general analysis was performed to create a broad overview of the gender gaps within municipal office in New York City and London. The csv files for this compiled data will be made available upon request.

Qualitative research was also conducted by requesting interviews with all the women currently sitting on the London Assembly and the New York City Council via their publicly available government emails. Though the response rate to requests for interviews was high, due to election seasons and scheduling conflicts it was only possible to complete three interviews in total. The unstructured interviews were conducted with Assembly Member Caroline Pidgeon, Assembly Member Hina Bokhari, and City Council Member Helen Rosenthal. These unstructured interviews were performed with the aim to learn about each

interviewee's personal experiences and understanding of the gender gaps in their specific city.

The results of the top-level election data analyses were compared between the two cities to identify similarities, differences, and areas where each government has the potential to learn from the other. The interview responses from the elected officials were used to provide additional context to the data collected and provide personal insight to paint a clearer picture of the present landscape of the political gender gap in both cities.

Chapter 1: System Overviews of London and New York City

New York City and London are very similar in a number of ways. They are roughly the same size, they have similarly diverse residents, they operate democratically, and they have similar gender makeups. Both New York City (NYC) and London are the most populous cities in their respective countries. They are important economically, culturally, and historically. Combined, they host a staggering 97 million tourists every single year and are among the top ten most visited places in the world (NYS Comptroller, 2020; Statista, 2020). They both host two of the largest stock exchanges in the world and are financial powerhouses in and of themselves.

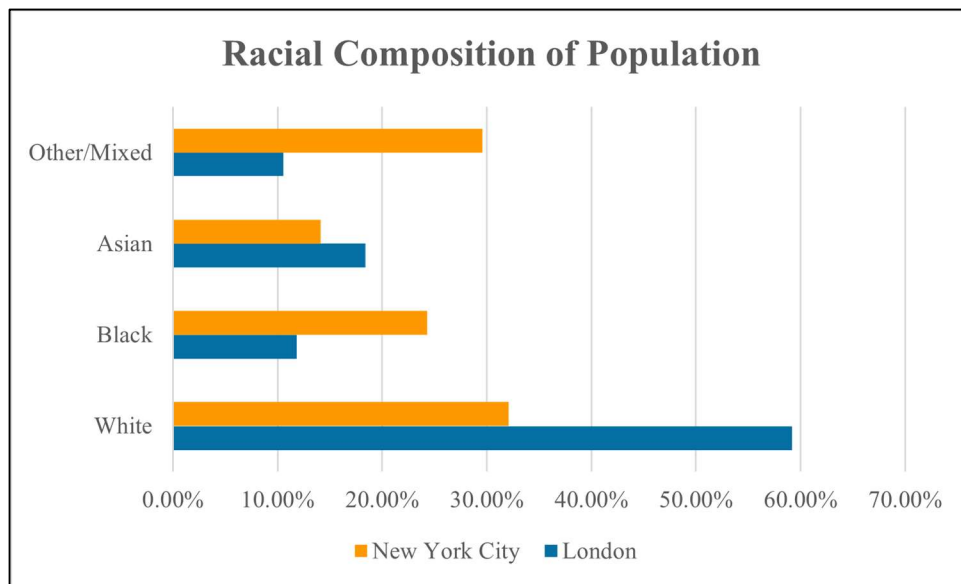


Figure 1: Racial composition of the populations of New York City and London by percentage. Sources: US Census & Office for National Statistics (London Datastore, n.d.; U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.)

These two cities are very similar in many ways that it bodes well to analyze how and where they differ.

Gender equality is top of mind for many countries. It is a key indicator for evaluating the overall state of a country and the quality of a democracy. The United Nations (UN) included gender equality as goal five of Agenda 2030's Sustainable Development Goals. The UN states that, "gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world" (United Nations, n.d.).

Though gender equality can be evaluated in the private sector, it can be more easily monitored and regulated within the public sector due to the highly visible nature and required transparency within elected office. A perfect example of this would be at the city government level.

The cities of New York and London are overseen by bodies of elected officials. In New York City, the city is divided into 51 districts and a city councilor is elected to represent each of the regions in the New York City Council. The City Council is headed by the Mayor of New York who is directly elected by voters across the whole of NYC. Similarly, London is represented by the Greater London Authority which is comprised of the 25 members London Assembly and the Mayor of London.

1.1 Greater London Authority

London has had a varied history when it comes to how the city is governed. For the most part, the 32 boroughs have operated independently and, to a certain extent, remain relatively self-governed today. Each of the boroughs have their own councils which operate the 32 local authorities. A council leader is elected by the local council members from within in 28 of the boroughs. In the four other boroughs, a different system is used where a mayor is directly elected by borough residents. The borough mayors are tasked with leading the council, directing policy, and delivering services. Borough mayors appoint their own cabinets of ten councilors or less and decide what their portfolios will be. There are no requirements regarding which political parties the cabinet members must be from and can therefore be varied or as is often done, comprised primarily of members of the mayors' own political parties.

There have been several different systems in London that established a single authority to head all of the local authorities. The last three systems of governance in London are as follows: the Greater London Council (GLC), power distributed among the 32 local authorities, and then current Greater London Authority (GLA). The Greater London Council operated as the top-level administrative body for all of London from 1964 until Parliament abolished it under the Local Government Act of 1985. The GLC had councilors representing

all of London's boroughs and was headed by the Leader of the Council. The GLC handled strategic services for the city and helped the local authorities with the provisioning of certain infrastructure requirements. When the GLC was completely dissolved in 1986, all of the Council's powers were redistributed among the local authorities. In the GLC's two-decade history it had a total of five Leaders of the Council, all of whom were men.

The current system that created the Greater London Authority (GLA), generally referred to as City Hall, came about as a result of the Greater London Authority Act of 1999. The Greater London Authority includes the Mayor of London and the London Assembly which together act as the head governing body for both the City of London and Greater London. The GLA was created to instate a single leader that could clearly represent the whole of London and to make coordination between the local authorities more efficient.

There are currently term limits in place to restrict the number of terms that either the Mayor of London or London Assembly Members are allowed to serve. There have also never been any term limitations imposed on those elected to the GLA, neither with regard consecutive terms nor the number of terms allowed.

Function

The Mayor of London and members of the London Assembly are both publicly elected. The Assembly is made up of 25 members, 14 that represent specific regional constituencies and 11 that are elected through London-Wide elections. The Assembly works to hold the mayor accountable, ensure the mayor is acting in the best interests of their constituents, and to accept or amend the budget proposed by the mayor. The GLA still shares governmental power with the 32 borough councils, but it does have more power than its predecessor, the GLC. The GLA is responsible for transportation, fire and rescue, policing, strategic planning, development, land use planning, and London energy policy.

Elections

GLA elections take place every four years and have done so since the first GLA election in 2000, with one notable exception. The last GLA election was slated to take place on May

7th, 2020, but was postponed one year until May 6th, 2021, due to the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic.

There are three distinct ballot elements and voting systems for the two separate elections that make up the Greater London Authority elections. The ballots are divided into Mayoral, Constituency Assembly Member, and London-Wide Assembly sections in order to clearly differentiate between the three elements that up for vote. London residents are asked to vote for the Mayor of London, a Constituency Assembly Member to represent their local area, and a political party to fill one of the London-Wide Assembly Member seats.

All potential GLA candidates must meet all the general requirements in order to be allowed to run for office. A candidate must be a citizen of the United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland, or the Commonwealth, must be at least 18 years old at the time of their nomination, and must be registered to vote in London. If the candidate does not qualify under the last rule, they may be allowed to stand for election if, alternatively, they have worked, lived, rented, or owed property in London for the 12 months prior to their candidacy. Additionally, people will be prohibited from running if they meet any of the many disqualifications which include things such as being subject to bankruptcy restrictions, having been sentenced to serve time in prison for more than three months in the last five years, or having been found guilty of corruption and/or illegal donation practices. All qualified candidates are also required to obtain an election agent responsible for managing their campaign in the proper way and in complete compliance with election rules and regulations (London Elects, 2021).

Below we will explain these three aspects in depth and the steps required for the different types of candidacies.

i. Mayoral Elections

The Mayor of London is elected in a distinctive manner that is quite different to that of the rest of the Greater London Authority. In order to be eligible for election, there are a series of steps that a potential candidate must take in order to make it onto the ballot. Mayoral candidates require nominations from their registered political party and London voters, must meet legal qualifications, must not meet any disqualifications, must obtain an election agent,

and must submit several items to the Greater London Returning Officer (GLRO) before being allowed to officially run for office.

If an individual wishes to stand for the election under their political party's name, they must first receive an official nomination from their party. The candidate nomination process varies from party to party and each political party selects their mayoral nominee in their way. In general, this process consists of a selection system where members of the party interested in running for Mayor face off in an internal election and the winner then becomes that party's mayoral nominee. If someone is not a member of a political party or does not obtain their party's nomination, they do have the option to run as an independent candidate given that they meet the other qualifications required to be on the ballot.

Qualified candidates are required to submit several items to the GLRO in order to be added to the election ballot. Candidates running as the nominee for a political party need to submit a certificate from their party's nominating officer confirming they have been officially nominated by their registered party. Party-nominated candidates must also provide a signed request to use their political party's emblem on the ballot if that is something they wish to have included. All candidates, including those running as independents, must also submit a completed nomination form that has been signed and witnessed, signatures from two registered voters in each of the 32 boroughs and City of London (66 signatures in total), and a deposit of £10,000 that is refunded to the candidate given they received at least 5% of first choice votes during the mayoral election. Optionally, candidates can pay an additional £10,000 if they want to include an election address manifesto in the mayoral address booklet that is distributed to all London voters prior to the start of the election. The optional £10,000 is used to cover part of the cost of printing and distributing the booklet.

