

**Women Governing for Modernity:  
International Hierarchy and Legislature Sex Quotas**

*Paper prepared for the 2003 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association  
(Philadelphia, Aug 26-30)*

**Ann Towns**

Department of Political Science  
University of Minnesota  
[atowns@polisci.umn.edu](mailto:atowns@polisci.umn.edu)

**Work in Progress: Please DO NOT CITE without author's permission.**

”What I am against is quotas. I am against hard quotas, quotas they basically delineate based upon whatever. However they delineate, quotas, I think, vulcanize society. So I don’t know how this fits into what everybody else is saying, their relative positions, but that’s my position.”

U.S. Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush, as quoted by Molly Ivins in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on Jan 21, 2000.

## I. Introduction

A quick look at the emergence of sex quota laws to bring women into national legislatures in the past decade suggests that we may be witnessing the global development of a new measure to bring women into state institutions. The increasing use of national quota provisions<sup>1</sup> suggests that the position articulated by George W. Bush above does not fit “what everybody else is saying.” In fact, outside of the United States, there is rising agreement that national legislatures need to augment their levels of female delegates via quotas. Nearly thirty states ranging from Nepal to Uganda, Ecuador and Djibouti have adopted affirmative measures to boost their number of female legislators since 1990,<sup>2</sup> and mobilization for quotas is present in over fifty other states across the world.<sup>3</sup>

Approaching the world-wide development of quotas from the field of constructivist international relations (IR), this paper asks what quotas are all about. I argue that although many women’s movement organizations and scholars interpret these measures as a matter of democratic justice, the predominant understanding among global governance and development organs is that quotas fundamentally concern the construction of state institutions that are conducive for ‘modern’ free markets (and, in extension, development and economic growth). Whether understood as a question of democracy or markets, quota advocacy is thus embedded in the power-laden relations between ‘modern capitalist democracy’ and ‘traditional’ statehood. This being the case, the world-wide promulgation of quotas is not simply a case of the homogenization of states but rather the renegotiation of similarity and difference among states. This renegotiation involves what it means to be a modern capitalist democracy or fall short thereof. Bringing women into legislatures, as we will see, is becoming a component in the ‘advancement’ towards the modern, market democracy fold.

The analysis is presented in four sections. First, there is a short review of the study of quotas and of the approach of this paper. I then provide a brief discussion of the overall problematic in which quotas are promoted, namely as a measure not primarily to ensure just representation for women but to enhance the market character of modern democratic states. The analysis then moves to the processes of differentiation that are involved in the construction of these modern states – the hierarchy between the allegedly advanced and the traditional world. Fourth, we move to an examination of how exactly ‘women’ as a category of legislators help move states from tradition to modernity.

## II. The Study of Legislature Quotas

---

<sup>1</sup> Sex quota measures for national legislatures refer to constitutional provisions or election laws which mandate either that a) political parties include a set ratio of female candidates on the party lists, or b) the national legislature reserves seats for women candidates.

<sup>2</sup> For the period 1990-2003, these states include Nepal (1990), Argentina (1991), Eritrea (1994), Belgium (1994), Philippines (1995), Uganda (1995), Costa Rica (1996), Mexico (1996), Paraguay (1996), Bolivia (1997), Brazil (1997), Dominican Republic (1997), Ecuador (1997), Kenya (1997), Panama (1997), Peru (1997), Venezuela (1998), Guyana (1999), Armenia (1999), France (1999), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001), Djibouti (2002), Morocco (2002), Macedonia (2002), Serbia (2002), and Indonesia (2003).

<sup>3</sup> WEDO (2003).

Although the published scholarship addressing the world-wide or even regional emergence of quotas is virtually non-existent, a growing body of small-n case study scholarship analyzes such measures.<sup>4</sup> This comparative research asks many important questions of quotas, questions which are presently being extended to world-wide or regional analyses:<sup>5</sup> How did such measures come about? Are quotas effective in bringing higher numbers of women into legislatures? What accounts for the variation in quota types and effectiveness among states?

