

# Gender Quotas, International and Norwegian Perspectives

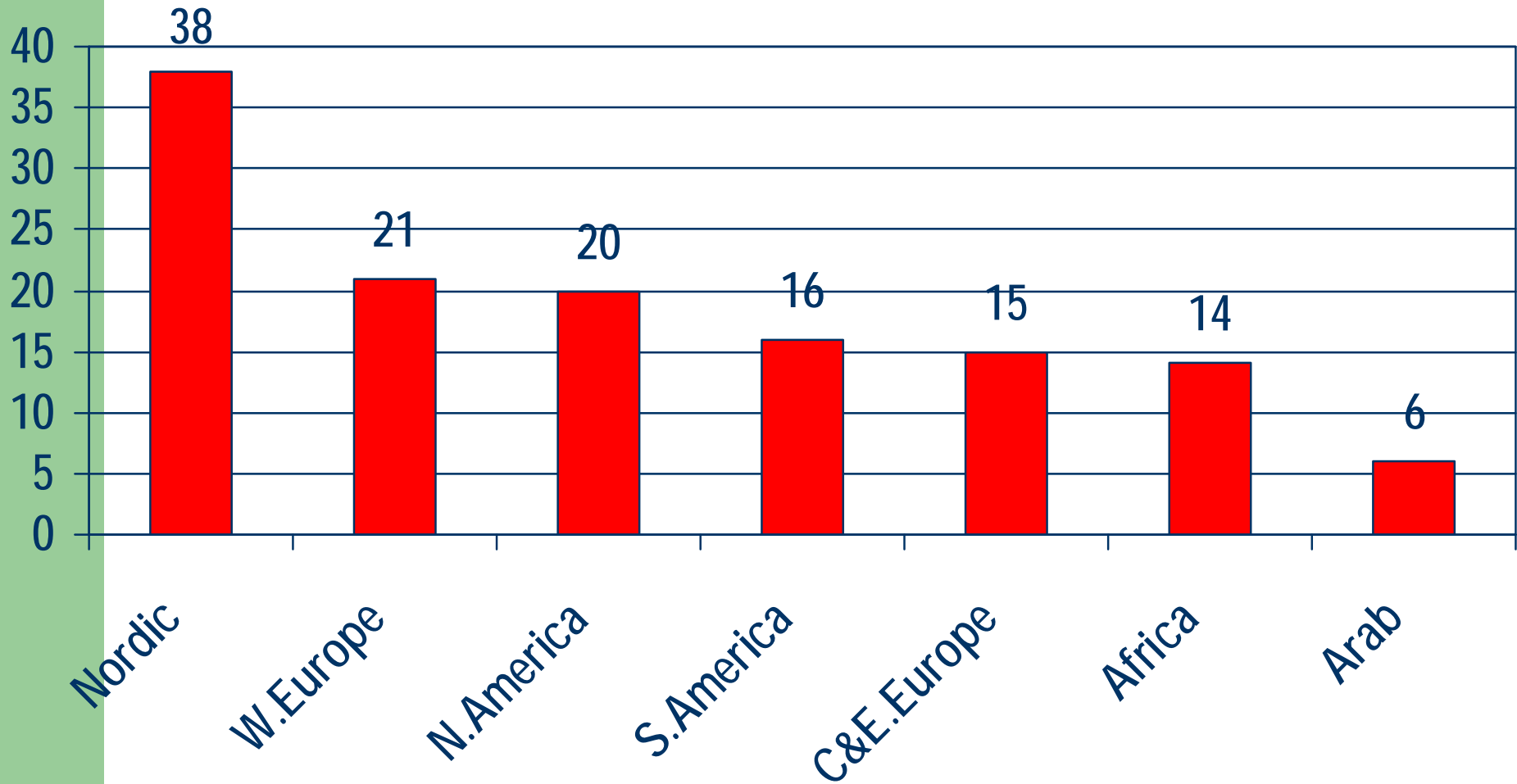
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# Talk Outline

## *I. International Perspectives:*

- Women's Representation: An Overview
- Legislative Recruitment Model
- Quotas around the World
  - Why Quotas?
  - Typology of Quotas
  - Frequency of Quotas
- Norwegian Perspectives: National and Local

## % Women legislators by region



Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	09 2003	80	39	48.8	09 2003	26	9	34.6
2	Sweden	09 2002	349	158	45.3	---	---	---	---
3	Norway	09 2005	169	64	37.9	---	---	---	---
4	Finland	03 2003	200	75	37.5	---	---	---	---
5	Denmark	02 2005	179	66	36.9	---	---	---	---
6	Netherlands	01 2003	150	55	36.7	06 2003	75	22	29.3
7	Argentina	10 2005	257	93	36.2	10 2005	72	30	41.7
8	Cuba	01 2003	609	219	36.0	---	---	---	---
"	Spain	03 2004	350	126	36.0	03 2004	259	60	23.2
9	Costa Rica	02 2002	57	20	35.1	---	---	---	---
10	Mozambique	12 2004	250	87	34.8	---	---	---	---
11	Belgium	05 2003	150	52	34.7	05 2003	71	27	38.0
12	Austria	11 2002	183	62	33.9	N.A.	62	17	27.4
13	Iceland	05 2003	63	21	33.3	---	---	---	---
14	South Africa <sup>1</sup>	04 2004	400	131	32.8	04 2004	54	18	33.3
15	New Zealand	09 2005	121	39	32.2	---	---	---	---
16	Germany	09 2005	614	195	31.8	N.A.	69	13	18.8
17	Guyana	03 2001	65	20	30.8	---	---	---	---
18	Burundi	07 2005	118	36	30.5	07 2005	49	17	34.7
19	United Rep. of Tanzania	12 2005	319	97	30.4	---	---	---	---
20	Venezuela	12 2005	167	50	29.9	---	---	---	---