The Mayor of London is directly elected by the citizens of Greater London via a supplementary or ranked voting system. Voters are asked to identify which of the mayoral candidates would be their first choice and which candidate would be their second choice. If any candidate receives more than 50% of the total valid first choice votes, then they are deemed the winner. However, if no candidate is able to achieve this then the second choice votes are taken into account for the two candidates that receive the highest number of first

choice votes. The winner is decided by adding together the first choice and second choice votes for each of the top candidates after the election rules have been applied (subtracting second choice votes that conflict with the calculation). The candidate with the most first and second choice votes wins.

ii. Constituency Assembly Member Elections

The GLA's London Assembly is composed of Constituency and the London-Wide Assembly Members (AMs). The Constituency Members take up 14 of the 25 total seats and directly represent the 32 boroughs that make up the Greater London Area. Each of the Constituency AMs represents between one and four London boroughs. These AMs are elected through 14 separate contests and candidates must qualify to run by meeting certain criteria.

Constituency candidates representing political parties are nominated by internal processes established by each party. If a candidate does not intend to represent a political party then they can run as an independent. If a candidate is nominated by the political party they are registered with then they must obtain a certificate of authorization from their party's nominating officer as well as a signed request to add their political party's emblem on the ballot if they would like to use it. The candidate must have a completed nomination form as well as a nomination consent form and provide a deposit of £1,000 which is returned to them if they receive more than five percent of the votes cast in their respective Constituency Member election. All of these must be submitted to the Constituency Returning Officer (CRO) in the area in which they are intending to stand for election.

Unlike the Mayoral election, there is only an option to vote for one Assembly Member candidate to represent a constituency. Constituency Assembly Members are directly elected by the people of the boroughs within each constituency. The candidate with the highest number of votes in their constituency is the one elected to the London Assembly.

iii. London-Wide Assembly Member Elections

There are 11 seats on the London Assembly that are filled by Members that are elected in a London-Wide contest. The way the seats are allocated is unique and generally allows for an

increased likelihood that third party candidates will be able to secure a seat on the Assembly. Candidates can run independently or as part of a political party.

Several things need to be submitted to the GLRO in order for parties, and independent candidates, to appear on the London-Wide AM election ballot. Political parties that want the chance to fill any of the London-Wide AM seats must submit a list of up to 25 people from within their party that they would like included as possible AM candidates. These nomination forms rank the candidates from most to least preferable. Parties must submit a signed request from their nominating officer to include their party's emblem on the ballots for each of their candidates that want to use it. Each of the candidates must sign a completed consent form acknowledging and approving of their candidacy. Lastly, a £5,000 deposit, to be returned contingent upon receiving 2.5% of all the votes cast in the London-Wide election, must be submitted by each of the participating political parties and individuals running independently. This deposit remains the same regardless of how many people are included on the nomination form that is submitted by political parties or independent candidates.

The winners of London-Wide Assembly Member seats are determined by an 'additional member' system that utilizes the Modified d'Hondt Formula to calculate which party/independent has won each of the 11 possible seats. London voters do not directly vote for individual people to fill the 11 London-Wide AM seats but instead vote for one political party or independent candidate they would like to have fill an Assembly Member position (London Elects, 2021). The seat allocation calculation is done as follows:

1. All the votes from across the London-Wide Assembly Member election are totaled.
2. Any party/independent that did not receive more than 5% of the total votes are eliminated.
3. Calculations are performed one round at a time using the London-Wide Assembly votes for each of the parties/independents that were not eliminated as well as the number of Constituency Assembly Member seats that were won by each party in the constituency elections.

4. The party/independent with the largest number of votes at the end of each of the rounds is determined to be the winner of one Assembly seat.
5. This process lasts for 11 rounds until all Assembly seats have been allocated to the winning parties/independents.

To clarify more thoroughly how the winner of each seat is determined, we will need to explain the Modified d'Hondt Formula employed in each round of calculations. The formula takes the total number of London-Wide Assembly Member votes for each party³ and divides them by the sum of the number of Constituency AM seats won by that party plus London-Wide AM seats that the party won in previous rounds plus one, as shown below.

$$\frac{\text{Party } X\text{'s total London-Wide AM votes}}{\text{Party } X\text{'s Constituency AM seats won} + \text{Party } X\text{'s London-Wide AM seats won} + 1}$$

³ Note: Although independent candidates have the potential to receive more than 5% of total votes and could be included in these calculations it is quite uncommon and for the sake of simplicity, I will solely be referring to total political party votes. The same calculations could be performed using independent candidate votes and Constituency AM seats.

For example, consider the 2021 election in the next figure (Figure 2). The numbers below were calculated using the Modified d’Hondt Formula and the winner of each round is highlighted in gray.

		Conservatives	Green Party	Labour Party	Liberal Democrats
Votes		795,081	305,452	986,609	189,522
Constituency Seats Won		5	0	9	0
London-Wide Seats		4	3	2	2
<i>Seat 1</i>	Green Party	132,514	305,452	98,661	189,522
<i>Seat 2</i>	Liberal Democrats	132,514	152,726	98,661	189,522
<i>Seat 3</i>	Green Party	132,514	152,726	98,661	94,761
<i>Seat 4</i>	Conservatives	132,514	101,817	98,661	94,761
<i>Seat 5</i>	Conservatives	113,583	101,817	98,661	94,761
<i>Seat 6</i>	Green Party	99,385	101,817	98,661	94,761
<i>Seat 7</i>	Conservatives	99,385	76,363	98,661	94,761
<i>Seat 8</i>	Labour Party	88,342	76,363	98,661	94,761
<i>Seat 9</i>	Liberal Democrats	88,342	76,363	89,692	94,761
<i>Seat 10</i>	Labour Party	88,342	76,363	89,692	63,174
<i>Seat 11</i>	Conservatives	88,342	76,363	82,217	63,174
Total Assembly Seats		9	3	11	2

Figure 2: GLA election results and London-Wide Assembly Member seat allocations 2021
Source: (London Elects, 2021).

Once all 11 seats are won, the winning parties then fill the seats with the candidates listed on their nomination forms they submitted to the GLRO. If, for instance, a party won four London-Wide seats then the top four candidates from their nomination form would fill those positions. If one of the candidates is not able to fill one of the seats, then the position is filled by the next available candidate on the list.

1.2 New York City Hall

New York City dates back hundreds of years and its ownership has traded hands multiple times, as is the nature of former early American colonies. It was indigenous land, then Dutch, then English, and then ultimately became part of the United States after the American Revolution. Various iterations of City Hall were rolled out over the roughly 400 years of the city's existence with the first mayor, Thomas Willett, instated in 1665 (Historical Society of the New York Courts, n.d.). The first City Council was established in the 18th century but the form most similar to today's City Council was created in the first half of the 20th century. New York's current municipality governing structure, the council-mayor system, is one of the most common forms of local government in the United States today (Fine and Caras, 2013). Notably, under all former structures of local government in addition to the system in place today, there has never been a single female Mayor of New York.

The present system allows for a publicly elected Mayor at the executive level and the City Council takes the form of the local legislative body. Under this system one Mayor is directly elected every four years by voters across the whole of New York City while the City Council is elected every four years based on geographic districts and is comprised of 51 members in total. The issue regarding the number of terms these elected officials are allowed to stay in office has been brought to a vote several times. For the majority of the time that the council-mayor system has been in place, both the Mayor and City Council Members have been limited to a maximum of two consecutive four-year terms in office. However, in 2008 under Mayor Michael Bloomberg term limits were extended from two consecutive terms to three. This law was changed back to two consecutive terms in 2010 with one exception to the rule: Council Members elected prior to the law change are the only officials allowed to run for a third term if they so choose. Additionally, if term-limited officials are allowed to run for office again so long as there is at least one full four-year term has elapsed since they last held office (*NYC Charter*, n.d.).

There are 51 districts spread across Greater New York and five boroughs. Similar to London, each of the boroughs of New York has their own local authority: borough boards. Each of

these boards has an elected Borough President, Council Members, and each chairperson from the community boards in the borough. In addition to their regional responsibilities, Borough Presidents also advise the mayor and advocate for the needs of their borough with those at City Hall. The City Council is much larger by comparison with one Council Member elected to represent each of the 51 districts of the city. Each City Council Member is tasked with effectively representing their respective constituencies in addition to New York City as a whole. The government's division of powers was created through a combination of state laws and an amendment to the New York City Charter in 1989 (*NYC Charter*, n.d.). Prior to the amendment of the Charter the powers of the City Council were quite limited.

Function

These two major parts of city government, the City Council and mayor, are set up as equal partners in the governing of the city. The New York State Constitution grants local governments the power to control local legislation and administration ('New York State Constitution', 2018). The City Council's role is to adopt the budget proposed by the mayor of New York, pass laws, and review and approve of major land use undertakings in the city. In kind, the mayor's role as the chief executive is to implement laws and manage the city government.

The Council introduces bills, hold public hearings, votes on the proposed laws, and if the bill is passed then the mayor has 30 days to veto or sign the bill into law. If the mayor does neither of those things, then the bill automatically becomes law. If the mayor vetoes a bill, then the Council does have the ability to override the veto if they get a two thirds majority vote.

Council Members are also assigned to various Committees that focus on specific topic areas. The Committees have at least five members each and look at the impact of laws and policies that are related to their topic then make recommendations to the whole of the Council when applicable laws come up for a vote. The current Committee on Women and Gender Equity is composed of seven members, four women and three men.

Elections

The elections for Mayor and City Council take place every four years except in the years surrounding a national census. Every twenty years New York City makes adjustments to its 51 districts when the census is completed. This is done to ensure that the districts are zoned correctly. When this is happening, the regular four-year term is swapped out for two two-year terms⁴. The elections for these offices have not yet taken place this year, though the political primaries did occur on June 22nd, 2021.

Ballots are split into sections, but Mayoral and City Council candidates are both listed on the same ballot and are up for election on the same day. Residents are all asked to vote for a Mayoral candidate but are limited to voting for only one City Council Member based on the district in which they reside.

Mayoral and City Council candidates must meet certain criteria in order to be legally qualified to run. Candidates must be a US citizen, be at least 18 years old by the day of the election, and live in the district, or city in the case of Mayoral candidates, they want to represent (*Running for Office*, n.d.). All candidates need to ensure that they are registered with both the New York State Board of Elections (NYSBOE) and the New York City Campaign Finance Board (CFB) and operating in compliance with all their rules and reporting requirements. Lastly, in order to appear on the ballot candidates must also complete several time sensitive steps. Candidates have a designated six-week period prior to each election in which they must retrieve nominating petition from Board of Elections (BOE) and collect a certain number of signatures in person (*Running for Office*, n.d.). For City Council candidates, they must obtain 900 valid signatures from registered voters in the district in which they are choosing to run. For Mayoral candidates, they must collect at least 7,500 valid signatures from registered voters from within the five boroughs (*NY State Senate Bill S2733*, 2021)⁵. Once all of the completed nomination petitions are submitted, candidates must also submit a form confirming their acceptance of the nomination. Different

⁴ This happened last in 2001 and 2003 and will happen again in 2021. For the sake of consistency and four-year cycle evaluation, the 2003 election will be omitted from the data analyzed in this paper.

