Descriptive Representation
Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer

Why do more women get elected to Latin American legislatures today than 30 years ago and why are more women elected in some countries than others? This chapter examines how formal representation affects descriptive representation of women focusing on the proportionality of electoral rules and electoral gender quotas. It presents a statistical analysis with data on 18 Latin American democracies from 1974 (or the year of democratic transition) through 2007. It shows that large district magnitudes, large party magnitudes, and gender quotas are the most important explanations for the varying percentage of women in office. Further, it shows that the design of gender quota laws matters—quotas that require larger percentages of positions on party ballots to be female, that mandate that women be placed in winnable positions on party lists, and that provide mechanisms for enforcing quotas get more women into office than weaker quota laws.

Quotas for Women in Politics
Mona Lena Krook

In recent years, political parties and national legislatures in more than 100 countries have adopted quotas for the selection of female candidates to political office. Despite the rapid diffusion of these measures around the globe, most research has focused on single countries — or, at most, the presence of quotas within one world region — and thus explains their adoption and impact based on a limited range of evidence, which frequently contradicts with findings from other cases.
In contrast, this book addresses quotas as a global phenomenon in order to provide greater analytical leverage in explaining their spread and impact in diverse contexts around the world. It is organized around two sets of questions. First, why are quotas adopted? Which actors are involved in quota campaigns, and why do they support or oppose quota measures? Second, what effects do quotas have on existing patterns of political representation? Are these provisions sufficient for bringing more women into politics? Or, does their impact depend on other features of the broader political context? The first three chapters present an overview of quota policies and then develop a framework for analyzing the spread of quota provisions and the reasons for variations in their effects. The following three chapters apply this framework to examine and compare campaigns for reserved seats in Pakistan and India, party quotas in Sweden and the United Kingdom, and legislative quotas in Argentina and France. The book concludes with a discussion of directions for future research.

Party Quotas in Sweden and the United Kingdom
Mona Lena Krook

in Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide

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This chapter examines campaigns for party quotas in Sweden and the United Kingdom. Before quotas, both countries had relatively similar levels of female representation. In Sweden, advocates pressed parties to adopt recommendations and targets in the 1970s and 1980s but radicalized their demands over the course of the 1990s, eventually gaining commitments from most parties to alternate between women and men on their candidate lists. In the UK, a major party adopted a quota in the early 1990s, which was later declared illegal on the grounds that it violated anti-discrimination law. Following a period of legal ambiguity, MPs reformed the law to allow but not require parties to pursue positive action in candidate selection. This has since led to significant variations among parties in terms of their recruitment of women. As such, women now constitute 47% of MPs in Sweden but only 20% of MPs in the UK.
Paradoxes in the Meaning of Quotas in Belgium

Petra Meier

in The Impact of Gender Quotas

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This chapter focuses on the extent to which party and legislative quotas in Belgium have altered the beliefs and actions of political elites. Capitalizing on the opportunity to design her own survey, Petra Meier asks specific questions about whether quotas have caused party officials to rethink the importance of gender equality and to recognize a “gender equal public space.” She finds that, whereas female politicians believe the quota coincides with, and deepens, the democratic foundations of the Belgian state, male politicians believe precisely the opposite. Meier then analyzes party statutes, linking male politicians’ disapproval of quotas to the failure to incorporate greater commitments to women’s equality into party documents. The chapter therefore highlights how men and women may think differently about under-representation and discrimination and illustrates how the introduction of a quota may actually aggravate such disagreements.

Introduction to Gender Quotas

Mona Lena Krook

in Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide

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This chapter introduces quotas as a global phenomenon. It begins by presenting an overview of the three main types of quota policies: reserved seats, party quotas, and legislative quotas. These are found in all major world regions in countries with a broad range of institutional, social, economic, and cultural characteristics. At the same time, the mere advent of gender quotas has not resulted in uniform increases in the percentage of women in parliament worldwide: some countries have witnessed dramatic increases, while others have seen more modest changes or even setbacks in the number of women elected to national assemblies. The chapter reviews accounts for these patterns given in the existing literature, but notes their limits in explaining all
instances of quota adoption and implementation. It then makes a case for synthesizing these various explanations to elaborate a more general framework for analyzing the origins and impact of gender quota policies.

