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## **ABOUT THE INVISIBLE, MARGINAL, AND TRIVIAL PLACE OF GENDER EQUALITY IN THE DEMOCRACY**

### **A b s t r a c t**

The aim of the article is to answer the question: what is the correlation between the level of democracy and the level of gender equality; and is there a variation in terms of gender equality due to different types of political regimes. The article consists of two parts. The first part of the article analyses the role of democracy in shaping gender equality attitudes. In the second part, the Pearson correlation coefficient method between gender equality and the level of democracy is examined. In the next stage, the analysis of the variance is carried out using the ANOVA method. It explains, with what probability the identified factors influence the differences between gender equality and political regimes.

The result of the research shows that the type of democracy is critical to the gender equality index. Significant differences are found between:

- full democracy and flawed democracy, hybrid regime and authoritarian regime;
- flawed democracy and hybrid regime and authoritarian regime;

The lack of differentiation between a hybrid regime and an authoritarian state may be due to the conditioning of men's *lesser freedom* in this kind of political regime, what influences more freedom and women's rights.

Showing the contradictions and inconsistencies associated with the lax treatment of democratic principles has a significant impact on issues of compliance with standards related to gender equality. As it was proven in the article, it is very easy to ignore women's rights by making them invisible. No less important is the marginalization of the problem. The article illustrates how women's rights are not taken into account, and are even overlooked,

during the process of building rankings of democracies. Therefore, the purpose of this article was to make the invisible visible, the marginal central and the trivial important.

Key words: Equality, democracy, gender.

## INTRODUCTION

Democracy has been described in literature as a set of values and principles relating to the functioning of societies. It can be defined as a certain canon, or a pattern of behaviour, which is linked to history and tradition. On the one hand, these ideas are associated with the decision-making majority, but on the other hand, with the rights of the individuals. They are differentiated according to international agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the European Convention on Human Rights.<sup>1</sup>

One can ask: what are the conditions in which the individuals have been functioning in the democratic society? Based on the literature in the analysing field, it can be pointed out that the most important principle of the democratic society should be equality.<sup>2</sup> However, as Robert Dahl accurately recognises, democracy is a compromise between the majority and the minority,<sup>3</sup> which demonstrates the misunderstanding, in what way the democracy treats the women's electoral rights. We can speak of a certain ideal level, to which countries should aspire.<sup>4</sup> This is difficult because democracy is considered in many different fields. It refers to a political category that emphasises the rules of competition between several political options.<sup>5</sup> It can

<sup>1</sup> Dag Anckar, 'A Definition of Democracy', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 5: 3, 1982, pp. 217-35, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.1982.tb00261.x>.

<sup>2</sup> Chris Berg, *Liberty, Equality and Democracy* (Connor Court Publishing Pty Ltd, 2015); Robert Post, 'Democracy and Equality', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603: 1, 2006, pp. 24-36; Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality* (University of Chicago Press, 1987); Steven Wall, 'Democracy and Equality', *The Philosophical Quarterly* 57: 228, 2007, pp. 416-38.

<sup>3</sup> Robert A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, vol. 10 (University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 10-35.

<sup>4</sup> Lise Storm, 'An Elemental Definition of Democracy and Its Advantages for Comparing Political Regime Types', *Democratization* 15: 2, 2008, pp. 215-29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340701846301>.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Burstein, 'Public Opinion, Public Policy, and Democracy', in Kevin T. Leicht and J. Craig Jenkins, eds, *Handbook of Politics: State and Society in Global Perspective* (New York: Springer, 2010) pp. 63-79; Helen Ingram and Steven Rathgeb Smith, *Public Policy for Democracy* (Brookings Institution Press, 2011); Yannis Papadopoulos and Philippe Warin, 'Are Innovative, Participatory and Deliberative Procedures in Policy Making Democratic and Effective?', *European Journal of Political Research* 46: 4, 2007, pp. 445-72.