⁵ This number was reduced for the 2021 election due to health concerns related to Covid-19. The number of required signatures was reduced by 70%. (*NY State Senate Bill S2733*, 2021)

restrictions, such as the timeline involved, do apply if a candidate is looking to run as a representative of a political party and not as an independent.

Below we will explain the two election formats in depth and the steps required for the different types of candidacies.

a. Mayoral Elections

The Mayor of New York is selected in a series of steps. First, any candidate wishing to run as the representative for their political party must obtain their party's nomination. This can take many forms depending on the parties involved. For Democratic candidates, for example, candidates must compete in the Democratic primary and face off with other candidates interested in receiving the party's nomination. The Democratic primary takes place months before the Mayoral election. Voters registered as Democrats in Greater New York must vote for which of the Democratic contenders they want to represent their party in the run for Mayor. Since the passing of an amendment to the City Charter in 2019, New York City utilizes ranked choice voting for both primary and special elections (*NYC Charter*, no date). This new primary system is very similar to the system used to elect the Mayor of London. Ballots offer primary voters the opportunity to select their first-choice candidate, second-choice candidate, and so on. If any one candidate receives more than fifty percent of the first-choice votes, then they win. If no one is able to achieve this then counting continues round by round, eliminating the contender with the lowest votes each time, until there are two candidates left. The contender with the most votes wins and is then listed on the city-wide general election ballot as the candidate for the political party of which they secured the nomination. Any individuals that do not secure their party's nomination are still welcome to run, given that they meet all the necessary requirements, but must do so as an independent candidate or obtain the nomination of another political party.

Once candidates have ensured that they qualify to run for office, complete all the necessary steps to get onto the ballot, and secure a party's nomination (if they do not intend to run as an independent candidate) then they are ready for the general election. The rules for the general election are quite simple. Voters select the candidate they want to elect to the office of Mayor and the candidate with the most votes wins.

b. City Council Elections

The process for electing City Council Members is quite similar to that of electing the Mayor of New York with the one exception that the votes for each of these positions are limited to voters registered in the districts in which the candidates are running. If they meet all the qualifications, have collected all the necessary signatures, and submitted all the proper forms then they can be added to the ballots sent to voters in their districts. Any candidates looking to be nominated by their political party must secure the nomination in a district wide primary. The primary process is the same for City Council candidates as it is for Mayoral candidates. Once all candidates have secured their party nominations or have opted to run as an independent then the election process itself is very straightforward: the candidate with the largest total number of votes wins the Council Member seat for their district.

Chapter 2: Assessing the Gender Gap in Local Office

To properly understand the political gender gaps within the municipal levels of office in New York City and London, a comprehensive analysis of election data will be required. This chapter aims to do just that. First, by looking at the election history for Mayor and City Council in New York City and discussing the findings, an overview of NYC's political strengths and shortcomings will be formed with respect to female inclusion. Then an analysis of election data for all three segments of the GLA will be covered. A look at what current elected officials in both have to say about the state of affairs in each city. And finally, a comparison of the findings for both cities and an attempt to generate a broad sense of where they overlap, differ, and can learn from each other.

The following chapter will use election data from a dataset that was created by manually compiling information from numerous sources for the specific aims of this dissertation. All references to election data for the Greater London Authority in the text that follows were sourced from London Elects, a website operated by the City of London to publish election data and information (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a-b). Due to the nature of how records are maintained by the NYC Board of Elections, election data for all New York City general elections since 2001 was published in multiple formats and 236 separate files on their website in the election archives (NYC Board of Elections, 2021). All of the relevant data from these files were captured in the datasets that were created for this dissertation and are available in the Annex section. Nonetheless, references for all the files from which the NYC and London election data were obtained are cited in full in the Bibliography section of this paper. Due to the immense volume of data sources, particularly for the NYC elections, the Bibliography will be divided into sections to make identifying the sources relevant to the data that was extracted clearer.

2.1 Election History Findings: New York City

In order to effectively understand the nature of the gender gaps within the senior municipal office in the city of New York, election data for general elections occurring every four years since 2001 were manually collected and compiled within a single location. The data was split into two types. The two sections are the Mayoral and City Council elections.

The subsections below will detail the findings from data collected and analyzed for each of the election types.

Mayor of the City of New York Elections

Like in London, the Mayor of New York City acts as the face of the city, as clearly demonstrated during the COVID-19 pandemic where Mayor de Blasio held regular press conferences to update the world on the state of the crisis in the city. Although the station of Mayor is only one position, by looking at the gender gap in this office and a general understanding of the representation in executive municipal office in NYC can be acquired. The dataset for this level of office consists of basic information pertaining to each of the mayoral candidates since the 2001 election. The data fields included were the election year, candidate name, the political party each candidate represented, the gender identity of each candidate, each candidate's election result (whether they won or lost), and the number of votes each candidate received. While in-depth statistical analysis of the collected data was not performed, a general evaluation of high-level details was conducted to provide an overview of the mayoral gender gap.

The municipal elections for the city of New York take place on a different schedule than the GLA elections. Though both cities have elections every four years, NYC's first election of the 21st century took place in 2001, while London's took place in 2000. At the start of the 21st century, Republican Rudy Giuliani (male) was Mayor of New York. Giuliani was in office from 1994 until the end of 2001. There have been five mayoral elections since 2001; a sixth is scheduled for later in 2021, and the primary elections to decide the major political party nominees took place in June 2021. The general elections usually take place in November of the final year of the existing Mayor's term in office, and the newly elected

Mayor assumes office in January of the following year. This subsection will focus on the five general elections from 2001 to 2017 and briefly touch on the primary election candidates in 2021.

In the five general elections since 2000, there have been 47 mayoral candidates spread across 24 unique political parties, 26 if the Rent is Too Damn High/Rent is 2 Damn High/Rent is Too High party is counted as three separate parties instead of one party that frequently changes their name. There were nine parties in 2001, eight in 2005, eight in 2009, fifteen in 2013, and seven in 2017. Regardless of the number of participating political parties, NYC, like the majority of the United States, operates for the most part as a two-party system. Democratic and Republican politicians make up the bulk of elected officials in the country for the last several decades. Since the 2001 elections, there have been two different NYC mayors elected: Republican Michael Bloomberg (2002-2103) and Democrat Bill de Blasio (2014-2021), both of whom identify as male.

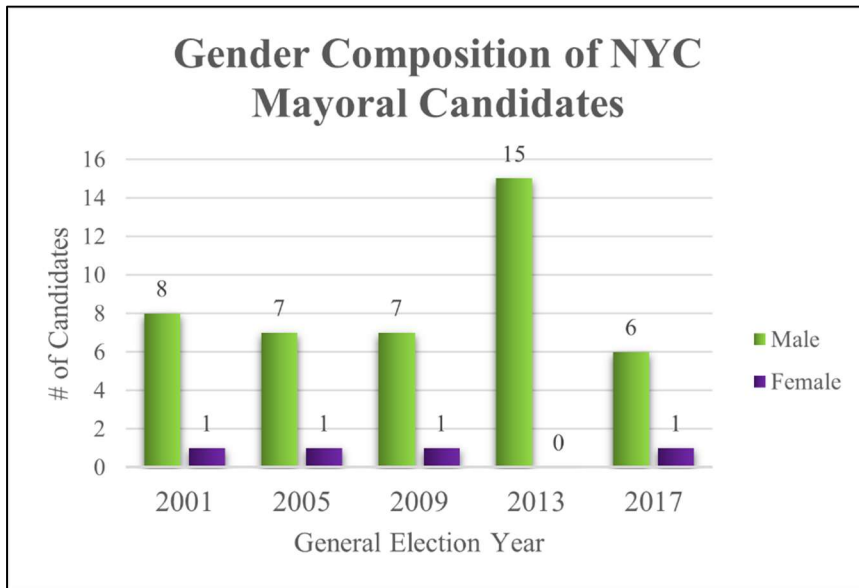


Figure 3: Gender composition of NYC mayoral candidates, 2001-2017. Data source: (NYC Board of Elections, 2001, 2005a-bg, 2009a-bg, 2013a-bf, 2017a-bg, 2021)

Looking at Figure 3, only four of the 47 mayoral candidates that appeared on the general election ballots have been women and never more than one woman per election. In 2013, the year with the most mayoral candidates to appear on the ballot in the two-decade

timeframe, not a single woman made it onto the general election ballot. These four women were members of the Republican, Socialism and Liberation, and Green parties. Most notable amongst these is the Republican party nomination in 2017, as they are the only major political party to ever nominate a female mayoral candidate in this time frame. The Republican candidate, Nicole Malliotakis, received roughly 28% of the total votes in the 2017 election. Considering Malliotakis ran against the very popular incumbent Mayor de Blasio, this was quite an impressive turnout. Comparably, the 2013 Republican candidate, Joe Lhota, only received 24% of the total votes when he ran against de Blasio. The other female candidates in other elections did not fare as well as Malliotakis and received less than one percent of the total votes each; this is likely because they were all running on behalf of minor political parties.

Though the 2021 general election has not occurred as of writing this dissertation, a look at the June 2021 primary election sheds light on the political landscape of the future. Figure 4 presents information on the collective gender composition of the Republican and Democratic primaries.