The Adoption of Gender Quotas
Mona Lena Krook

in Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide

This chapter addresses the adoption of gender quotas. It reviews four explanations for quota adoption: women's mobilization, elite strategies, normative consistency, and international norms and transnational sharing. It considers the evidence for and against each account and finds that no single account describes all cases. Rather than search for another universal explanation, the chapter draws on these patterns to make a case for treating quotas as a global phenomenon, and thus, for exploring the possibility of causal diversity among quota campaigns. It suggests that each argument may characterize only some cases, at the same time that some may tell only part of a larger story that engages several of these narratives. To manage this complexity, the chapter disaggregates these explanations into their component parts to identify three sets of actors and seven possible motivations for quota reform.

Conceptualizing the Impact of Gender Quotas
Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo

This chapter sets out the collective theory-building enterprise of the volume. The first section reviews quota policies around the world, as well as research on their introduction and numerical effects. The second section outlines major theories and findings regarding women’s descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation. The third section draws these two literatures together, reviewing the preliminary evidence on how quotas influence the attributes of the women elected, the policy actions of female legislators, and constituent responses to female
newcomers. The fourth section establishes definitions for theorizing and operationalizing quota impact with respect to these three facets of political representation. It concludes with an overview of the following chapters, noting how the authors develop their research agenda, as well as how they relate to one another.

The Implementation of Gender Quotas
Mona Lena Krook

This chapter examines the implementation of gender quotas. The literature offers three explanations for variations in their effects: details of the policies themselves, the institutional frameworks in which they are introduced, and the balance of actors for and against quota implementation. After evaluating the evidence, the chapter makes a case for reconciling these accounts to consider how structures, practices, and norms work together to produce the effects of quota policies. It develops an alternative model of candidate selection based on configurations of three categories of gendered institutions and argues that each category of quota attempts to reform a different kind of political institution. The resulting framework treats quota impact in relation to how policies affect existing institutional configurations in ways that facilitate or undermine transformation in women's political representation.

Legislative Quotas in Argentina and France
Mona Lena Krook

This chapter explores campaigns for legislative quotas in Argentina and France. Before quotas, these countries had almost identical proportions of women in parliament. In Argentina, a quota law was adopted in the early 1990s that required all parties to nominate 30% women. Although this provision amended only the electoral code and did not specify how
the quota would be implemented and monitored, by the late 2000s, the policy had resulted in the election of 40% women. Around the same time, French legislators altered the constitution and electoral law to mandate that parties nominate equal numbers of women and men, with specific regulations as to how the quota would be applied and the sanctions that would be imposed on parties that did not meet these requirements. Despite these apparently radical reforms, the representation of women increased only incrementally to 12% and then 18%, still only barely approximating the world average.

Quotas for Women
Anne Phillips
in The Politics of Presence
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In recent decades, a significant number of political parties have taken steps to increase the representation of women in national assemblies, often by introducing gender quotas. The arguments for this fall into four categories: those that dwell on the role model that successful women politicians offer; those that appeal to principles of justice between the sexes; those that identify particular interests of women that would otherwise be overlooked; and those that see women as introducing new forms of political behaviour. The case for quotas depends on the idea that interests are gendered, but should not presume a unitary set of women's interests. The use of quotas raises new questions about the accountability of representatives to their constituents.

Conclusions and Directions for Future Research
Mona Lena Krook
in Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide
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This chapter presents an overview of the findings of the book. It reviews the framework developed for analyzing the adoption and implementation of gender quota policies, as well as the insights generated by the paired comparisons of efforts to institute reserved seats in Pakistan and India,
party quotas in Sweden and the United Kingdom, and legislative quotas in Argentina and France. It then takes these comparisons a step further to explore what a look at all six cases together reveals about the origins and effects of quota measures. The aim is to provide additional insights for analyzing quota campaigns, and designing more effective quota policies, in these and other countries around the world. The chapter then concludes with a discussion of directions for future research.