In this paper, I begin by asking a different and more elemental question of the world-wide emergence of quotas: *what* are quotas *about*? In other words, what are quotas a case of? Generally pointing to the importance of women's movement demands for the materialization of quotas, feminist and other scholars of women and politics claim or presume that quotas are a case of an increased democratization of states and gender justice for women as a collective.<sup>6</sup> In fact, such presumptions often give rise to the questions raised around quotas mentioned above.

This paper does not suggest that quotas cannot or should not (nor that they never are) construed as a measure that enhances democracy and justice. I contend that in current practice, the predominant understandings of what quotas are all about are no longer simply centered on democratic justice for women. As global governance organs came to embrace quotas and these measures became the subject of more extensive debate in the late 1990s, efficiency claims that emphasize the utility of women's difference as officeholders for the improvement of the market and economic growth have more and more taken hold. More women in political decision-making, it is widely argued, contribute to the good governance practices that allegedly undergird 'modern' free-market statehood.

While attempting to make evident that 'modern market' interpretations of quotas have become increasingly prevalent to women and politics scholarship, this paper is primarily situated within constructivist international relations (IR). Norms and world polity scholars within the constructivist IR spectrum would most likely agree with the women and politics analyses that quotas enhance states' democratic nature and that they provide justice and rights for women. However, in addressing what quotas are about – what makes them significant and worthy of analysis - they would shift the emphasis and claim that quotas constitute yet another instance of increasing *isomorphism* or similarity among states (as well as among men and women in their relatively new capacity as individual citizens of those states). To these scholars, the significance of measures such as quotas lies in altered constructions of the "collective expectation for the proper behavior of actors with a given identity."<sup>7</sup> In other words, there is a new norm for states.

---

<sup>4</sup> The published scholarship on quotas that deal with more than two cases is to my knowledge limited to the work of Mala Htun on Latin America, including a co-authored chapter Htun and Jones (2002).

<sup>5</sup> Important research in progress include the participants on this APSA panel. Lisa Baldez (Washington University) focuses on the regional emergence of quotas in Latin America. As for research investigating the *world-wide* emergence of quotas, there are a few projects attempting to explain why quotas take different form in different countries. There is an international research network led by Drude Dahlerup (University of Stockholm) that "seeks to establish whether the precise form and perceived efficacy of quotas depends on the nature of citizenship at a discursive level, and the nature of the political system at an institutional level" (Dahlerup 2003):6. The dissertation project of Mona Lena Krook (Columbia University) accounts for how and why different kinds of quotas are created.

<sup>6</sup> Scholarship making theoretical arguments about women in political decision-making, democracy and justice include Young (1990), Phillips (1995), Sapiro (1998), Diamond and Hartsock (1998), and Squires (2000). Virtually all scholars who empirically study the causes and effects of quotas start with the premise that their essential meaning and implication is democracy and justice.

<sup>7</sup> Katzenstein (1996):5.

To make this claim about isomorphism, the world polity and norms scholars treat states as formally equal, individuated and to each other unrelated actors subjected to a norm whose meaning is constant. The “given identity” is presumed to be generic, a simple ‘state’ writ large with no specific relations to any other states or actors. Once a critical mass of states have adopted a measure such as quotas as a response to social movement demands, other states are thought to follow suit simply as the thing to do as a state.