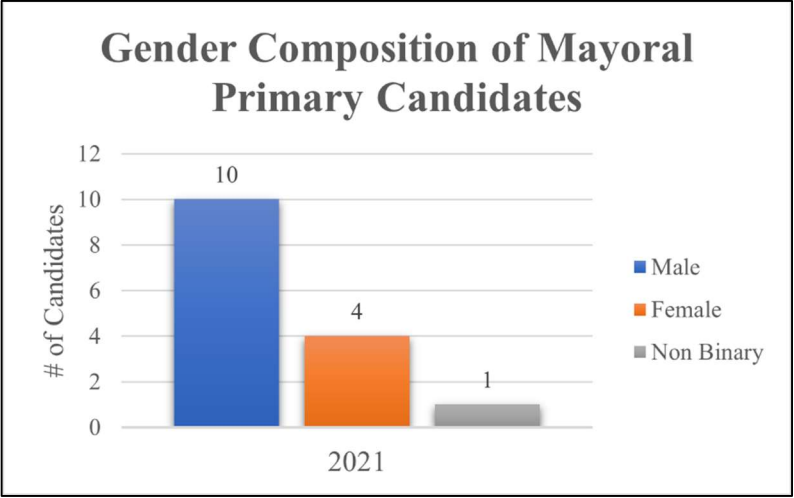


Figure 4: Gender composition of the mayoral candidates in NYC for the 2021 primary elections. Data source: (NYC Board of Elections, 2021)

The Democratic Primary consisted of 13 candidates: eight men, four women, and one person identifying as non-binary^[1]. The election results were certified by the NYC Board of Elections on July 20th, 2021. Using the ranked voting method outlined in the previous

chapter, the eighth and final round of vote tabulations saw Eric Adams win against Kathryn Garcia 50.4% to 49.6% (NYC Board of Elections, 2021). Interestingly, although there were only four female candidates, three women made it into the top seven candidates, and two made it into the top three. The 2021 Democratic Primary sits with a gender gap of at least 11.5%, with only 38.5% of primary candidates identifying as non-male. The female candidates proved to be strong contenders in the race. They had there been increased female representation on the ballot. The Democrats of New York City could have potentially had their first female mayoral nominee in the history of the party. Turning to the Republican Primary, an entirely different situation can be observed.

Using ranked voting, the Republican Primary lasted exactly one round. There were a total of two male-identifying candidates: Curtis Sliwa and Fernando Mateo. Sliwa won the election handily with 67.9% of the total votes. There was very low participation in the Republican Primary election when compared to the overall voter turnout in the Democratic Primary. While Adams received a total of 404,513 votes by the eighth round of vote tabulation, Sliwa received only 40,794 (NYC Board of Elections, 2021). The participation gap between male and female candidates in this election is at its fullest extent with zero female participation. The reasons for the comparably small number of Republican candidates and low voter turnout will require future research to determine the causes.

The political achievement gender gap for the office of Mayor in NYC is vast. There has never been a single female mayor in the two decades observed, let alone in the history of the city. The gap among candidates is also shallow, with women making up only 8.5% of all candidates since 2001. Female candidacy within the 2021 primary elections was exceptionally small and made up nearly 27% of combined participation between Democratic and Republican candidates. While the Republican party has historically performed better than the Democratic party in one regard, thanks to their one female mayoral nominee, both parties need to make considerable improvements, and soon if New York City is to make any measurable strides towards closing the gender gap this decade.

New York City Council Elections

The City Council elections are the second most important way to measure the extent of the gender gap in New York City after the office of Mayor. They are held every four years and are directly elected by the voters of their respective districts. Due to the number of City Council seats and the large number of candidates running for office, there is more data available to analyze. The following graph, Figure 5, presents the results of the research conducted for this dissertation on the City Council candidates who appeared on the 51 district ballots in the general elections since 2001. The data fields included were the year, candidate name, political party, whether the candidate won or lost the election, the district in which the candidate ran, and each candidate's gender identity.

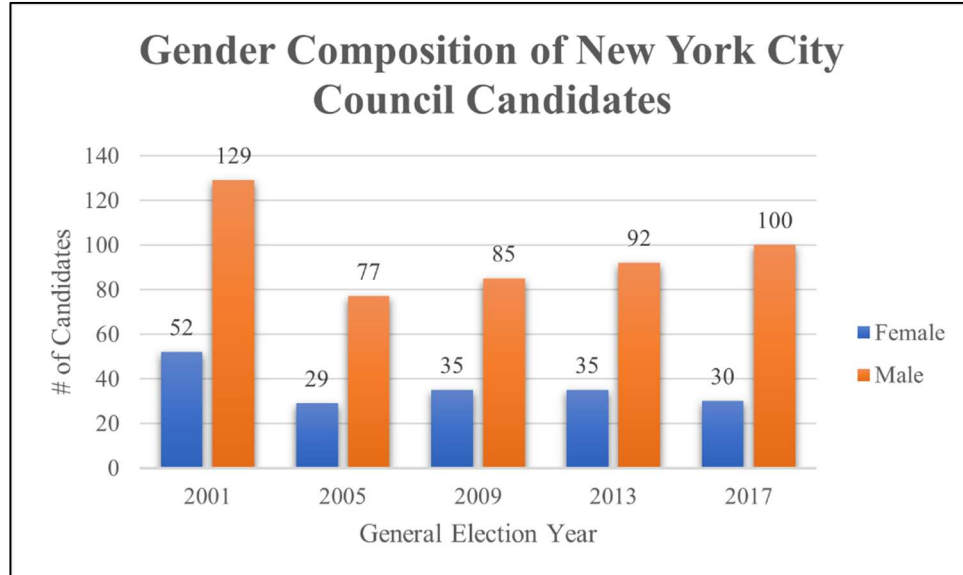


Figure 5: Gender composition of NYC City Council candidate 2001-2017. Data source: (NYC Board of Elections, 2001, 2005a-bg, 2009a-bg, 2013a-bf, 2017a-bg, 2021)

When it comes to the City Council, women are sorely underrepresented. Women represent just over half of the population of NYC and roughly half of all regular voters (NYC Campaign Finance Board, 2012). As such, women would need to make up at least 50% of the City Council to be proportional. When looking at the election history for the Council for the last five general elections, there is clearly a long way still to go.

Figure 5 shows the total number of male and female candidates that appeared on the general election ballots across all the districts in each election year since 2001. Save for the tremendous number of total candidates up for election in 2001 there have only been between 29 and 35 female candidates in each general election. Intriguingly, there have been 664 total candidates in all of the elections, and only 181 or 27% of them have been women. There has not been a single election year in which at least half of the total candidates have been female. The total number of male candidates has been steadily increasing for the last four elections. Meanwhile, the number of female candidates has remained relatively stagnant in that same timeframe. Even more concerning is that while the number of female candidates has remained roughly the same, the percentage of females among the total candidates has been decreasing for the last three election periods. Turning to focus on total election results for the City Council races, there is an opportunity to gain more insight into whether the gender gap among total candidates is reflected in the gender composition of elected Council Members.

The candidacy results leave much to be desired, and unfortunately, the general election results are not much better. As shown in the next figure, Figure 6, there are some minor differences between the candidate and elected Council Member compositions but nothing too significant overall. For example, 27% of all candidates were women compared to 29% of elected City Councilors. This does not bode well for the Council. The City Council has never achieved gender parity, and the number of elected women has been declining for the last two elections. With term limits preventing many of the sitting female Council Members from running again, this trend of declining female representation is likely to continue.

There were 347 candidates participating in the June 2021 City Council primaries. 38% of all candidates, regardless of political affiliation, identified as female, and one identified as non-binary. The total female representation across all the primaries is higher than in both the general elections and on the City Council. However, 38% is still far from equal, and this does not take into consideration the landscape of each party's primary respectively.



Figure 6: Percentage of men and women on the NY City Council, 2001-2017. Data source: (NYC Board of Elections, 2001, 2005a-bg, 2009a-bg, 2013a-bf, 2017a-bg, 2021)

The majority of the candidates, 322, were registered as members of the Democratic Party. Among them were 127 women, or about 39% female. Weighing this against the construction of the Republican Primary, the Democrats performed better by and large for the first time. The Republican Primary consisted of 19 candidates, only four of whom were women, 21% on the whole. The remaining six candidates were comprised of four

minor parties, five men, and woman. All of the primary elections had very low female candidacy and significant room for improvement where it comes to closing the gender gap.

Returning once more to the general election results for the last five elections there are key features that stick out with regard to political party election rates. Looking at Figure 7, it is plain to see that the City Council is overwhelmingly populated with Democrats. Only members of the Democratic and Republican parties were ever elected during the period observed. The only women to ever be on the City Council between 2001 and 2017 were members of the Democratic party. Women make up 34.7% of the Democrats elected to the Council on average. This is 15.3% lower than the goal rate. Circling about to scrutinize the Republican party’s participation, the situation is far direr.

The Republican party never had a single female elected to the City Council in the sixteen-year period of focus. Even though there are seven districts in which Republicans have won Council seats over the years, there are two districts where the party consistently wins. Districts 50 and 51 vote Republican without fail. Despite this fact, the party has never run a female nominee in either district. A simple solution to closing the gender gap within the Republican members elected to the Council would be to nominate female candidates in these two all but guaranteed districts.

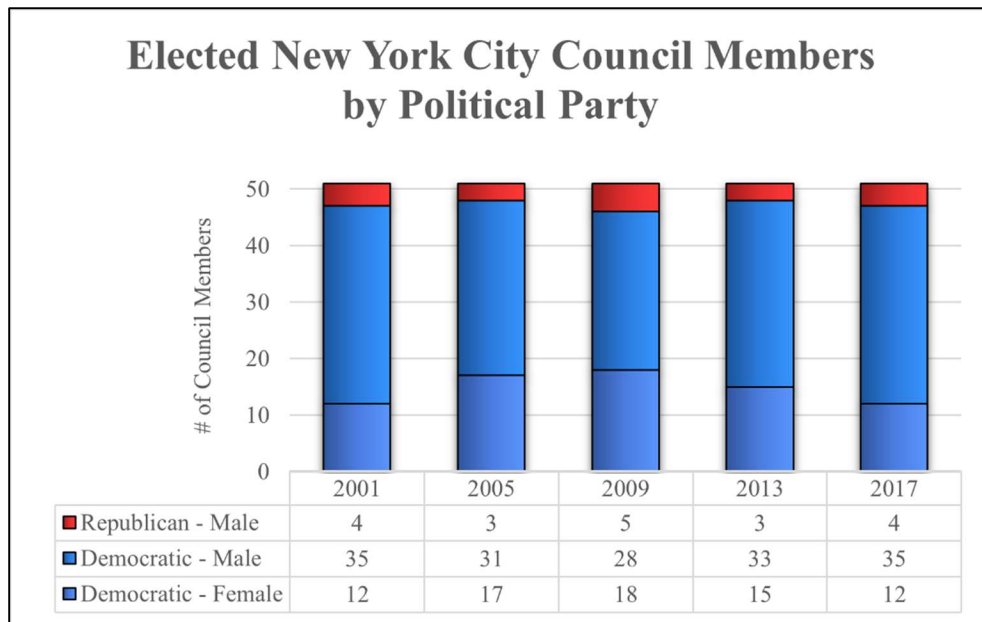


Figure 7: NY City Council by party and gender, 2001-2017. Data source: (NYC Board of Elections, 2001, 2005a-bg, 2009a-bg, 2013a-bf, 2017a-bg, 2021)

Across the board the New York City Council has shown itself to be leagues behind when it comes to closing the political gender gap. Both the Democratic and Republican parties need to increase female candidacy and support female candidates to get elected. The City Council has underachieved for far too long and significant changes need to be made to ensure that they make the progress their constituents deserve in the elections yet to come.