Themes and Implications for Future Research on Gender Quotas
Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo
in The Impact of Gender Quotas
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This chapter revisits the empirical findings of the volume, seeking to discern common themes regarding each facet of representation. Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo consider possible connections between methodology and conclusions. They then delve into variations, comparing insights across sections to explore how features beyond the presence of a quota may shape the effects observed, including (1) quota design, adoption, and implementation, (2) political institutions and context, and (3) learning over time. Putting these elements together, the final part draws on the case study evidence to theorize and illustrate how patterns with regard to one facet of representation may shape outcomes related to another facet of representation. Based on this collective theory-building exercise, the volume concludes with some thoughts on avenues for future research, emphasizing the importance of generating both cumulative and comparative frameworks for studying the impact of gender quota policies.

The Gendered Effects of Electoral Institutions
Miki Caul Kittilson and Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer
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Item type: book

In most countries around the world, women continue to lag behind men in an array of political orientations and activities. Understanding why this is the case and why some countries have been more successful than
others at moderating gender gaps in political involvement is imperative for producing stronger and more representative democracies. Cultural, socioeconomic, and political factors explain some of the gender gaps in political involvement, but not all of them. In this book, the authors argue that electoral institutions attenuate gender gaps in mass political engagement and participation by drawing women, an “undertapped” constituency, into the democratic process. Using cross-national and country-specific analyses, the authors show that electoral institutions play a complementary and significant role in reducing gender gaps in political involvement. The cross-national analyses draw on comparative survey data from a wide range and large number of countries. The cases draw out the processes underlying changes in political attitudes and behaviors with evidence from four country studies: New Zealand, Russia, France, and Uruguay. All four countries have altered their electoral institutions, either through large-scale reform of the electoral system itself or adopting gender quotas, allowing the authors to examine patterns of political involvement pre- and post-reform. The book finds that inclusive electoral systems that produce more proportional electoral outcomes have larger effects on women’s political engagement and participation than on men’s. Gender quotas also mediate women’s engagement and participation, but to a lesser degree. On the whole, the book concludes that electoral rules designed to promote social inclusion in parliament are critical for promoting social group inclusion among the electorate.

Political Engagement and Democratic Legitimacy in Mexico
Pär Zetterberg

in The Impact of Gender Quotas
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This chapter explores whether the legislative quota in Mexico has altered the attitudes and behaviors of ordinary citizens. Using mass survey data from the federal and state levels, Pär Zetterberg tests whether the quota has increased women’s political engagement or enhanced citizens’ positive valuation of, or confidence in, democratic institutions. The findings are inconclusive. While the analysis reveals that the period during which the quota has been implemented corresponds to a decrease in rates of men’s and women’s political participation, this relationship may be spurious. A myriad of other factors, including allegations of electoral fraud and an economic crisis, may also account for political disenchantment among Mexicans. The absence of more conclusive
findings in this case draws attention to a key methodological challenge—namely, using secondary surveys to establish a direct, causal link between quotas and trends in women’s political engagement and public attitudes.

The Impact of Gender Quotas
Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo (eds)
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Item type: book

The introduction of electoral gender quotas in more than 100 countries around the globe has led to a substantial increase in the number of women holding political office. To date, research on quotas has focused primarily on their design, adoption, and effects on the numbers of women elected. Yet, these measures are not simply linked to concerns about increasing the numbers of women in elected office. Arguing their case for quotas, advocates around the world have suggested that such provisions will increase diversity among the types of women elected, raise attention to women’s issues in policy-making processes, change the gendered nature of the public sphere, and inspire female voters to become more politically involved. At the same time, opponents have expressed concerns that quotas will facilitate access for “unqualified” women, bring women to office with little interest in promoting women’s concerns, reinforce stereotypes about women’s inferiority as political actors, and deter ordinary women’s political participation. These varied expectations indicate that quotas may have a host of positive and negative effects above and beyond their impact on the numbers of women elected. However, despite their prevalence in quota debates, the empirical validity of these claims has not yet been systematically addressed. Seeking to initiate a “second generation” of research on gender quotas, this volume represents a collective effort by its contributors to inspire a new literature focused on theorizing and studying their broader impact on politics and society, focusing on women’s descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation.

