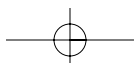
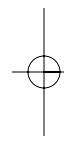
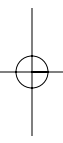
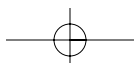
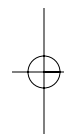
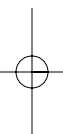




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Women and Legislative Representation





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Women and Legislative Representation

Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Sex Quotas

Edited by
Manon Tremblay

palgrave
macmillan

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WOMEN AND LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION

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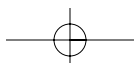
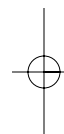
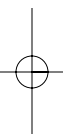
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Printed in the United States of America.

In memoriam

Wilma Rule
(1925–2004)

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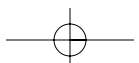
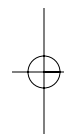
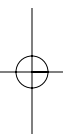
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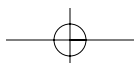
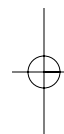
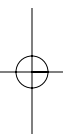
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Foreword

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10 This year (2007) marks the centenary of the election of the first women to
11 parliament anywhere in the world—in Finland. Finland was exceptional: not
12 only were women elected in its first election with universal suffrage, but they
13 were elected in considerable numbers. When its magnificent parliament
14 building was finally built in 1931, it even included a special conference room
15 for its women parliamentarians. Elsewhere, women had to wait much longer
16 to be elected in significant numbers as legislators, and global progress was by
17 no means linear. In the early 1990s the fall of communist and other author-
18 itarian regimes led to an initial drop in the average parliamentary represen-
19 tation of women across the world. The decade of the 1990s also, however,
20 saw the successful politicization of the absence of women from parliamen-
21 tary bodies. Such absence became a marker of “democratic deficit.” With the
22 help of women mobilizing at home and abroad, the representation of
23 women in parliament is now widely accepted as an indicator of the quality
24 of democracy. It has become a proxy for equality of citizenship and equal
25 opportunity and is seen as contributing to the legitimacy of parliamentary
26 institutions and their capacity for inclusive deliberation.

27 Strategies to deal with this democratic deficit have included the adoption
28 of electoral quotas for women in over 100 countries. A global focus on the
29 representation of women in public decision making was reinforced by
30 the Platform for Action adopted by the United Nations Fourth World
31 Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. According to the platform,
32 women’s equal participation in political life plays a “pivotal role in the gen-
33 eral process of the advancement of women,” and the UN Economic and
34 Social Council subsequently endorsed the use of quotas to achieve it. The
35 systematic monitoring by the Inter-Parliamentary Union of the level of rep-
36 resentation achieved in national parliaments and, more recently, the moni-
37 toring of the adoption of quotas by the International Institute for
38 Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) have helped raise awareness of
39 exactly how and where gains are being made. Numerous nongovernmental
40 bodies, often at the regional or international level and supported by multi-
41 lateral bodies such as IDEA, have come into being to support women into
42 politics. Above all, the level of women’s movement mobilization, both

xvi FOREWORD

1 nationally and internationally, and both inside and outside political parties,
2 helps provide momentum for the adoption of mechanisms such as quotas,
3 while pressure from aid donors also plays its part.

4 As a result of all these efforts the number of women in national parlia-
5 ments has been rising in most parts of the world. In the ten years since 1997,
6 average representation has risen from 11 to 17 percent, while the number of
7 countries where women form over 30 percent of national legislators has
8 risen from 5 to 17. Nonetheless, progress is still patchy and has even stalled
9 in some of the older democracies. This means the question of the most
10 effective means to increase the representation of women in parliament is
11 very much a live issue and one that requires the attention and knowledge of
12 experts in electoral politics and electoral systems. The significance of the
13 type of electoral system for the representation of women and minorities has
14 long been recognized, and valuable work was done over many years by a
15 pioneer in this field, the late Wilma Rule.

16 Manon Tremblay has now taken on the mantle of Wilma Rule to take for-
17 ward the study of how electoral system design can advance the representa-
18 tion of women. She has brought together an outstanding team of experts to
19 assist her with the task of analyzing the full gamut of electoral systems and
20 their interactions with specific national contexts in producing particular
21 gender outcomes. She has organized the project around three main families
22 of electoral systems: first, plurality and majority systems; second, propor-
23 tional representation (PR), including closed and open lists and single trans-
24 ferable vote; and third, mixed systems, combining constituency and party list
25 votes, and varying in accordance with whether the party list element is
26 designed to be fully or only partially compensatory.