2.2 Election History Findings: London

In order to effectively understand the nature of the gender gaps within the Greater London Authority, election data for all election years since the first election in 2000 were manually collected and compiled within a single location. The data was split into two sections and three election classifications. The two sections are Mayoral elections and Assembly Member elections. The three election classification types are Mayoral, Constituency, and London-Wide elections. Due to the nature of the London-Wide Assembly Member elections⁶, data was only collected for each London-Wide AM candidate that was elected rather than all candidates submitted by each registered political party.

The subsections below will go into detail concerning the findings from data collected and analyzed for each of the election classification types.

Mayor of London Elections

The Mayor of London is in effect, the face of the city and as such it is much easier for people to point to the gender gap in this office as an indicator of the state of the system as a whole. There have been six mayoral elections since the creation of the Greater London Authority and as a result six opportunities for the city to make a concerted effort to close the gender gap within the office. The election data collected for all mayoral races was used to assess how far the City of London has come to closing that important political gender gap over the course of the last two decades.

The dataset consists of information pertaining to all mayoral candidates that appeared on the ballots since 2000. The data fields included were the election year, candidate name, the political party each candidate represented, the gender identity of each candidate, each candidate's election result (whether they won or lost), and the number of first choice votes each candidate received. While in-depth statistical analysis of the collected data was not

⁶ See Section 1.1.2, Subsection iii, for clarifying details regarding the London-Wide Assembly Member elections.

performed as a general overview of the gender gap in office was all that was attempting to be ascertained, an evaluation of top-level details was conducted.

A clear indicator of progress towards achieving gender parity would be the number of women elected as mayor over the period observed. There have been three different mayors elected in the six separate elections. These mayors are Ken Livingstone (2000 & 2004), Boris Johnson (2008 & 2012), and Sadiq Khan (2016 & 2021), all of whom identify as men. There are no term limits in place for people elected to the GLA and as such, nothing to prevent current or former mayors from running for the office again. All three mayors have served exactly two terms each, although Ken Livingstone attempted to secure additional terms in office by running as Labour party candidate in the two consecutive elections after he left office in 2008 and 2012. Livingstone also bid, unsuccessfully, for the Labour Party nomination in 2016 only to lose to current mayor, Sadiq Khan. Regrettably, this indicator alone will not suffice in explaining the full scope of the gender gap.

Although only men have been elected to the office of Mayor, there have been female identifying candidates in each election. The graph below (Figure 8) illustrates the breakdown of candidates in each election by gender identity. It is apparent from this graph that very few

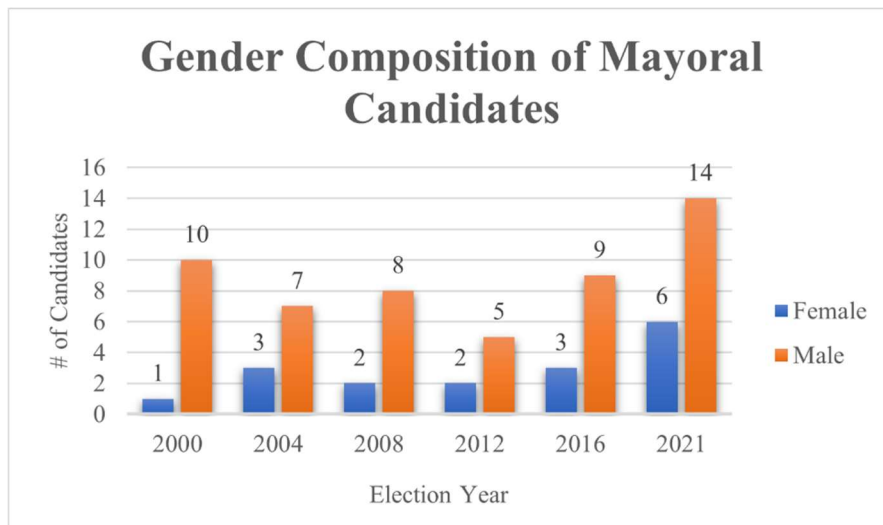


Figure 8: Gender Composition of Mayor of London Candidates 2000-2021. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a & 2016b)

of the candidates that qualified for the election ballot are women. Until the most recent

election, the average number of female candidates was roughly two per election. While the number of female candidates has been on the rise for the last three elections, the number of female candidates compared to male candidates remains quite low. Since, as research upholds, women and men are elected at roughly the same rate, it suggests there must be some other factor or factors at play (Lawless and Fox, 2013). A look into the gendered representation of political parties and voting trends may help elucidate what those factors might be.

The two largest political parties in London are the Conservatives and the Labour Party. Five

Election Year	Candidate	Party	Gender	% of 1st Choice Votes
2000	Susan Kramer	Liberal Democrats	Female	11.87%
2000	Frank Dobson	Labour	Male	13.06%
2000	Ken Livingstone	Independent	Male	38.96%
2000	Steve Norris	Conservatives	Male	27.09%
2004	Frank Maloney	UKIP	Male	6.21%
2004	Ken Livingstone	Labour	Male	36.78%
2004	Simon Hughes	Liberal Democrats	Male	15.27%
2004	Steve Norris	Conservatives	Male	29.10%
2008	Boris Johnson	Conservatives	Male	43.20%
2008	Brian Paddick	Liberal Democrats	Male	9.80%
2008	Ken Livingstone	Labour	Male	37.00%
2012	Boris Johnson	Conservatives	Male	44.01%
2012	Ken Livingstone	Labour	Male	40.30%
2016	Sian Berry	Green	Female	5.80%
2016	Sadiq Khan	Labour	Male	44.23%
2016	Zac Goldsmith	Conservatives	Male	35.03%
2021	Sian Berry	Green	Female	7.82%
2021	Sadiq Khan	Labour	Male	40.05%
2021	Shaun Bailey	Conservatives	Male	35.28%

Figure 9: Mayor of London candidates with at least 5% of the total first-choice votes. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a-b)

of the six elections have been won by candidates nominated by these parties. The one election not won by a major party nominee was in 2000 by Ken Livingstone, a prominent political figure in London and a registered member of the Labour Party that was not given their party's nomination. Neither of the major two parties has ever nominated a woman candidate for the mayoral elections. In fact, of the 28 political

parties that have had candidates on the ballot, female candidates have only been nominated by eight minor political parties while three women have run as independent candidates. Of the eight minor political parties that did nominate women, only two of them have significant political support in the Greater London Area: the Green Party and the Liberal Democrats. Figure 9 shows all mayoral candidates in the last two decades that received at least five percent of the total first-choice votes. Of these elections, individual female candidates have achieved at least five percent of the total votes only three times in 2000, 2016, and 2021. These female candidates were both nominees of the largest minor parties in London.

Lastly, to better understand the gap in political representation in mayoral elections a clear view of vote distribution will need to be presented. When examining overall rates at which female candidates are being voted for in Mayor of London elections it is interesting to see the somewhat stagnant nature of the vote distribution. Figure 10 shows how first-choice

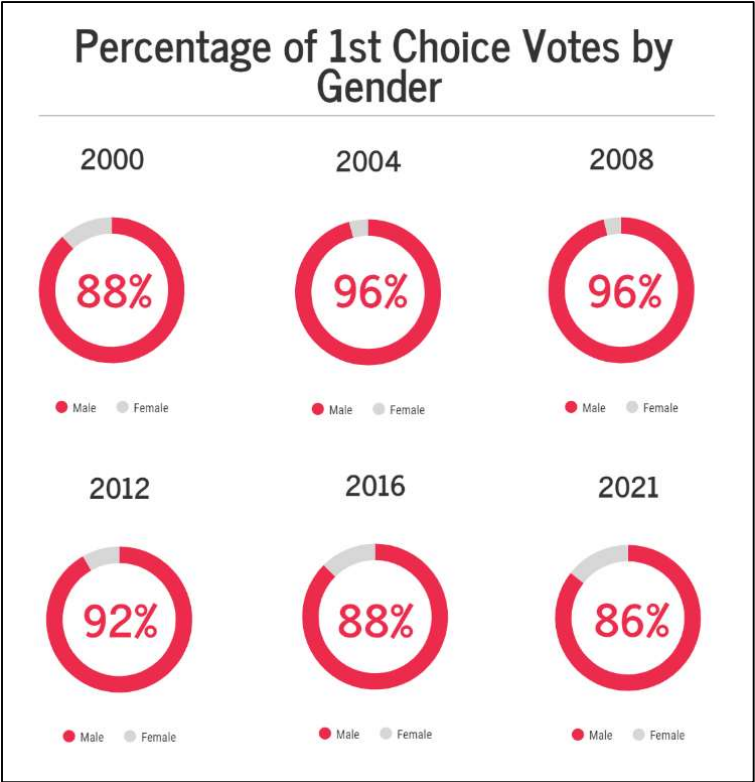


Figure 10: Percentage of 1st choice votes for Mayor of London candidates for election years 2000-2021. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a & 2016b)

votes were allocated between male and female candidates over the course of six elections. From these charts it can be seen that total votes for female candidates have consistently remained quite low over the years. What is most interesting about the data in this figure is that total votes for male candidates only see a variation of ten percent despite the increases in female candidacy over the last three elections. It can be seen, however, that the increase in female candidacy over the last

nine years has resulted in an upward trend in the percentage of votes for female candidates, though the percentage does remain small.