Women’s Empowerment and Cultural Change in Rwanda
Jennie Burnet
in The Impact of Gender Quotas
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This chapter addresses trends among ordinary people, but suggests an alternative method for establishing causality between quotas and changes in citizens’ beliefs. Jennie Burnet’s fieldwork on reserved seats and legislative quotas in Rwanda indicates that quotas have encouraged women to participate more actively in community life, work outside the home, speak in public meetings, and demand greater equality in their intimate relationships. Yet these dramatic cultural shifts in women’s roles have caused indignation among men, many of whom resist the quotas’ ability to redefine gender roles, leading them to express resentment as women become more empowered. Burnet consequently demonstrates that quotas can be part of broad processes of cultural change and that men and women may experience these ideological transformations quite differently.

The Combination of Gender and Ethnic Quotas in Electoral Politics
Melanie M. Hughes

in Gender Parity and Multicultural Feminism: Towards a New Synthesis
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Around the world, countries are increasingly using quotas to enhance the diversity of political representatives. This chapter considers the histories and policy designs of ethnic and gender quotas that regulate national legislatures. Most countries with quotas target only one type of under-represented group—for example, women or ethnic minorities. Even in countries with both gender and ethnic quotas (called ‘tandem quotas’), the policies typically evolved separately and work differently. Women and ethnic minorities are treated as distinct groups, ignoring the political position of ethnic minority women. However, a handful of countries have ‘nested quotas’ that specifically regulate the political inclusion of ethnic minority women. The second half the chapter focuses explicitly on nested quotas. It lays out how nested quotas work, where and how they have been adopted, and the prospect for their spread to new countries in the future. The chapter concludes with reflections on the promises and pitfalls of nested quotas as a vehicle for multicultural feminism.
Chapter 6 focuses on two recent cases of gender quota adoption—France and Uruguay. Scholars have highlighted the symbolic roles that quotas can play in increasing a country’s democratic legitimacy or increasing fairness and justice in society. The gender gap in political involvement is examined before and after the adoption of quotas in France and Uruguay. France adopted a “Parity Law” in 2000, and Uruguay adopted gender quotas in 2009. Drawing on the French Election Studies, the Eurobarometer, and the Americas Barometer, the results reveal that gender quotas had very little effect on women’s political involvement at the mass level. Quotas actually have corresponded with very few significant changes in mass political involvement in these two countries, despite the fact that quotas may symbolize the inclusiveness and representativeness of the political system. This complements the relatively minimal findings for gender quotas in the cross-national analyses, as well.

Quotas and Qualifications in Uganda
Diana Z. O’Brien

This chapter studies the personal and political characteristics of women elected to reserved seats in Uganda to assess whether quotas promote inexperienced and unqualified female party loyalists. Using biographical sketches, Diana Z. O’Brien compares the profiles of quota women and their non-quota counterparts, both male and female. Although the earlier mode of selecting women to the reserved seats via an electoral college did not contain checks on candidate quality and clearly promoted elitism and patronage, the direct election of candidates implemented in 2006 has altered these patterns in significant ways. The statistical data suggests that, on the vast majority of measures, quota women do
not differ significantly from other MPs. Indeed, on some indicators they appear to be better prepared for office than non-quota legislators. The evidence thus demonstrates that quotas have not advanced women that are less qualified or more elite than other MPs.

Reserved Seats in Pakistan and India
Mona Lena Krook

in Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide

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This chapter compares campaigns for reserved seats in Pakistan and India. A shared colonial past included reserved seats for women in politics, as well as for a range of other groups based on race, religion, education, and occupation. After independence, however, the two countries took opposite approaches. In Pakistan, regimes of all types reserved seats for women from the early 1950s until the late 1980s, with a new round of reforms being introduced in 2002. In India, reservations for women were put off until the late 1980s, when their passage in various states led to proposals in the early 1990s to set aside seats for women in local government. Despite the quick passage of these provisions, attempts to extend these provisions to the national level have foundered. As a result, women occupy 21% of the seats in parliament in Pakistan, but only 8% in India.