also be extended to other spheres, such as economics,<sup>6</sup> education,<sup>7</sup> culture,<sup>8</sup> and religion.<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the identified issues are discussed quite extensively in literature. By contrast, the question of the relationship between gender equality and democracy is not such a popular area of research.<sup>10</sup>

In Polish literature, one does not come across many studies about the impact on democracy and gender equality. In Poland, for instance, Łukasz Wawrowski tries to deal with this problem. He would like to find the answer for the question in his article: *Is Democracy Compatible with Gender Equality—or Which Can Be a Barrier to the Other?*<sup>11</sup> The author, using the Gender Inequality Index and the Freedom House Index, examined the average level of equality in groups of countries by status: free, partly free, and not free. He indicated that even a sketchy analysis of the overview shows that gender equality was positively correlated with the countries' democratic nature.<sup>12</sup> However, it must be stressed that author did not calculate the correlations between the variables. On the basis of the calculation of averages, he concluded

<sup>6</sup> Dawid Piątek, Katarzyna Szarzec, and Michał Pilc, 'Economic Freedom, Democracy and Economic Growth: A Causal Investigation in Transition Countries', *Post-Communist Economies* 25: 3, 2013, pp. 267–88; Rafael Reuveny and Quan Li, 'Economic Openness, Democracy, and Income Inequality: An Empirical Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 36: 5, 2003, pp. 575–601; Michael D. Stroup, 'Economic Freedom, Democracy, and the Quality of Life', *World Development* 35: 1, 2007, pp. 52–66.

<sup>7</sup> Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A Robinson, and Pierre Yared, 'From Education to Democracy?', *The American Economic Review* 95: 2, 2005, pp. 44–49, <https://doi.org/10.1257/000282805774669916>; Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, 'Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Review of Research, Policy and Practice 1995–2005', *Research Papers in Education* 21: 4, 2006, pp. 433–66; Hilary Putnam and Ruth Anna Putnam, 'Education for Democracy', *Educational Theory* 43: 4, 1993, pp. 361–76.

<sup>8</sup> Clive Barnett, *Culture and Democracy: Media, Space and Representation* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019); Ronald Inglehart, 'Culture and Democracy' in Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds, *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic, 2000), pp. 80–97; Magdalena Tomala and Maryana Prokop, 'The Correlation between Women's Participation in the Electoral Process and the Role of Woman in the Family', in Paulina Barczyszyn-Madziarz and Przemysław Żukiewicz, eds, *Gender and LGBTQ Issues in Election Processes* (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 58–76, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003204411-5>.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Bethke Elshtain, 'Religion and Democracy', *Journal of Democracy* 20: 2, 2009, pp. 5–17; Robert D. Woodberry, *The Shadow of Empire: Christian Missions, Colonial Policy, and Democracy in Postcolonial Societies* (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> Caroline Beer, 'Democracy and Gender Equality', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44: 3, 2009, pp. 212–27, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-009-9043-2>; Ronald Inglehart, Pippa Norris, and Christian Welzel, 'Gender Equality and Democracy', in Ronald L. Inglehart, ed., *Human Values and Social Change* (Brill, 2003), pp. 91–115, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047404361007>.

<sup>11</sup> Łukasz Wawrowski, 'Czy demokracji jest po drodze z równością płci – czyli „co” dla „czego” może być barierą?', *Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne* 5, 2012, pp. 33–54.

<sup>12</sup> Wawrowski, 'Czy demokracji jest po drodze z równością płci', p. 45.

that countries with a 'free' status obtained the best value for the gender equality index. There was not much difference between the average of the other two groups; and 'not free' countries achieved a better result than countries with a 'partly free' status. This analysis raises some doubts. First of all, detailed survey contradicts the conclusion that there was a positive correlation between the variables. Secondly, the proposed method for the data analysis in groups, did not take into account the required assumptions in this type of survey and therefore it was not carried out correctly.