The data shows that political gaps in the office of the Mayor of London exist in the history of people elected, the political party nominations, and the vote distribution of votes among male and female candidates. Together these results provide important insights into the current state of female representation in elections for the Mayor of London. It is the aim of this dissertation that future research into this topic will be able to utilize the data collected and analyze the details more thoroughly to provide an increased comprehension of London's mayoral gender gap.

The subsections of 2.2.2 will consist of data analysis focused entirely on the other half of the GLA, the London Assembly.

London Assembly Elections

i. Constituency Elections

The Constituency Member elections for the London Assembly are the second clearest way to gauge the extent of the political gender gap in city level office in London after the Mayor of London. Because Constituency Assembly Members are directly elected by voters of their respective boroughs within the Greater London Area and candidates are nominated by their registered political parties it allows for the possibility to estimate gender gaps amongst candidates and political party nominations. Additionally, due to the number of constituency seats and the large volume of Constituency AM candidates over the years there is more data available to review. The research findings that follow are based on a dataset consisting of information pertaining to all Constituency AM candidates that appeared on each constituency ballot since 2000. The data fields included were the election year, candidate name, the political party each candidate represented, the gender identity of each candidate, each candidate's election result (whether they won or lost), and the name of the constituency in which each candidate ran.

Starting off by looking at the gender breakdown of candidates running in all of the constituency elections, it can be seen that a notable gender gap persists. The graph below (Figure 11) shows the number of male and female candidates running London Assembly Constituency races each election year. The graph shows a clear gap between the number of female candidates each election compared to male candidates. What is striking about the data in the graph is that the number of total female candidates ranges from 24 to 40 while

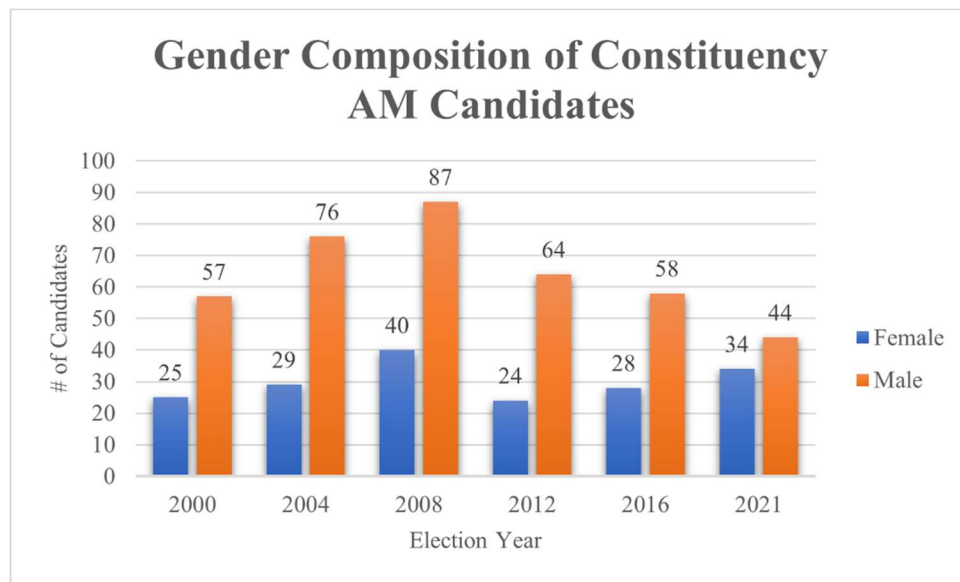


Figure 11: Gender composition of Constituency Assembly Member candidates. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a-b)

the number of male candidates in each election range from 44 to 87, meaning that the female candidate range is approximately half that of the male candidate range. In total, roughly 66% of all constituency candidates have been male while nearly 34% were female. There has not been a single election year in which at least half of the total candidates have been female. While this is not ideal, there are some encouraging aspects of the candidate data. The total number of male candidates has been steadily declining for the last three elections since the considerable total candidate spike in 2008, meanwhile the number of female candidates has been increasing for the last two elections. In the last election, the candidate gender gap was only ten and if the trends of the last elections continue then the candidate gender gap might close entirely with the next few elections. Turning to focus on total election results for the

Assembly Constituency races, there is an opportunity to gain more insight into the political gender gap within the Greater London Authority.

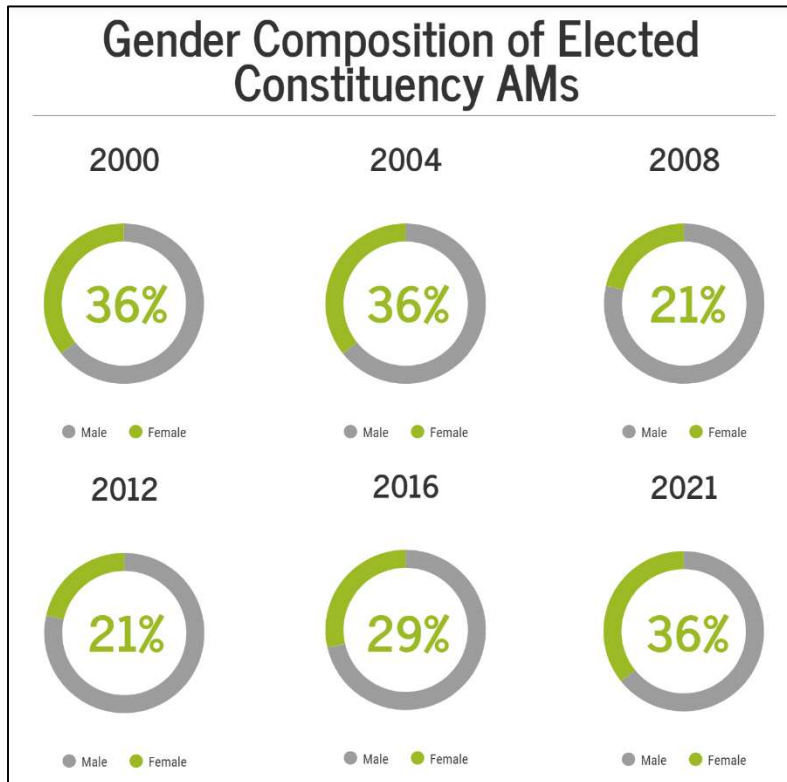


Figure 12: Gender composition of elected Constituency Assembly Members. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a-b)

constituency seats in any one year. On average, women make up approximately 30% of these elected AMs. The figure above (Figure 12) shows the gender composition of people elected to the Constituency AM seats in terms of percentages. Comparing the composition of people elected to the composition of candidates shows that while women make up ~30% of elected Constituency Members on average, they make up about 32% of candidates on average. These numbers could be the result of several factors including the interaction between how political parties nominate and participate in each of the constituency elections. Future research will need to be conducted to definitively assess what the causes of these inconsistencies are.

Although the two major political parties in London, the Conservatives and Labour Party, have never nominated a mayoral candidate this is not true of constituency candidates. These

Although there have been noteworthy gaps in the number of female candidates running in these elections compared to men, it does not necessarily mean that men will be elected proportionally to their candidacy rates. As discussed previously in this dissertation, the London Assembly is comprised of 14 Constituency Assembly Members. Through six elections there have never been at least seven women

elected to fill the

two major political parties are responsible for all constituency winners in each election. None of the other 33 political parties or independent candidates that have successfully made it onto any of the ballots have ever won a constituency seat. Keeping this in mind, the bulk of the analysis in this subsection will focus on these two parties.

The Conservatives have run female candidates twelve times, in five of the six elections, and in six different constituencies. Of the female Conservative candidates only two women, Angela Bray and Elizabeth Howlett, were elected giving all Conservative women an election rate of 33%. Bray and Howlett each won back-to-back terms in 2000 and 2004. Unfortunately, no other Conservative women have won constituency elections since then. Comparably, the Conservatives have run 72 male candidates spread across all six election years and in all 14 constituencies. Furthermore, the men have won 37 of the 72 races, or just over 51% of the elections. While the fact that the Conservative Party have nominated 12 women is promising when it is looked at alongside their mayoral candidate history, there is still a long way to go. Women have only made up 14% of all of the Conservative Party's constituency nominees and considering that much of the political gender gap research out there points to the significant underrepresentation of female candidates in right leaning political parties, this could be indicative of the Conservative Party's alignment with global trends.

Looking now at the other major political party, the Labour Party, the findings of the data analysis are far more promising. Identically to the Conservatives, the Labour Party have run a total of 85 candidates throughout the six election years yet in contrast, over half of their candidates have been female. The Labour Party have run 45 women over six elections spread throughout 10 of the 14 constituencies. Of these 45 separate bids for constituency seats 21 have been successfully won, a win rate of nearly 47%. The 39 male Labour candidates were successful in winning their seats about 56% of the time with 22 total wins. This gap in achievement could be caused by numerous contributing factors including the historical political party preferences of the constituencies in which the candidates were running. Advanced study of the election data will be needed to ascertain exact correlations and paint a clearer picture.

Lastly, looking at the Green Party and Liberal Democrats, the two largest minor parties, provides a comprehensive view of the constituency elections. The Green Party have nominated 84 candidates, in all six elections, across all 14 constituencies. 44 of their candidates have been male and 40 were female. The Green Party ran female candidates in all of the election years and in all of the constituencies. Likewise, the Liberal Democrats have had 84 candidates in all the elections and the constituencies. Differing to the Green Party, the Liberal Democrats have run only 29 female candidates in only 12 of the 14 constituencies. While the Liberal Democrats are outperforming the major parties in some regards and have nominated female mayoral candidates, only 35% of Liberal Democrat constituency candidates have been women with roughly six women running per election for the last four terms.