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
21	Seychelles	12 2002	34	10	29.4	---	---	---	---
22	Belarus	10 2004	110	32	29.1	11 2004	58	18	31.0
23	Andorra	04 2005	28	8	28.6	---	---	---	---
24	Afghanistan	09 2005	249	68	27.3	09 2005	102	23	22.5
"	Viet Nam	05 2002	498	136	27.3	---	---	---	---
25	Namibia	11 2004	78	21	26.9	11 2004	26	7	26.9
26	Grenada	11 2003	15	4	26.7	11 2003	13	5	38.5
27	Suriname	05 2005	51	13	25.5	---	---	---	---
28	Timor-Leste <sup>2</sup>	08 2001	87	22	25.3	---	---	---	---
29	Switzerland	10 2003	200	50	25.0	10 2003	46	11	23.9
30	Australia	10 2004	150	37	24.7	10 2004	76	27	35.5
31	Mexico	07 2003	500	121	24.2	07 2000	128	28	21.9
32	Liechtenstein	03 2005	25	6	24.0	---	---	---	---
33	Uganda	06 2001	305	73	23.9	---	---	---	---
34	Honduras	11 2005	128	30	23.4	---	---	---	---
35	Luxembourg	06 2004	60	14	23.3	---	---	---	---
36	Lao People's Democratic Rep.	02 2002	109	25	22.9	---	---	---	---
37	Tunisia	10 2004	189	43	22.8	07 2005	112	15	13.4
38	Bulgaria	06 2005	240	53	22.1	---	---	---	---
39	Eritrea	02 1994	150	33	22.0	---	---	---	---
"	Lithuania	10 2004	141	31	22.0	---	---	---	---
40	Republic of Moldova	03 2005	101	22	21.8	---	---	---	---
41	Croatia	11 2003	152	33	21.7	---	---	---	---

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
	Ethiopia	05 2005	546	117	21.4	10 2005	112	21	18.8
43	Pakistan	10 2002	342	73	21.3	03 2003	100	18	18.0
"	Portugal	02 2005	230	49	21.3	---	---	---	---
44	Latvia	10 2002	100	21	21.0	---	---	---	---
45	Canada	01 2006	308	64	20.8	N.A.	89	33	37.1
"	Monaco	02 2003	24	5	20.8	---	---	---	---
46	Nicaragua	11 2001	92	19	20.7	---	---	---	---
47	Poland	09 2005	460	94	20.4	09 2005	100	13	13.0
48	China	02 2003	2980	604	20.3	---	---	---	---
49	Dem. People's Rep. of Korea	08 2003	687	138	20.1	---	---	---	---
50	Bahamas	05 2002	40	8	20.0	05 2002	16	7	43.8
51	United Kingdom	05 2005	646	127	19.7	N.A.	721	126	17.5
52	Trinidad and Tobago	10 2002	36	7	19.4	10 2002	31	10	32.3
53	Guinea	06 2002	114	22	19.3	---	---	---	---
54	Senegal	04 2001	120	23	19.2	---	---	---	---
"	The F.Y.R. of Macedonia	09 2002	120	23	19.2	---	---	---	---
55	Estonia	03 2003	101	19	18.8	---	---	---	---
56	Peru	04 2001	120	22	18.3	---	---	---	---
57	Saint Vincent & the Grenadines	12 2005	22	4	18.2	---	---	---	---
58	Equatorial Guinea	04 2004	100	18	18.0	---	---	---	---
59	Tajikistan	02 2005	63	11	17.5	03 2005	34	8	23.5
"	Uzbekistan	12 2004	120	21	17.5	01 2005	100	15	15.0
60	Dominican Republic	05 2002	150	26	17.3	05 2002	32	2	6.3
61	Mauritius	07 2005	70	12	17.1	---	---	---	---
62	Czech Republic	06 2002	200	34	17.0	10 2004	81	10	12.3