The aim of the article is to answer the question: what is the correlation between the level of democracy and the level of gender equality; and is there a variation in terms of gender equality due to different types of political regimes. The dependent variable has been determined on the basis of the gender equality index—Y, while the independent variables have been defined on the strength of four dimensions of regimes: X1—full democracy, X2—flawed democracy, X3—hybrid regimes, X4—authoritarian regimes.

Correlation analysis was based on the Pearson correlation coefficient, which measures the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two continuous variables—in this case, the Democracy Index and the Gender Equality Index. The  $R^2$  value (coefficient of determination) was also provided to indicate how much of the variance in gender equality can be explained by differences in democracy levels.

Regarding the ANOVA (Analysis of Variance), a one-way ANOVA was used to compare the means of the Gender Equality Index across four groups of political regimes (full democracy, flawed democracy, hybrid regime, authoritarian). Before conducting ANOVA, I tested for key assumptions: normality of distributions using the Shapiro–Wilk test and homogeneity of variances using Levene's test.

Based on literature, it can be hypothesised that gender equality and the level of democracy should be correlated.

A group of 139 countries was surveyed. This selection of the study was a sample due to the availability of data, used from the Gender Equality Index and Democracy Index reports in 2022. It is also important to acknowledge that these indexes are the product of specific institutional and methodological choices, including how gender equality or democracy is operationalized. These choices can influence the interpretation of the results and reflect embedded assumptions of the producing institutions.

Specific questions were asked to find the answer for the main question:

- What is the level of correlation between women's empowerment and democracy?
- Does the level of democratization interact with the variation on the equality index by country type?

The article consists of two parts. The first part of the article will analyse the role of democracy in shaping gender equality attitudes. In the second part, the Pearson correlation coefficient method between gender equality and the level of democracy will be examined. In the next stage, the analysis of the variance will be carried out using the ANOVA method. It explains, with what probability the identified factors will influence the differences between gender equality and political regimes.

## THE ROLE OF DEMOCRACY IN CREATING GENDER EQUALITY

Cynthia Enloe asked in her article *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* where are women in world politics?<sup>13</sup> In turn, Simone de Beauvoir noted that, among other things, politics 'has always been a man's world'<sup>14</sup>. Following their way of thinking, it is worth asking, where is gender equality in democracy?

The term democracy originated in ancient times and means the power of the people. Originally, the term did not refer to women but only to a certain group of adult men, which were born in Athens. Therefore, it could not describe the reality of the 21st century, where both men and women nowadays have rights for political activities and participation in the electoral process. As Rachwał pointed out, women gained the right to vote only in the 20th century.<sup>15</sup> It might have seemed that the legal recognition of women's suffrage should solve the problem. However, there is no consensus among political scientists on this issue. Moreover, an analysis of the literature reveals many contradictions and controversies around this topic.

The initial issue deals with this question, whether democracy in fact provides equality for women. The titles of many publications have already pointed out the inadequacies of the understanding of

<sup>13</sup> Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (Routledge, 2014), pp. 118–23.

<sup>15</sup> Marcin Rachwał, 'Władza ludu czy elit politycznych? Próba zdefiniowania współczesnej demokracji', *Przegląd Politologiczny* 1, 2013, pp. 69–82 (p. 71).

gender equality in democratic systems. Penelope Andrews said, that 'Democracy stops at my front door' showing obstacles to gender inequality in South Africa.<sup>16</sup> Silova and Magno indicated that 'Gender equity unmasked: democracy, gender, and education in Central/Southeastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union'.<sup>17</sup> A meaningful question is posed in this regard by Drude Dahlerup, who has asked in the book's title, whether democracy has failed women?<sup>18</sup>

Gundula Ludwig analyses the existing paradoxes, which are related to democracy and gender equality. She considers that 'current transformations of democracy can be interpreted as a masculinist project that leads to new forms of gendered exclusion'.<sup>19</sup> The exclusion of women from democracy is determined not only by historically shaped political roles but also by the system of party's functioning, which may differ significantly from the equality system. Assuming that the countries' legislation referee for gender equality, social factors influence informal networks, which are typically organized according to male stereotypes, and at the same time reduce women's participation. Contemporary democracy abounds in social and hierarchical inequalities, which are directly linked to gender.