27 It has long been a central tenet of the electoral system literature that PR
28 systems are more woman friendly than single-member electorate systems.
29 This is because of differing incentives they create for candidate selection.
30 As Wilma Rule and others have argued, PR systems give political parties an
31 incentive to produce a balanced ticket to appeal to all sections of the com-
32 munity and to appease all sections of the party, rather than seeking a lowest
33 common denominator candidate as in single-member systems. PR also
34 means representation for smaller and newer parties such as the Greens, in
35 which women play a major role, although it may also mean representation
36 for small parties of the religious or populist Right, which tend to be male led.
37 But perhaps, most importantly, PR makes it easy to introduce quotas,
38 because representation is not a zero-sum game in which a male candidate
39 must be replaced by a female one.

40 *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties,*
41 *and Sex Quotas* takes us well beyond the existing state of knowledge con-
42 cerning the impact of electoral systems on the representation of women and,

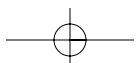
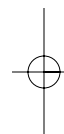
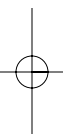
1 indeed, challenges a number of existing beliefs concerning the significance of
2 district magnitude or the supposed advantages of closed compared with
3 open lists. An interesting aspect of open list systems that has been analyzed
4 elsewhere by Anne Maria Holli is that they can give parliamentarians greater
5 independence of political parties and hence facilitate cross-party coopera-
6 tion by women parliamentarians. Such cooperation by women across Left-
7 Right divisions in Finland in 1994 helped achieve a legally enforceable right
8 to childcare for all children under three, despite the opposition of a right-
9 wing Cabinet.

10 The spread of mixed-member systems has increasingly problematized
11 easy assumptions about PR. Sarah Childs and her colleagues, writing about
12 the United Kingdom, confirm that in the mixed electoral systems used for
13 Scotland and Wales, equality measures in the constituency seats were more
14 important than the list seats in increasing women's representation. In New
15 Zealand, Jennifer Curtin finds that although the list seats have returned a
16 higher percentage of women than the constituency seats, the move of a
17 major party to the Right can swamp the incentives provided by PR.

18 This is not just a book for electoral system enthusiasts, but rather a
19 contribution to knowledge that is of practical importance for all people
20 working toward the greater electoral representation of women. Its 15 case
21 studies are carefully chosen to illustrate the dynamics of the full range of
22 electoral systems across all continents and in both developing and long-
23 established democracies. The intersection of electoral systems with a range
24 of other political factors forms a vital part in the explanation of gender out-
25 comes, for example, the effects of incumbency or term limits in the United
26 States or Mexico, the significance of personal support networks in Japan, the
27 feminization of the Labour Party in New Zealand, or the influence of the
28 Social International on the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. While electoral
29 systems may have a positive effect in terms of the representation of women,
30 this will always be context dependent. This book increases our knowledge of
31 both the nuances of electoral systems and their interplay with other political
32 variables. It is an important step toward better understanding of what works
33 for women in electoral system design.

34 Marian Sawyer

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36 Canberra, May 2007
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Preface and Acknowledgments

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Since the beginning of the 1980s, the invigoration of two historically marginalized fields of political science has resulted, among other things, in a publication boom: these fields are electoral studies and “women and politics” (sometimes called “gender and politics”). Although they share a similarly marginalized status within the discipline, these two fields have rarely intersected—or rather, to be precise, the works identified with electoral studies have rarely incorporated a gender perspective. The inverse is more frequent, as demonstrated by two collections edited by Wilma Rule and Joseph F. Zimmerman, *United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities* (Praeger, 1992) and *Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspective: Their Impact on Women and Minorities* (Greenwood, 1994). By contrast, electoral studies volumes published since the mid-1980s either completely ignore the representation of women or discuss women in a “sociodemographic representation in parliament” section, thereby treating 50 percent of the human species as a minority group. In addition, certain concepts used in electoral studies demonstrate little sensitivity to women. Thus, the concept of “proportionality,” which is essential for defining the merits of a voting procedure, applies to the relationship between the proportion of valid votes cast for a political party and the proportion of seats obtained in parliament, but it does not take into account the relationship between the proportion of women in the population and the proportion in parliament. The latter, however, is a key measure of political representation, known as microcosmic or descriptive representation; it is concerned with proportionality between the whole (i.e., the population) and a sample (i.e., the group of female and male representatives).

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The present work aims to reconcile two fields of political science: “electoral studies” and “women and politics.” Naturally, some researchers have already explored these two perspectives, notably in *Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspective: Their Impact on Women and Minorities* (edited by Wilma Rule and Joseph F. Zimmerman, Greenwood, 1994) and *Women’s Access to Political Power in Post-Communist Europe* (edited by Richard E. Matland and Kathleen A. Montgomery, Oxford University Press, 2003). However, the former is now outdated and the latter is limited to a specific region. In contrast,

AQ2

xx PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

1 *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and*
2 *Sex Quotas* adopts an international perspective by touching upon each and
3 every continent.