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Wome n	% W	Elections	Seats*	Wome n	% W
	Bolivia	12 2005	130	22	16.9	12 2005	27	1	3.7
64	Bosnia and Herzegovina	10 2002	42	7	16.7	10.2002	15	0	0.0
"	Panama	05 2004	78	13	16.7	---	---	---	---
"	San Marino	06 2001	60	10	16.7	---	---	---	---
"	Slovakia	09 2002	150	25	16.7	---	---	---	---
65	Cyprus	05 2001	56	9	16.1	---	---	---	---
66	Ecuador	10 2002	100	16	16.0	---	---	---	---
"	Singapore	11 2001	94	15	16.0	---	---	---	---
"	Turkmenistan	12 2004	50	8	16.0	---	---	---	---
"	Zimbabwe	03 2005	150	24	16.0	11 2005	66	21	31.8
67	Cape Verde	01 2006	72	11	15.3	---	---	---	---
"	Philippines	05 2004	236	36	15.3	05 2004	24	4	16.7
68	United States of America	11 2004	435	66	15.2	11 2004	100	14	14.0
69	Angola	09 1992	220	33	15.0	---	---	---	---
"	Chile	12 2005	120	18	15.0	12 2005	48	2	4.2
"	Israel	01 2003	120	18	15.0	---	---	---	---
70	Bangladesh <sup>3</sup>	10 2001	345	51	14.8	---	---	---	---
71	Sudan	08 2005	450	66	14.7	08 2005	50	2	4.0
72	Sierra Leone	05 2002	124	18	14.5	---	---	---	---
73	Guinea-Bissau	03 2004	100	14	14.0	---	---	---	---
74	Malawi	04 2004	191	26	13.6	---	---	---	---
75	Republic of Korea	04 2004	299	40	13.4	---	---	---	---
76	Barbados	05 2003	30	4	13.3	05 2003	21	5	23.8
"	Ireland	05 2002	166	22	13.3	07 2002	60	10	16.7

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Wom en	% W	Elections	Seats*	Wom en	% W
77	Gambia	01 2002	53	7	13.2	---	---	---	---
78	Greece	03 2004	300	39	13.0	---	---	---	---
79	Dominica	05 2005	31	4	12.9	---	---	---	---
80	Zambia	12 2001	158	20	12.7	---	---	---	---
81	Liberia	10 2005	64	8	12.5	10 2005	30	5	16.7
82	Niger	11 2004	113	14	12.4	---	---	---	---
83	Azerbaijan	11 2005	114	14	12.3	---	---	---	---
84	France	06 2002	574	70	12.2	09 2004	331	56	16.9
"	Slovenia	10 2004	90	11	12.2	12.2002	40	3	7.5
85	Colombia	03 2002	165	20	12.1	03 2002	102	9	8.8
86	Dem. Republic of the Congo	08 2003	500	60	12.0	08 2003	120	3	2.5
"	Maldives	01 2005	50	6	12.0	---	---	---	---
"	Syrian Arab Republic	03 2003	250	30	12.0	---	---	---	---
87	Burkina Faso	05 2002	111	13	11.7	---	---	---	---
"	Jamaica	10 2002	60	7	11.7	10 2002	21	4	19.0
"	Lesotho	05 2002	120	14	11.7	N.A.	33	12	36.4
88	Italy	05 2001	616	71	11.5	05 2001	321	26	8.1
89	Indonesia	04 2004	550	62	11.3	---	---	---	---
90	Romania	11 2004	331	37	11.2	11 2004	137	13	9.5
91	Botswana	10 2004	63	7	11.1	---	---	---	---
"	Saint Lucia	12 2001	18	2	11.1	12.2001	11	4	36.4
"	Uruguay	10 2004	99	11	11.1	10 2004	31	3	9.7
92	Ghana	12 2004	230	25	10.9	---	---	---	---



Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Wom en	% W	Elections	Seats*	Wom en	% W
93	Djibouti	01 2003	65	7	10.8	---	---	---	---
"	Morocco	09 2002	325	35	10.8	10 2003	270	3	1.1
"	Swaziland	10 2003	65	7	10.8	10 2003	30	9	30.0
"	Thailand	02 2005	500	54	10.8	03 2000	200	21	10.5
94	El Salvador	03 2003	84	9	10.7	---	---	---	---
95	Antigua and Barbuda	03 2004	19	2	10.5	03 2004	17	3	17.6
"	Central African Republic	05 2005	105	11	10.5	---	---	---	---
96	Kazakhstan	09 2004	77	8	10.4	09 2004	39	2	5.1
97	Mali	07 2002	147	15	10.2	---	---	---	---
98	Paraguay	04 2003	80	8	10.0	04 2003	45	4	8.9
99	Cambodia	07 2003	123	12	9.8	01 2006	57	8	14.0
"	Russian Federation	12 2003	447	44	9.8	N.A.	178	6	3.4
100	Georgia	03 2004	235	22	9.4	---	---	---	---
101	Bhutan	N.A.	150	14	9.3	---	---	---	---
102	Gabon	12 2001	119	11	9.2	02 2003	91	14	15.4
"	Malta	04 2003	65	6	9.2	---	---	---	---
103	Hungary	04 2002	385	35	9.1	---	---	---	---
"	Malaysia	03 2004	219	20	9.1	03 2004	70	18	25.7
"	Sao Tome and Principe	03 2002	55	5	9.1	---	---	---	---
104	Japan	09 2005	480	43	9.0	07 2004	242	34	14.0
105	Cameroon	06 2002	180	16	8.9	---	---	---	---
106	Brazil	10 2002	513	44	8.6	10 2002	81	10	12.3
107	Congo	05 2002	129	11	8.5	10 2005	60	8	13.3
"	Cote d'Ivoire	12 2000	223	19	8.5	---	---	---	---
"	Fiji	08 2001	71	6	8.5	08 2001	32	4	12.5