The women and their rights become invisible and unnoticeable in the democratic societies, because in most electoral systems people could not vote for an individual but for a political party, which sets its own rules and organises the electoral lists itself. Political leaders are oriented towards electoral success, so democratic principles are not applied at the parties' level. Observing the electoral struggles, the anti-democratic rules of game are revealed in all kinds of regimes. There are not visible principles, fairness and national interest, but precise populism and desire to win. In the political sphere, only power counts. This thesis on invisibility of women in the democratic system is corroborated by Paxton, who notices that '[a]lthough definitions of democracy commonly include all adults, measures of democracy often fail to include women'.<sup>20</sup> The term democracy

<sup>16</sup> Penelope Andrews, 'Democracy Stops at My Front Door: Obstacles to Gender Equality in South Africa', *5 Loy. U. Chi. Int'l L. Rev.* 15, 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Iveta Silova and Cathryn Magno, 'Gender Equity Unmasked: Democracy, Gender, and Education in Central/Southeastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union', *Comparative Education Review* 48: 4, 2004, pp. 417–42.

<sup>18</sup> Drude Dahlerup, *Has Democracy Failed Women?* (John Wiley & Sons, 2017).

<sup>19</sup> Gundula Ludwig, 'Post-democracy and Gender: New Paradoxes and Old Tensions', *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 19: 1, 2018, pp. 28–46.

<sup>20</sup> Pamela Paxton, 'Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35: 3, 2000, pp. 92–111, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02699767>.

mentions participants such as: people, adults, native born, but at the same time ignores sex.

It is certainly not only the definition of democracy which has contributed to make women the invisible ones in the electoral system. Marginalization of women's rights also takes place by not including the gender equality factor in most indexes measuring democracy. This paradox is analysed by Beer, who emphasises that 'Defining democracy is one of the most controversial methodological issues facing political scientists. [...] Amazingly, relatively few of these standard measures of democracy include women's suffrage as a component'.<sup>21</sup>

Gender equality factors do not regard the most significant rankings of democracy. For instance, Freedom House works to defend human rights and promote democratic change. Its analyses have been focused on 13 central issues like: authoritarian reach, media freedom, religious freedom, and others. Even Freedom House has mentioned equality issues, it has not allowed for women's suffrage. Women are hidden behind all individuals in a society, therefore they are invisible and marginalised as a single entity.<sup>22</sup>

Also, The Democracy Index provides a snapshot of the state of democracy worldwide in 165 countries and two territories. It is based on the ratings for 60 indicators, grouped into five categories: electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties. Based on its scores on a range of indicators within these categories, each country is then classified as one of four types of regimes: 'full democracy', 'flawed democracy', 'hybrid regime' or 'authoritarian regime'. In the ranking, the issue of gender equality was only included in one of the sixty questions of the questionnaire and concerned the extent to which citizens enjoy personal freedoms. The question considered not only gender equality, but also the right to travel, or choice of work and study.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the gender index is not a specific variable, because it characterises at the same time as opportunity for travel, work and study. There are not any common values between gender equality and democracy, so research allows for the correlation between them.

Regarding these two discussed aspects: the invisibility of women in defining democracy and the marginalization of women's electoral

<sup>21</sup> Beer, 'Democracy and Gender Equality', pp. 212–27.

<sup>22</sup> Freedom House, 'Our Issues', 2023. <https://freedomhouse.org/issues> (Unless otherwise noted at point of citation, all URLs cited in this article were accessible on 7 January 2025).