4 I began this project while I was a visiting researcher in the Department
5 of Political Science at the Australian National University (ANU) from
6 January to June 2006. I wish to thank Dr. Alastair Greig, who was Head of
7 the School of Social Sciences at the time, as well as Dr. Gwendolyn Grey.
8 These two people made my visit to Canberra possible. ANU offers a visually
9 stunning and intellectually stimulating environment and it seems that any-
10 thing is possible there.

11 I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to the colleagues who
12 accepted my invitation to write a chapter for this book. Their expertise
13 and professionalism, their enthusiasm for this project, their respect for
14 the, at times, demanding specifications, and, finally, their willingness to
15 respond to my numerous questions all contributed to enabling *Women*
16 *and Legislative Representation* to see the light of day. I am deeply indebted
17 to Marian Sawyer who agreed to write the Foreword. It was truly an honor
18 to have her participate in this endeavor.

AQ3

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20 Manon Tremblay

21 Montréal, September 2007
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 19 (Department Parliamentary Library, 2004) and coauthor of *Rebels with a*
 20 *Cause: Independents in Australian Politics* (UNSW Press, 2004). She has pub-
 21 lished numerous articles and chapters on women, politics, and policy, and
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 23 *Science* (June 2006) entitled "Globalising the Antipodes? Policy and Politics
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 35 Women Politicians at the Top—Roaring Tigresses or Tame Kittens?" (in
 36 *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and*
 37 *Challenges*, edited by K. Iwanaga, NIAS Press, forthcoming) and "Elections
 38 in the 'New' Afghanistan. Commanders, 'Quota Women' and Missing Political
 39 Parties" (with C. Derichs, in German, in *ASIEN*, no. 98 [January 2006]).
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3 Analysing Barriers to Women’s Politics Representation in CEE” (with
4 S. Clavero, *Czech Sociological Review*, 2005), “Measuring Gender Equality”
5 (with E. Breitenbach, *Policy and Politics*, 2006), “Equalising Opportunities for
6 Women in Electoral Politics in Ireland” (with K. Knight and U. N. G. Choille,
7 *Women and Politics*, 2004), and *Gender Equality Indicators for Northern Ireland:
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27 *Women in Parliamentary Politics. Hungarian and Slovene Cases Compared*
28 (with Milica G. Antic; Peace Institute, 2003); “Weak Mobilization, Hidden
29 Majoritarianism, and Resurgence of the Right: A Recipe for Female Under-
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41 Petra Meier, and Diane Sainsbury, Cambridge University Press, 2005), *The
42 Hansard Report on Women at the Top* (with Sarah Childs and Rosie
Campbell, Hansard Society, 2005), and *Gender and Political Participation*

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 23 *Representation*, edited by J. Lovenduski et al., Cambridge, 2006) and “The
 24 Contagion Effect of National Gender Quota on Similar Party Measures in
 25 the Belgian Electoral Process” (*Party Politics* 10, no. 3 [2004]). She is the
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 34 *Australia* (Melbourne University Press, 2003). Together with M. Tremblay and
 35 L. Trimble, she has been convening a four-country comparative project that
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3 Gender Equity in Peruvian Politics” (in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of*
4 *Electoral Authoritarianism in Latin America*, edited by Julio Carrión,
5 Pennsylvania State Press, pp. 150–177) and “Effective Quotas, Relative Party
6 Magnitude, and the Success of Female Candidates: Peruvian Municipal
7 Elections in Comparative Perspective” (*Comparative Political Studies* 37,
8 no. 6 [2004]: 704–734, with Kyle L. Saunders).

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16 Sciences Po., 2001), *Genderware. The Council of Europe and the Participation of*
17 *Women in Political Life* (Council of Europe Publishing, 2003), *Who Cares?*
18 *Women’s Work, Childcare, and Welfare State Redesign* (coauthored with Jane
19 Jenson, University of Toronto Press, 2001), and “Candidats et députés français
20 en 2002. Une approche sociale de la représentation” (with Vincent Tiberj,
21 *Revue française de science politique*, 57, no. 2 [2007]: 163–185).

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27 *Study* (edited by M. Sawyer, M. Tremblay, and L. Trimble, Routledge, 2006).
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39 *Political Science*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Democratization*,
40 *International Political Science Review*, *Journal of Commonwealth and*
41 *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, *Party Politics*, *Politics &*
42 *Gender*, and *Political Science*. Her most recent publication is *Representing*

xxvi NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

1 *Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study* (coedited with M. Sawyer and
2 L. Trimble, Routledge, 2006). She has been the French coeditor of the
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11 published articles in *Gender & Society*, *European Journal of Political Research*,
12 and *South European Society & Politics* and has contributed chapters in
13 *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State* (edited by L. A. Banaszak,
14 K. Beckwith, and D. Rucht, Cambridge University Press, 2003) and *State*
15 *Feminism and Political Representation* (edited by J. Lovenduski et al.,
16 Cambridge University Press, 2005).
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