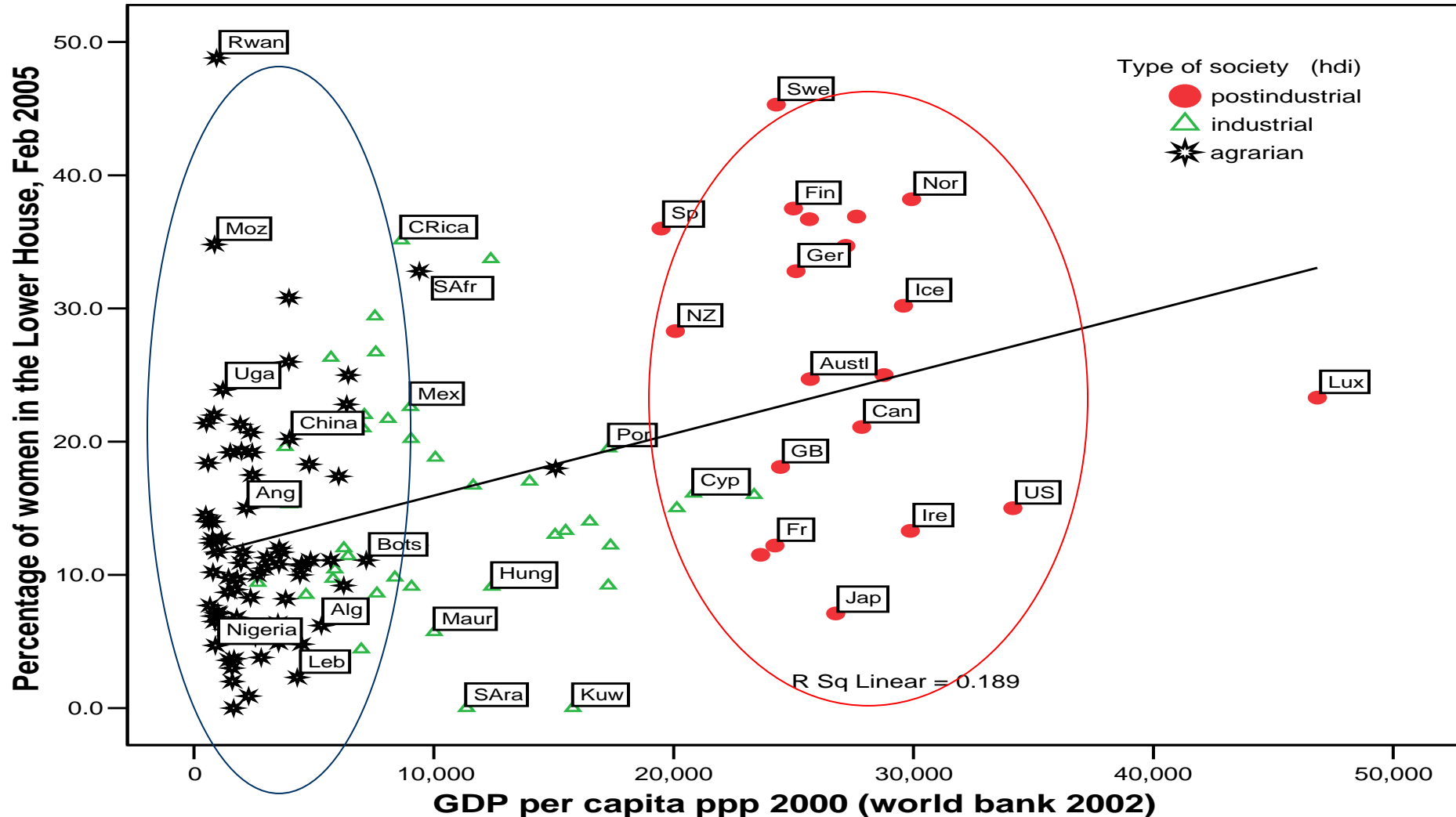
Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
108	India	04 2004	543	45	8.3	06 2004	242	28	11.6
109	Guatemala	11 2003	158	13	8.2	---	---	---	---
110	Somalia	08 2004	275	22	8.0	---	---	---	---
111	Serbia and Montenegro <sup>4</sup>	02 2003	126	10	7.9	---	---	---	---
112	Togo	10 2002	81	6	7.4	---	---	---	---
113	Benin	03 2003	83	6	7.2	---	---	---	---
114	Albania	07 2005	140	10	7.1	---	---	---	---
"	Kenya	12 2002	224	16	7.1	---	---	---	---
115	Madagascar	12 2002	160	11	6.9	03 2001	90	10	11.1
116	Belize	03 2003	30	2	6.7	03 2003	12	3	25.0
"	Mongolia	06 2004	75	5	6.7	---	---	---	---
117	Chad	04 2002	155	10	6.5	---	---	---	---
118	Nigeria	04 2003	360	23	6.4	04 2003	109	4	3.7
119	Algeria	05 2002	389	24	6.2	12 2003	144	4	2.8
120	Samoa	03 2001	49	3	6.1	---	---	---	---
121	Nepal	05 1999	205	12	5.9	06 2001	60	5	8.3
122	Jordan	06 2003	110	6	5.5	11 2005	55	6	10.9
123	Armenia	05 2003	131	7	5.3	---	---	---	---
"	Ukraine	03 2002	450	24	5.3	---	---	---	---
124	Sri Lanka	04 2004	225	11	4.9	---	---	---	---
125	Kiribati	05 2003	42	2	4.8	---	---	---	---
126	Lebanon	05 2005	128	6	4.7	---	---	---	---
"	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	03 2003	760	36	4.7	---	---	---	---