<sup>23</sup> Economist Intelligence Unit, 'Democracy Index 2022', 2022, <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2022/>.

activity in indicators measuring democracy, let me ask, following Dahlerup, a rather trivial question (2017): why is democracy failing women? As A. Żukowski notes, having rights to vote is a global standard outside of Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, there are some political, psychological, social, economic, religious factors, which seriously affects the place of women in contemporary political systems.<sup>24</sup> Andrzej Antoszewski underlines that the gender equality issue could be treated also as development as well as breaking social standards and gender roles.<sup>25</sup>

However, as Reynolds emphasises, there are not any significant relationships between the level of democratization and women's parliamentary participation.<sup>26</sup> This problem has also been recognized by Przemysław Żukiewicz and Paulina Barczyszyn-Madziarz, who assumed that gender equality should be an integral part of electoral processes around the world although it is vulnerable due to the spread of populism in many countries and the strong polarisation of party systems.<sup>27</sup> The problem is not the lack of law, but the need to increase women's political participation.

Summarising the above, the following problems of democracy and gender equality surveys can be identified. The problem is concealed by not distinguishing between both sexes. As a result of the absence of such a separation, both sexes are represented only or in most cases by men. Indeed, women in politics are visible only in a few countries around the world. This is exemplified by the Nordic countries, where women have been recognized and have been given the opportunity to participate actively in politics.

The problem is also not detected in most indicators measuring democracy. It is treated marginally, although it should have had a central place in the study of democracy. Marginalisation has taken place through incompetent and inappropriate usage of indicators. Recognition of statistics, the legislation of equality between women and

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<sup>24</sup> Arkadiusz Żukowski, 'Wybory i reprezentacja polityczna kobiet', *Studia Wyborcze* 3, 2007, pp. 45–67.

<sup>25</sup> Andrzej Antoszewski, 'Normatywne i empiryczne teorie demokracji', *Politeja* 12: 36, 2015, pp. 119–31 (p. 122), <https://doi.org/10.12797/Politeja.12.2015.36.07>; Tomala and Prokop, 'The Correlation between Women's Participation', pp. 58–77.

<sup>26</sup> Silova and Magno, 'Gender Equity Unmasked'; Andrew Reynolds, 'Women in the Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling', *World Politics* 51: 4, 1999, pp. 547–72.

<sup>27</sup> Paulina Barczyszyn-Madziarz and Przemysław Żukiewicz, 'Between Global and Local Contexts of Research on Gender and LGBTQ Issues and Elections', in eidem, eds, *Gender and LGBTQ Issues in Election Processes: Global and Local Contexts* (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 1–15 (p. 1).

men is determining the awarding of points. The actual participation of women in politics is not taken into account in rankings, which overestimates the values of the indicators measuring a country's democracy.

For this reason, most barriers still exist and influence gender inequality. As Norris and Inglehart mentioned '[d]espite official declarations by many countries of the intent to establish conditions of gender equality in the public sphere, in practice major barriers continue to restrict women's advancement in public life'.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, there is a necessity to explore the correlation between gender equality and democratization as well as considering whether different regimes diversify gender equality.

## ANALYSIS

The variety of democratic principles are evidenced by the various definitions of democracy such as: liberal democracy, delegative democracy, industrial democracy, western democracy, Islamic democracy, semi-democracy, façade democracy, and so the list goes on.<sup>29</sup> The ambiguity of the concept confirms the lack of standards for what democracy actually is and what kind of rights are entitled to each individual. Democracy is not a zero-one concept. This means that one can find different levels of state's democratisation. As it was previously mentioned, most indicators have not taken gender equality into consideration. That is why it is worth investigating whether there is a correlation between the indicators under study?