Using evidence from global governance organs as well as national quota debates, I contend that the promulgation of quotas is not about keeping up with generic statehood but rather centrally about becoming a state *of a certain kind*, namely a ‘modern free-market democracy.’<sup>8</sup> Importantly, as we will see, being a state of this kind entails demonstrating *not being* a state (and thus *not* pursuing the aims) of a *different* and less valued kind – namely ‘traditional.’ States become distinctively recognizable or known as ‘modern’ only in their relation to the ‘traditional,’ leaving modern statehood a relational concept. Phrased differently, the material constitution of ‘modern, capitalist democracy’ depends on the simultaneous creation of boundaries between the ‘modern’ and the ‘traditional.’ As we will see, the struggles for quotas are caught up this great geo-political drama between ‘modern capitalist democracy’ and ‘traditional’ statehood, a drama which involves the constitutive and regulative *relations* between states. Although the modern-traditional taxonomy appears set, there is an explicit fluidity in the positioning of particular states within that arrangement. That fluidity provides much of the impetus for the adoption of quotas. The central IR contention of this paper, in sum, is the following: the nature and significance of the global extension of quotas lie in the power-laden recreation of relations of similarity and difference among states (rather than the simple homogenization of individuated states). Crucially, the inclusion of women as legislators is presumed to help ‘advance’ states towards modern, capitalist democracy and thus away from unprofitable traditions. Women do so literally as well as symbolically by bringing valuable differences (primarily ‘women’s interests’ and transparency) into public institutions. The debates and creation of legislature quotas thus entail the negotiation of the prominent international hierarchy between ‘modern market democracy’ and the ‘traditional’ and the ordering of states within that hierarchy.

The study makes use of discourse analysis.<sup>9</sup> Such an analysis allows us to arrive at a wider frame of understanding than that of the quota debaters themselves, to place the utterances and actions of individuals and other agents in the larger context of meaning that gives coherence and structure to those actions. The systematic gathering of a wide array of central texts serves as the foundation for the study (see Primary Texts of Bibliography). Two questions are asked of these texts. First, what kind of beings are women so that they should be integrated into legislatures through quotas? Second, what are states (or what do they seek to become) so that they create sex quotas? Finally, the placement of concepts and categories in scare quotes is not intended to suggest (as is sometimes the case) that phenomena such as ‘modern states’ or ‘women’ are untrue fabrications, mythical inventions or stereotypes. Quite to the contrary. The scare quotes denote that the *meaning* assigned to the phenomena by relevant actors is the focus of analysis - as an outcome of social construction - rather than simply taken for granted as objectively self-evident.

---

<sup>8</sup> A few of the norms scholars have made overtures in the direction of taking into account state identity. For instance, Risse and Sikkink (1999:15) assert that leaders who “want to belong to the ‘civilized community’ of states” are more easily persuaded to adapt to international norms. Keck and Sikkink (1998:29) similarly state that “countries that are most susceptible to network pressures are those that aspire to belong to a normative community of nations... thus moral leverage may be especially relevant where states are actively trying to raise their status in the international system.” They have not yet developed such assertions, however, a development which is the aim of this paper.

<sup>9</sup> See Kvale (1996) and Neumann (2003).

### III. What are Quotas About? The Challenges of 'Modern' Statehood

Given the increasing predominance and expansion of 'free markets,' quotas are unmistakably being championed in a global context of capitalist restructurings of states. However, there are many ways that higher levels of women in decision-making could be interpreted and promoted even within our contemporary environment of free market orthodoxy: as a matter of democratic representation, human rights, a step in eradicating men's domination of women or, as we will see below, specifically a matter of market-led growth. Higher levels of women legislators are overwhelmingly understood as a question of promoting democratic institutions, on the one hand, and the complementary markets enabled by such 'democratic' institutions on the other. As matter of democracy and markets, quotas are advocated as not only beneficial for women but as productive of general welfare. Since quotas are not understood to draw on any sort of conflict of interest between men and women, they have become a win-win measure, a good for women *and* general society. "The attainment of power by women results in greater well-being for humanity," the Inter-American Commission stated in their 1999 *Plan of Action on Women's Participation in Power and Decision-Making Structures*. The IPU calls this the "Partnership between Men and Women in Politics," a partnership "from which society as a whole will benefit."<sup>10</sup> The Union explains that "what has to be developed, in modern democratic societies, is nothing less than a new social contract in which men and women work in equality and complementarity, enriching each other mutually from their differences."<sup>11</sup>