The results indicate that the constituencies still have a long way to go to close the gender gap. There has been an upward trend in the total number of female candidates running and the percentage of women elected to Constituency AM seats over the last three elections. Notably, political parties like the Green Party and Labour Party are good examples of the progress that can be made in increased female representation among nominated candidates. Together with observations pertaining to the election data collected on the London-wide AM elections, the findings offer a general depiction of the gender gap within the London Assembly over the last two decades.

ii. London-Wide Elections

The elections for London-Wide AMs are quite different from the mayoral and constituency elections because London residents vote for one political party (or independent candidate if there are any running) rather than for one specific candidate. Because of this, and because it proved difficult to obtain a complete history of all candidate lists from each party for all six elections, the data analysis for these seats was conducted based only on the candidates and parties that were elected. The research findings that follow are based on a dataset consisting of information pertaining to all elected London-Wide AM candidates since 2000. The data fields included were the election year, candidate name, the political party each candidate represented, and the gender identity of each candidate.

The configuration of the London-Wide AM elections permits for the prospect of increased political party representation and, as existing research would suggest, opportunity for increased female representation. By looking at Figure 13, it appears that the latter half of this theory holds true for the London-wide seats when comparing these results to the constituency elections. From the first year of the GLA until 2021 the London-Wide AMs were nearly 50% women with a five to six ratio each term. In 2021, the balanced shifted when eight women were elected giving them the majority with 73% of the seats. The only trend that can be seen from the gender composition over the years is consistency due to the ratios remaining constant for five straight terms. By observing the Assembly Members' political affiliation metrics there prove to be several other interesting features to take note of.

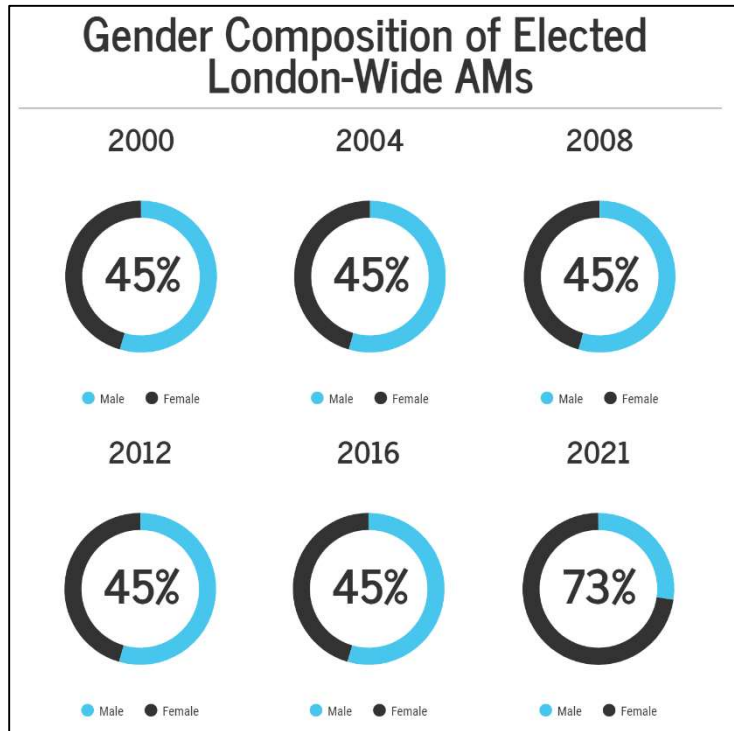


Figure 13: Gender composition of elected London-Wide AMs 2000-2021. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a-b)

While constituency seats have only ever been filled by members of the two largest political parties, London-wide seats have occupied by members of six different political parties throughout the years. These parties are the Labour Party, the Conservatives, the Green Party, the Liberal Democrats, the British National Party, and the UK Independence Party. As parties provide a ranked selection of nominees for the London-wide seats the winning parties wield a great deal of power when it comes to their ability to contribute to the closing of the gender gap in the London Assembly. To date, no one political party has won more than five

London-wide seats in a single election. Taking that into consideration, the gender composition of political parties' top five nominees has the ability to significantly shape the overall makeup of the London-wide seats and the London Assembly.

The Conservatives have won at least one London-wide seat in five of the elections, all elections except for 2004. Additionally, they won the largest number of seats in three of the elections. Despite this, the Conservatives have never given more than 50% of their dedicated in each election to female candidates. In fact, as it can be seen in Table 1, they had no female London-Wide AMs in 2000 and 2016 and only one female in 2008 and 2012. The only time when the Conservative party did not perform the worst in female representation was in 2008 when the British National party won an Assembly seat. There have been no trends of increased representation over time, their female representation has varied constantly and indicates that they have few to no female candidates ranked in first place on all of their nomination lists. This lack of female representation amongst Conservative nominees is in line with the findings in the previous section.

Inversely from the Conservative Party, the Labour Party has won seats in all six elections and they have always elected at least one woman. Even more encouragingly, they achieved 50% or higher female representation among their seated nominees in all elections but one, 2000 where one third of the seats went to women. The female representation among elected Labour Party candidates has never declined and has, as a matter of fact, been on the rise culminating in 100% of their London-Wide AM seats going to women in 2021. This parallels with their upward trend in female nominees among constituency candidates.

Similar to the Labour Party, the Green Party has also been gradually increasing their female representation. 50% or more of their elected AMs have been women since 2004 with at least one woman included in their top two nomination positions every election. In complete contrast to this, though the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and British National Party (BNP) have only won seats in two and one elections respectively, in their collective five AM seats UKIP and BNP have only ever elected men.

Lastly, the Liberal Democrats. The Liberal Democrats have outperformed all other political parties in the election of female AMs. Not only have they never had less than 50% female AMs, but they have also had greater than 50% female representation five out of the six elections. This would be a considerable feat if they had only ever had a few elected AMs but

London-Wide AM Seats by Party and Gender			
Year/Party	Female	Male	Grand Total
2000	5	6	11
Conservatives	0	1	1
Green	1	2	3
Labour	1	2	3
Liberal Democrats	3	1	4
2004	5	6	11
Green	1	1	2
Labour	1	1	2
Liberal Democrats	3	2	5
UK Independence Party	0	2	2
2008	5	6	11
British National Party	0	1	1
Conservatives	1	2	3
Green	1	1	2
Labour	1	1	2
Liberal Democrats	2	1	3
2012	5	6	11
Conservatives	1	2	3
Green	1	1	2
Labour	2	2	4
Liberal Democrats	1	1	2
2016	5	6	11
Conservatives	0	3	3
Green	2	0	2
Labour	2	1	3
Liberal Democrats	1	0	1
UK Independence Party	0	2	2
2021	8	3	11
Conservatives	2	2	4
Green	2	1	3
Labour	2	0	2
Liberal Democrats	2	0	2
Grand Total	33	33	66

Table 1: London-Wide AM seats by political party and gender identity. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a & 2016b)

is even more impactful given that they have won 17 seats overall and all but five went to women. To put that into perspective, the Conservatives have won 14 seats in total and only for of which were filled by women.

The London-wide elections have done very well overall when looking at their total representation of elected candidates. The parties individually are quite varied and this is important to note because of the power that the nomination lists hold if parties win London-wide seats. While the Liberal Democrats are surpassing all of the winning parties to date, they are not alone in their responsibility to contribute to the goal of achieving gender parity. If in the next few years the Conservatives win a large number of London-wide seats their consistently low female representation could jeopardize the future representative success of not only the London-wide seats but the London Assembly as a whole.

The next subsection will briefly examine how the entirety of the London Assembly is performing due to the combined constituency and London-wide elections.

iii. Complete London Assembly Elections

The London Assembly is a sum of its parts. When one part underperforms it effects the whole Assembly. The although the Constituency Members make up the majority of the 25 seat Assembly, they consistently under achieve when it comes to equitably electing men and women. There have never been an equal number of men and women candidates let alone an equal number of men and women elected to the 14 seats. Because of this, the Assembly has consistently had a male majority until 2021 when eight women were appointed through the London-wide election tipping the overall balance to create a slight, by two percent, female majority. Observing Table 2 to the right, it can be seen that while the London-Wide AMs are fewer in number they consistently contributed the same if not more women to the ranks of the Assembly year after year. This creates and unequal reliance on the London-wide elections to achieve gender parity across the whole Assembly.

London Assembly Election Results			
Year/Type	Female	Male	Grand Total
2000	10	15	25
Constituency	5	9	14
London-Wide	5	6	11
2004	10	15	25
Constituency	5	9	14
London-Wide	5	6	11
2008	8	17	25
Constituency	3	11	14
London-Wide	5	6	11
2012	8	17	25
Constituency	3	11	14
London-Wide	5	6	11
2016	9	16	25
Constituency	4	10	14
London-Wide	5	6	11
2021	13	12	25
Constituency	5	9	14
London-Wide	8	3	11

Table 2: London Assembly election results by Member type, 2000-2021. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a & 2016b)

Taken as a whole, the London Assembly has a long way to go to consistently achieve gender parity. This must be done by carefully looking at all of the Assembly’s parts. Because of the odd number of total seats there could never be a perfect balance of men and women on the Assembly. The best that can be hoped for is either 48% or 52% with 12 or 13 female AMs. As shown in Figure 14 below, the London Assembly did not achieve relatively equal gender representation until 2021. The primary reason the Assembly was able to achieve a slight female majority in 2021 was because of the women gained through the London-wide elections and, remarkably, further credit needs to be given to the Conservative party for finally including more women in their top London-wide nominees. While the London-wide elections have proved dependably consistent in the election of female AMs, the constituency still has a long way to go. The constituency elections will need to make great strides in increasing female representation among candidates and within political parties, most notably the Conservatives. At present, the Assembly’s representation is overly dependent upon the top five nominees of political parties in the London-wide elections which makes the concept of achieving gender parity in future elections quite precarious.