$$r_{xy} = \frac{cov(X,Y)}{\delta x * \delta y}$$

Where: X- democracy index

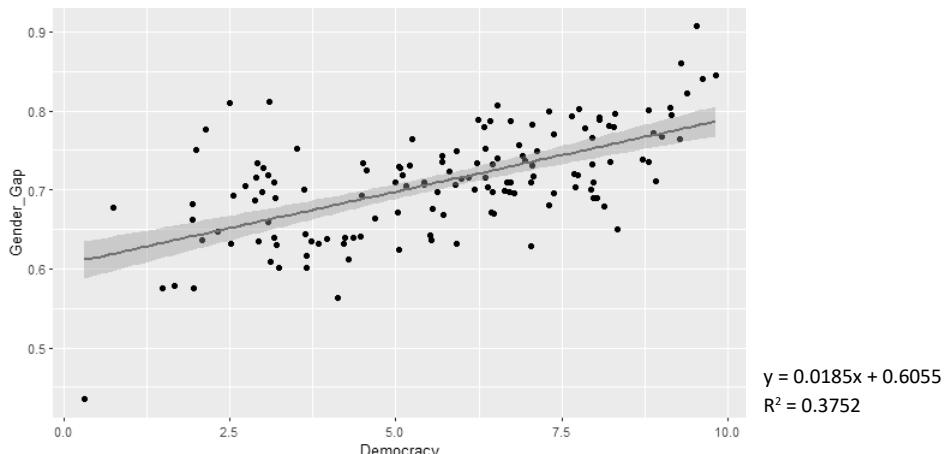
Y – gender gap index

The following graph shows the scatter plot and correlation function between the two indicators: gender gap index and democracy index (see.: fig. 1.)

<sup>28</sup> Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, 'Women and Democracy: Cultural Obstacles to Equal Representation', *Journal of Democracy* 12: 3, 2001, pp. 126–40 (p. 127).

<sup>29</sup> Storm, 'An Elemental Definition of Democracy', p. 215.

FIG. 1  
Scatter plot of correlation



Source: Author's own research.<sup>30</sup>

The analysis has shown that the correlation coefficient between the democracy index and the gender equality index is 0.61, which means an average relationship between the variables. The correlation is positive, which signifies that this increases the level of democracy, which affects the improvement of the gender equality index, and vice versa. The coefficient of determination  $R^2$  is 0.37 and means that only 37% of the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable. The value of the correlation shows that the variables are dependent on each other. However, it is important to note that correlation does not imply causation. The observed statistical relationship may reflect an underlying association rather than a direct causal mechanism. While this study reveals that higher levels of democracy are often accompanied by higher gender equality, it would be a methodological overreach to claim that democracy alone causes such outcomes. In fact, the relationship may be reciprocal, mediated by a variety of socio-economic, historical, or institutional factors.

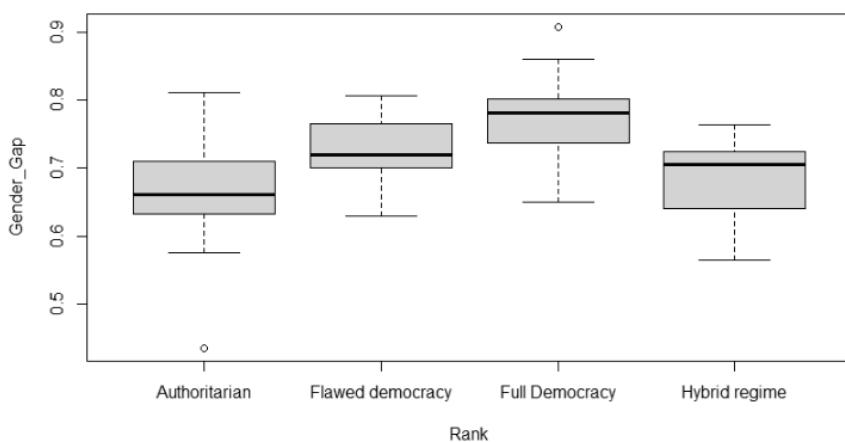
The average correlation between variables should determine its inclusion in national policies and in rankings measuring democracy. In addition, countries' policies should evolve democratic attitudes and also take into account gender equality aspects. Who is worth

<sup>30</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum, 'Global Gender Gap Report 2022', 2022, <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2022/>; Economist Intelligence Unit, 'Democracy Index 2022', 2022, <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2022/>.

following? The leaders of both rankings are the Nordic countries. In the top five of both rankings were Norway, Iceland, Finland and Sweden, and Denmark just below. These are countries which attach great significance to equality issues. The worst democratic principles were ranked by authoritarian states: Afghanistan (0.32), Myanmar (0.74), Democratic Republic of Congo (1.48), Chad (1.67), Iran (1.96). These countries were also in the end of gender gap index: Afghanistan (0.435), Chad (0.579), Iran (0.576) and Democratic Republic of Congo (0.575).