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
127	Turkey	11 2002	550	24	4.4	---	---	---	---
128	Iran (Islamic Rep. of)	02 2004	290	12	4.1	---	---	---	---
129	Vanuatu	07 2004	52	2	3.8	---	---	---	---
130	Haiti	05 2000	83	3	3.6	05 2000	27	7	25.9
131	Tonga	03 2005	29	1	3.4	---	---	---	---
132	Comoros	04 2004	33	1	3.0	---	---	---	---
"	Marshall Islands	11 2003	33	1	3.0	---	---	---	---
133	Oman	10 2003	83	2	2.4	N.A.	58	9	15.5
134	Egypt	11 2005	454	9	2.0	05 2004	264	18	6.8
135	Kuwait	07 2003	65	1	1.5	---	---	---	---
136	Papua New Guinea	06 2002	109	1	0.9	---	---	---	---
137	Yemen	04 2003	301	1	0.3	04 2001	111	2	1.8
138	Bahrain	10 2002	40	0	0.0	11 2002	40	6	15.0
"	Kyrgyzstan	02 2005	75	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
"	Micronesia (Fed. States of)	03 2005	14	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
"	Nauru	10 2004	18	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
"	Palau	11 2004	16	0	0.0	11 2004	9	0	0.0
"	Saint Kitts and Nevis	10 2004	15	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
"	Saudi Arabia	04 2005	150	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
"	Solomon Islands	12 2001	50	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
"	Tuvalu	07 2002	15	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
"	United Arab Emirates	02 2003	40	0	0.0	---	---	---	---
?	Iraq	12 2005	275	?	?	---	---	---	---

# Women's Representation

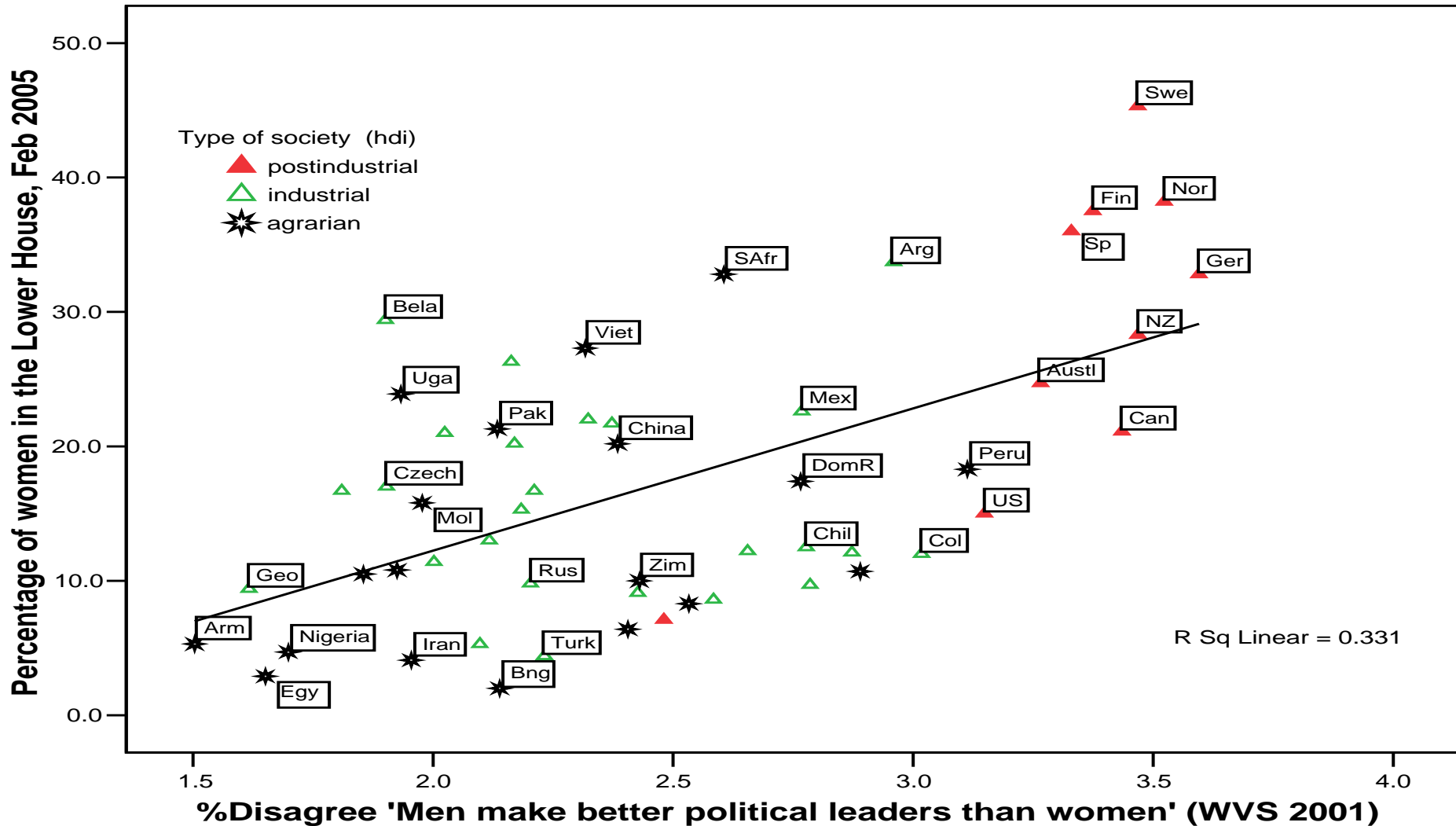
- I. Development
- II. Political Culture
- III. Electoral Institutions (Rules)
  - I. Electoral System: PR vs. SMD
  - II. The Role Of Quotas