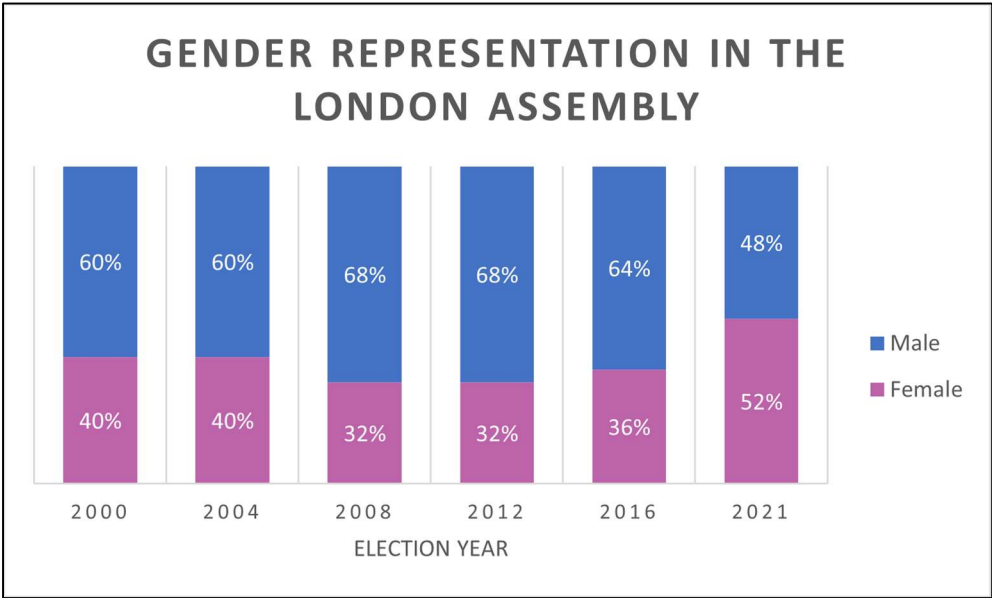


Figure 14: Gender composition of the London Assembly by percentage, 2000-2021. Data source: (London Elects, 2000a-d, 2004a-e, 2008a-e, 2012a-e, 2016a-b, 2021a-f; Bennett, 2012; Jacobs, 2016a & 2016b)

2.3 Comparing the Results

By and large, the Greater London Authority is performing better than New York City Hall with regard to female inclusivity in elected office. That is not to say that London has closed their gender gap or has no room for further improvement. On the contrary, much work needs to be done in both localities to increase female representation in their local governments. This can be seen plainly in the offices of Mayor, City Council, and the London Assembly.

Neither London nor New York City have ever had a female mayor. Because of this large gap in representation among elected officials, the gender gaps in these offices must be scrutinized based on mayoral candidacy. There have been nearly one and a half times as many mayoral candidates in London as there have been in New York City since the turn of the century. This can primarily be attributed to the larger variety of active political parties in London. Of the 70 mayoral candidates in London, 24% have been women. Compare this to New York where only 8.5% of mayoral candidates have been female. The gender gap in participation among mayoral candidates in both cities is distressingly low, New York more than London. It is also important to note that London has never seen a female mayoral nominee from either major political party, where New York witnessed one female nominee in the Republican party (the party with the largest overall gender gap in NYC) in 2017. However, this detail must be taken with a grain of salt because there have only even been four female mayoral candidates in NYC and in 2013 there were none.

Turning now to the elected bodies of both cities: The London Assembly and New York City Council. The London Assembly still has a long way to go in attaining gender parity. In order to get there, more women need to be regularly elected in constituency elections. While the London-wide elections have consistently produced female AMs, the overall level of female representation in the constituency still remains low. The London Assembly did not have equal representation for women until 2021. The primary reason it was able to gain a slight female majority was due to the women who won through the London-wide elections. Taking that into consideration, this implies that the gender makeup of the top five candidates on any party's nomination list could shift the balance towards gender parity, not only in the London-

wide seats but in the London Assembly as a whole if parties increase their number of top-ranked female nominees.

The London Assembly has more political party diversity than the City Council which has led to increased female representation. The majority of elected women come from the London-wide elections where the party diversity exists. Meanwhile, the New York City Council is only filled with members of the two largest political parties in New York. With the Republican party doing very little to contribute to closing the gender gap in City Council in the last two decades, the two-party system may prove detrimental to achieving gender parity in the long run. Similarly, the Conservative party needs to increase the number of women ranked in their top-five candidates in their London-wide nomination list each year. As mentioned in the Literature Review section, research has shown that the largest gaps in female political participation exist within right-leaning parties. The election data for both cities seem to confirm this idea. Though Conservative party is working to make strides towards gender parity by increasing female representation in Parliament through the Women2Win program created 2005, they have not made similar efforts at the local level (Women2Win, n.d.). Significant changes must be made in the way political parties in each city nominate and support their candidates. Increasing the diversity of political parties in city level office has shown to increase female representation in London. Perhaps doing something analogous to this in New York City would produce a similar result.

The percentage of women on the London Assembly in constituency seats and the percentage of women on the City Council are very similar. On average, the constituency seats have been made up of ~30% women while the City Council is ~29% women. Members of both of these bodies are directly elected by citizens of regional constituencies. Though the similarity between both offices is intriguing, the findings themselves are rather disappointing. The amount of female representation is far short of the goal of 50%. This is an important issue for future research and additional studies will need to be conducted to analyze how direct elections influence the gender composition of these offices.

Because the two major political parties in each city contribute the most elected officials to the mayors' offices, the City Council, and the London Assembly these parties have the

most work to do in order to close the gender gap. The Conservative, Labour, Democratic, and Republican parties need to increase female participation and give these women the support they need to get elected. It is important to take note that while the Assembly does not have any legislative power, the NY City Council does. This means that if New York wants to see substantive changes in the following elections they have the ability to create laws to increase female representation. The Assembly can investigate and report on these issues but as of right now it appears that parties are the ones with the greatest ability to create positive change. The major parties must make concerted efforts to create gender parity in both cities, whether that be by choice or the result of legislation. These parties must exercise their considerable power for the better of both cities in order for there to be substantive increasing in female candidacy and election.

Conclusion

To the vexation of the author, there are several failings of this dissertation. This paper covers a large expanse of information, but due to various constraints, it does not go very far in-depth. In order to get a better understanding, more research needs to be done. Future studies will need to look at the correlations and causations of the results that emerged from within this data collection. A sense of what policies and events may or may not have impacted the female representation in either city should be investigated. Thankfully, the aim of this paper evolved to serve as a resource for future academics to do just this. Collecting the election data in a single location should help future researchers to fill in not only the gaps in information presented within this paper but also in the gaps in the research currently available regarding both cities.

Between the two, the Greater London Authority is doing a bit better than New York City. Regardless, there is still much work to be done in both places to improve the representation of women in elected office. In both New York and London, there has never been a female mayor. The gender gaps in City Council and London Assembly are also distressingly low in both cities. Additionally, political parties need to increase female membership and support female candidates to help ensure women get elected. It is necessary that the major political parties in London and New York City increase efforts to ensure that women are represented in public office.

This dissertation was undertaken with the purpose of adding value to this niche area of research by compiling data that was hard to obtain and difficult to navigate through. To explain how each municipality operated and to look at how the two cities compare operationally and representatively. When speaking to AM Caroline Pidgeon, AM Hina Bokhari, and CM Helen Rosenthal about their own experiences as women in government, certain trends appeared.

The women interviewed faced online harassment as well as sexist and, in AM Bokhari's case, Islamophobic hate mail. Both Bokhari and Rosenthal encountered situations so severe that the authorities had to be called in order to ensure the safety of them and their families.

The women all agreed that there are certain barriers ubiquitous among female candidates. In addition to the online harassment, women face unequal scrutiny about their family lives and childcare; they often do not have the financial support or know-how to run political campaigns, and women today still take on the majority of the domestic responsibilities, including childcare, yet they do not have the time or resources at their disposal to reduce these burdens while on the campaign trail.

When asked why the gender gaps have persisted in the London Assembly and City Council, respectively, the answers became hazy. Rosenthal suggested that in addition to the many barriers that women face, the ‘political machines’ in New York (such as the political parties and unions) exert strong influence, as they did in her campaign, and it is hard to gain any traction without their support. Similar to what was shown in the research, Rosenthal discussed the large political ambition gap between men and women. In comparison, AMs Bokhari and Pidgeon were less certain of any one specific cause but did point to reasons that women were able to turn things around in the 2021 election. The Liberal Democrats have gender quota policies in place and are a predominantly female party, and they have been responsible for a significant portion of female participation in the London Assembly over the years. There was a consensus among the politicians that more needs to be done to increase female participation, whether it be through increased financial support, women in power recruiting more women, or changing policies.

Based on research of the literature available today, the information obtained from the data collected for this paper, and the interviews conducted with female politicians with firsthand knowledge of the political systems, there are some suggestions that can be put forth.

First, expanding ranked choice voting beyond the primary elections in NYC and Mayoral elections in London could also encourage more diversity in the selection of candidates in districts and boroughs. Then, political parties should be pushed to adapt the way they recruit prospective candidates to increase female representation and diversity. Next, requiring political parties and other entities to have voluntary recruitment targets for female candidates. This step would signal the high-level commitment of parties to gender equality. However, due to the nature of the laws in both the United States and the United Kingdom, it

is unlikely that laws could be introduced to mandate gender parity. Though, regularly and publicly encouraging gender quotas within parties and educating the public on the issues could induce enough public pressure to induce changes to parties' internal operating procedures. This is especially important among major and right-leaning political parties. This would work to ensure that the political parties that most frequently voted for to represent the cities are supporting candidates that reflect the makeup of their constituencies. Additionally, encouraging the establishment of gender parity targets in major political action committees and providing support for female candidates in primary and general elections. Furthermore, instituting legislation to address the lack of public financing for campaigns to prevent large donors and entrenched political machines from controlling who does and does not receive financial support. This could ideally help women, people of color, and those from lower socioeconomic groups attain the necessary support when looking to run for office in the future. Importantly, continued data collection and analysis, like that completed by this dissertation, is needed to identify further barriers to women's political progress in local, regional, and national legislatures and elected bodies. Finally, elected officials should advocate for policies and procedures that make governments more gender positive and receptive. These include improving sexual harassment procedures and ensuring that women are treated fairly in leadership positions. Establishing plans for how to respond to immense online and media criticism and seeing to it that these behaviors are publicly addressed, so candidates and politicians do not continue to endure this sort of mistreatment quietly and privately.

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Annex

Datasets Created

ATTENTION: The datasets compiled for this paper are too large to fit into this document.

They have been provided separately as Excel files.