The correlation analysis has shown the diversity of countries in terms of democracy and gender equality. Do types of democracy determine levels of gender equality? The box chart below presents data of the level of gender equality by type of democracy.

FIG. 2  
Box plot of Gender Gap index by type of democracy



Source: Author's own research.<sup>31</sup>

Observing the above graph, it can be assumed that the types of democracy influence the level of equality, but not between every group. There is a clear difference between full democracy and a hybrid regime, or authoritarian and full democracy states. The boundaries are not so sharp when we are comparing full democracy and flawed democracy, hybrid regimes versus flawed democracies, and authoritarian states versus hybrid regimes. The table below shows basic statistics on the gender equality index according to type of democracy.

<sup>31</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum; Economist Intelligence Unit.

TAB. 1  
Basic statistics of gender equality by type of democracy

Type of democracy	N	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	Skew	Kurtosis
Authoritarian	38	0.67	0.07	0.44	0.81	-0.43	1.2
Flawed democracy	45	0.73	0.04	0.63	0.81	0.09	-0.6
Full democracy	23	0.78	0.06	0.65	0.91	-0.09	-0.3
Hybrid regime	33	0.69	0.05	0.56	0.76	-0.52	-0.6

Source: Author's own research.<sup>32</sup>

The means of the different groups vary between each other. The smallest difference is found between authoritarian and hybrid regime states, which may indicate a lack of heterogeneity between these groups. In the case of authoritarian states, it is noticeable that the standard deviation is the largest. It is almost twice more than in states, which represent full democracy. This demonstrates the wide variation between countries. The smallest standard deviation is found in flawed democracies which is indicative of the similar characteristics of these states. In authoritarian regimes we can find example of countries where, the level of gender equality is at the same level as in countries representing a flawed democracy. The maximum in authoritarian regimes and flawed democracy is the same. The minimum in flawed democracy and full democracy is also almost the same. The purpose of this analysis is to examine the variance in the level of gender equality by type of democracy. Hypothesis H0 indicates that the averages within the groups are equal.

H0:  $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_k$

to alternative hypothesis:

H1: at least two averages should differ

To verify the hypothesis, assumptions were tested. The results of tests on the normality of the distribution and homogeneity of variance are shown below.

TAB. 2  
Normality of the distribution using Shapiro-Wilk test

Group	P-value
Authoritarian	0.1456
Flawed democracy	0.1244
Full Democracy	0.943
Hybrid regime	0.07729

Source: Author's own research.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum; Economist Intelligence Unit.

<sup>33</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum; Economist Intelligence Unit.

The Shapiro-Wilk test confirmed normality in all groups. Another assumption for the ANOVA test is to check the homogeneity of variance. The results of the test are presented below.

TAB. 3  
Test for Homogeneity of Variance using Levene test

Test	P-value
Levene's Test for Homogeneity of Variance (center = median: 'mean')	0.06014
Levene's Test for Homogeneity of Variance (center = median: 'median')	0.06014

Source: Author's own research.<sup>34</sup>

In this example, Levene's test confirmed the homogeneity of the variance, because the p-value was greater than 0.05. Thus, the assumptions for the ANOVA test were achieved. The ANOVA analysis assumes that the variances within the separate groups of the system are equal to each other. The results of the test are shown below.