# 1. Economic development: Overall Positive, but varied effect (Norris, 2005)

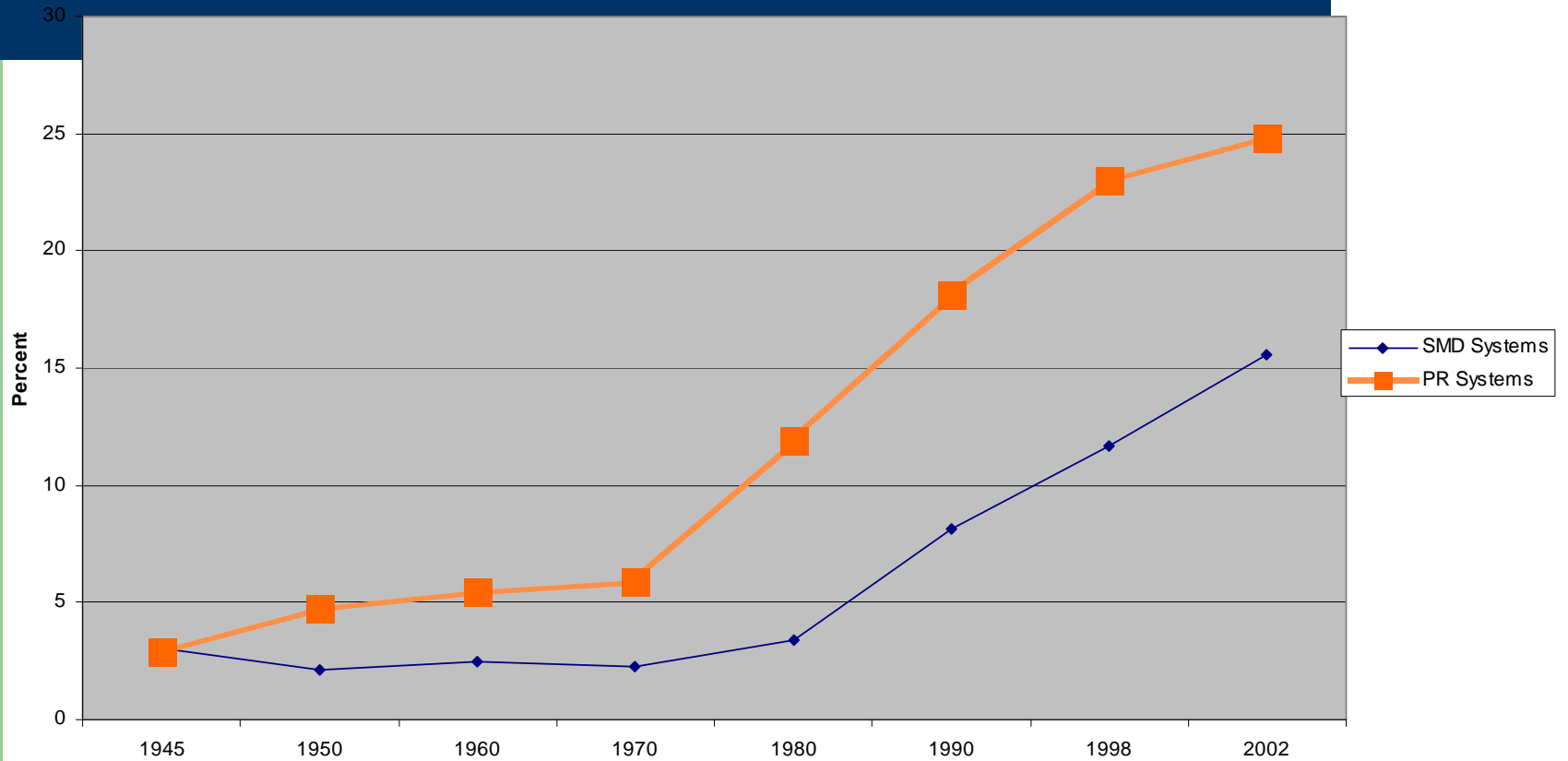


# Culture strongly correlated w/ Representation

(Norris 2005)



# Comparing Electoral Systems



# Quota Types and Frequencies

- Legal/Constitutional Quotas vs. Party Quotas
  - First Constitutional Quotas: Argentina in the early 1990s
  - First Party Quotas: Norwegian Liberals and Norwegian Socialist Left in the mid-1970s
- Contagion of Quotas (2005 numbers for 183 countries):
  - 34 countries with Legal Requirement of Representation
  - 61 countries with Voluntary Party Quotas
- Lots of Adoptions, but mixed history of success



# Why Quotas?

- Do the Right Thing
- Do the Politically Astute Thing
  - Attract voters to your party
  - Avoid losing voters (Contagion)
  - Prove something important about your party (In Eastern Europe: Modern and Western)
- Do the Only Thing You can do
  - Legal requirements set down in a national law.
  - Post-conflict negotiations required it
  - Required of other organizations (Ex: Socialist Int.)

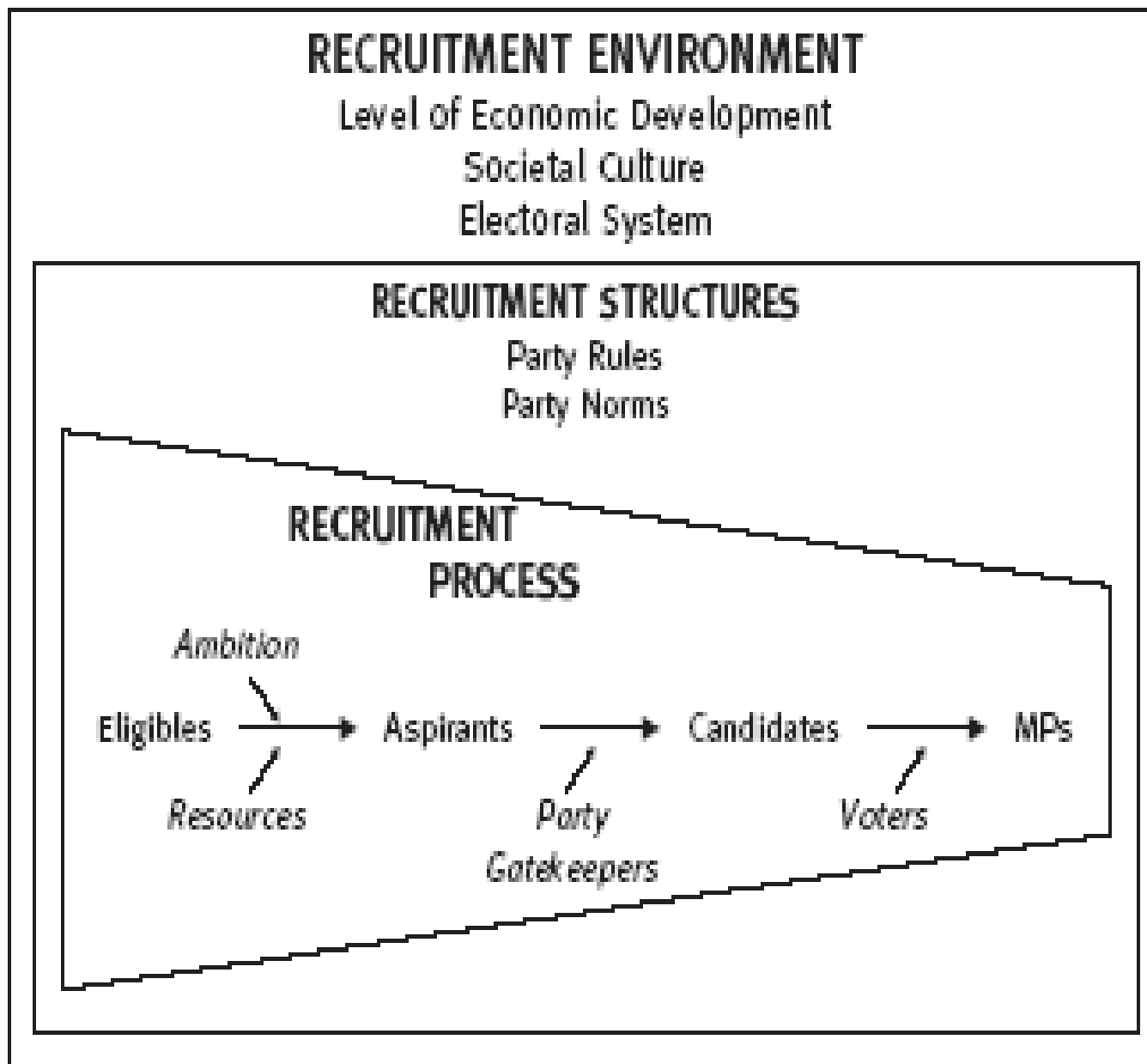


Figure 2.1. Legislative recruitment system

# Aspirant Quotas

- Eligible to Aspirant Step
- Limited Effectiveness
- Limited Use: exists when no other quotas possible
- Single Member Districts and Established Democracies
- Labour and Lib Dems in UK, Labour in Australia, NDP in Canada

# Candidate Quotas

- Aspirant to Candidate step
- Constitutional/Legal Requirements: Common in Latin America: Argentina, Costa Rica,
- Internal Party Rules: Common in Western Europe: Norwegian Labour, German SPD
- Exists when PR electoral system is used
- Requires set percentage of party nominees to be women

# Reserved Seats Quotas

- Candidate to MP step, guarantee parliamentary representation
- Most Common in Semi-Democratic Countries: Primarily used in Africa & Asia
- Proportions much lower levels than Candidate Quotas Rates
- Often Indirectly Elected or Appointed
- Concerns: MP Legitimacy & Independence
- Examples of Effective Parliamentary Quotas: Taiwan and Afghanistan

# PROBABILITY THAT A COUNTRY HAS AT LEAST ONE PARTY THAT HAS ADOPTED ELECTORAL QUOTAS

	ELECTORAL SYSTEM: Single Member District			ELECTORAL SYSTEM: Multi Member District		
Level of Democracy Level of Develop.	Non Democratic	Partially Democratic	Demo-cratic	Non-Democratic	Partially Democratic	Demo-cratic
LOW	0.9%	7.4%	30.0%	5.9%	26.1%	61.0%
MEDIUM	1.1%	8.3%	32.0%	6.6%	28.0%	63.1%
HIGH	1.1%	8.6%	32.8%	7.0%	28.8%	64.0%

# Parliamentary Candidate Selection in Norway

- Governed by Law: Act of Nominations, passed in 1921
- List Promulgation Procedure
  - County Party Committee develops party list
  - Recommendations from local party clubs
  - Must be approved at member meeting
- Decentralized Group Representation
  - Great Emphasis on Group Representation in selecting Candidates
  - Process has remained constant, the relevance of women's representation in the process has changed radically

# Historical Periods

- 1909-1953: Giants Among Men
  - 16 women elected over this time period
  - 3 times more likely to come from Oslo than districts
  - Nominated and elected despite being women



# 1957-1973: One is Enough

- Increase from 8% to 15.5%