TAB. 4  
Test for Homogeneity of Variance using Levene test

Df	Sum	Sq	Mean	Sq	F value Pr(>F)
Rank	3	0.2114	0.07045	22.81	5.22e-12 ***
Residuals	135	0.4169	0.00309		
Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					

Source: Author's own research.<sup>35</sup>

On the basis of the analysis, H0 on homogeneity of variance within groups was rejected and at the same time alternative hypothesis H1 was accepted. It can therefore be concluded that, in at least one case, there will be a variation in the level of women's empowerment by type of democracy. A post-hoc analysis was then performed using a conservative Tukey test. Its purpose is to answer the question to what extent do the averages within the groups differ? The results of the analysis are shown below.

<sup>34</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum; Economist Intelligence Unit.

<sup>35</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum; Economist Intelligence Unit.

TAB. 5  
The results of Tukey's test

Types of regimes	Diff	Lwr	upr	P adj
Flawed democracy—Authoritarian	0.06	0.03	0.09668125	0.0000028
Full Democracy—Authoritarian	0.11	0.07	0.14808451	0.0000000
Hybrid regime—Authoritarian	0.02	-0.01	0.05478804	0.4155381
Full Democracy—Flawed democracy	0.045	0.008	0.0821	0.01
Hybrid regime—Flawed democracy	-0.04	-0.077	-0.011	0.003
Hybrid regime—Full Democracy	-0.09	-0.129	-0.05	0.0000001

Source: Author's own research.<sup>36</sup>

As the test results show, differences in averages between groups do not exist between hybrid regimes and authoritarian states. In the other groups, such variation does exist. One may ask how strongly the factor differentiates the groups? A key measure for one-way ANOVA analysis is to examine Effect Size. The effect is significant when its value exceeds 14 percent, the effect is medium when it is between six percent and 14 percent, and the effect is weak when its value is less than six percent. The Effect Size is examined below.

TAB. 6  
Effect Size for ANOVA

Effect Size for ANOVA (Type I)		95% CI
Parameter	Eta2	
Rank	0.34	[0.23, 1.00]
One-sided CIs: upper bound fixed at [1.00].		
Parameter	Omega2	95% CI
Rank	0.32	[0.21, 1.00]
One-sided CIs: upper bound fixed at [1.00]		

Source: Author's own research.<sup>37</sup>

The effect size is 34 percent and indicates a significant role for the differentiating factor in the study groups. The result of the Omega sq. test is also shown above. It has significant value because its results can be interpreted for the general population, not just for the sample as in the case of Eta sq. The omega sq. indicator is slightly lower than eta sq. However, its value of 32 percent is high and meaningful for differentiating democracy groups.

<sup>36</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum; Economist Intelligence Unit.

<sup>37</sup> Based on: World Economic Forum; Economist Intelligence Unit.

## CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this article was to make the invisible visible, the marginal central and the trivial important. The article has examined the correlation between the democracy index and the gender equality index. Next, the variation of the gender equality index by levels of democracy has been investigated. Hypothesis H1 was confirmed that such variation occurs between groups, but not all.

To summarize the above discussion, it should be pointed out that the type of democracy is critical to the gender equality index. Significant differences are found between:

- full democracy and flawed democracy, hybrid regime and authoritarian regime;
- flawed democracy and hybrid regime and authoritarian regime.

The lack of differentiation between a hybrid regime and an authoritarian state may be due to the conditioning of men's lesser freedom in this kind of political regime, what influences more freedom and women's rights.

Showing the contradictions and inconsistencies associated with the lax treatment of democratic principles has a significant impact on issues of compliance with standards related to gender equality. As it was proven in the article, it is very easy to ignore women's rights by making them invisible. No less important is the marginalization of the problem. The article illustrates how women's rights are not taken into account, and are even overlooked, during the process of building rankings of democracies.

The above conclusions should draw researchers' attention to the criteria for selecting indicators measuring democracy. Due to the strong correlation between the variables, the democracy index should include a gender equality index.

The conclusions demonstrated in this article could be the basis for further research in this area. They should include searching for factors that help clarify the complex interplay between the level of democracy and gender-sensitive mechanisms.

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