- 2<sup>nd</sup> wave feminism affects public debate
- Nominating Committees start to consider women as legitimate group w/ representation rights
- Women's lobby is weak, noticeable, but limited success
- Always One never more

# 1977-1981 Tokenism No More

- Increased Representation: 15.5% to 25.8%
- One is enough is definitely over: gains in almost all parties
- First Quotas are adopted: Socialist Left and Liberals
- Quotas have limited direct effect, but significant effect in next period

# 1985-present: Second Among Equals

- Representation jumps to 34.4% in 1985
- Since always between 36% and 40%
- Contagion Effect: Quotas Spread
  - Crucial Move is Labor's adopting Quotas in 1983
  - Quick effect from 33% to 51% in two elections
  - Additional Quotas: Center Party, Christian People's Party
  - Effect even in party that rejects quota: Conservatives

# Second Among Equals, II

- Failure to Advance due to
  - Progress Party, far right, anti-quota
  - Second Among Equals effect,
    - If Even Party Magnitude, then 50/50
    - If Odd Party Magnitude then in male favor
- Stagnation in Women's Representation

# Summation of Norwegian Experience: National Level

- Incremental Process, started well before 1983 Labor Party Adoption
- Process remained same, but role of candidate sex changes dramatically
- Highly Favorable Institutions
  - PR, Closed List with High Party Magnitude
  - Candidate Selection Procedure: limited access, but could be influenced, Internal Democracy is highly valued

# Quotas at the Local Level in Norway

- Lessons from International Literature on the Effectiveness of Quotas
- Lessons from International Literature on Representation

# Requirements for Effective Candidate Quotas in PR Systems

- High District Magnitude/Party Magnitude
  - Placement Mandates
  - Good Faith Compliance by Parties
    - Politically Supportive or
    - Legally Bound: Meaningful Sanctions
- ?? Closed Voting Lists

# Additional Lessons

- The Crucial Role of Recruitment: Moving from Eligible to Aspirant: Recruiting is what is needed
- The limited role of voter negativity.
  - Party and Policy is what matters not gender
  - Path Break Research done in Norway: Next up!