As a question of fair representation for women, increasing the levels of female legislators is represented as a question of *justice* that constitutes a cornerstone of 'modern democracy.' As Mexican Senator Carvajal Moreno Gustavo explained at a 1997 IPU conference: "What is at stake is not just the inclusion of women in Parliaments but democracy as such: our countries want to grow, our countries want more justice. Women are key actors for the renewal of democracy."<sup>12</sup> As a matter of democratic justice, the very essence of the meaning of 'modern' forms of representation are debated, centering on whether allegedly disembodied interests or embodied identities are the proper object of representation and the implications for the composition of national legislatures. The growing body of primarily European and Anglo-American scholarship on women and representation bears testimony to the changing conceptualizations of 'modern' democracy,<sup>13</sup> as does the content of the national debates on quotas. Modern democracies, all sides in the debates publicly agree, do not mistreat women. Modern democracies, the quota proponents argue, in fact take affirmative measure if need be to provide just representation for women by bringing some of them into the legislature. In the words of Argentine Senator Margarita Malharro de Torres, those who oppose higher levels of women legislators "hold women back in the name of old, traditional prejudices more worthy of a feudal era than of modern times, than of an *aggiornado* and firm democracy that is founded on the representation of all." In passing the quota bill, on the other hand, "the Senate [is] taking the advanced, modern, *aggiornado* step of transitory quotas to incorporate women into the legislative powers as they deserve."<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> IPU (1997a). In fact, as a tribute to this notion of complementarity, the Indian government as conference host of the 1997 IPU conference on women in decision-making released coins as well as special stamps, embodying the concept of "partnership" in the symbol of a man and a woman.

<sup>11</sup> IPU (1997b)

<sup>12</sup> As cited in IPU (1997e):9.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Young 1990, Phillips 1995, Sapiro (1998), Diamond and Hartsock (1998), and Squires 2000.

<sup>14</sup> Fundación Friedrich Ebert (1992):73.

A second and complementary understanding of the importance of women legislators for ‘modern’ states has recently come to predominate over democratic representation in global governance organs, namely that gender-balanced institutions are conducive for market economies and particularly for market-led ‘development.’ Since the mid- to late 1990s, the democratic justice arguments have receded into the background in favor of arguments that emphasize the advantages of women legislators for the market economy, production and exchange relations that allegedly benefit women as well as general humanity. In a global market economy, it is generally held, states simply cannot afford not to bring more women into national assemblies:

Today, all our countries face global, political and economic challenges that are partly beyond our control, and many are undergoing radical institutional and structural changes whose long-term social, political and economic effects are extremely hard to manage in view of an unsatisfactory international order and insufficient economic co-operation. In such a context, no country can any longer afford to overlook any portion of its human resources. This means redirecting our perspectives and policies. Our domestic policies must henceforth, at all levels, be shaped and applied not just by men but with the full and equal participation of women. (*Beijing Parliamentary Declaration 1995*)

A larger percentage of women legislators is thus a “critical dimension of the UNDPs efforts to help meet the overarching goal of halving world poverty by 2015,” as the very first introductory sentence of the landmark *Women’s Political Participation and Good Governance: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges* reads. Rather than as an end in itself or as a strategy for Human Rights and Democracy, the significant *Road map towards the implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration* tellingly lists “supporting the inclusion of women in government and other decision-making bodies at a high level” as a strategy for the goal of Development and Poverty Eradication.<sup>15</sup> “Disparities between males and females in power” the subsequent *Strategy for Action* claims, “act to undermine economic growth.”<sup>16</sup> In a surprisingly sharp tone, the World Bank similarly emphasizes that “Gender Equality is an issue of development effectiveness, not just a matter of political correctness or kindness to women,” as an introduction to “The Business Case for Mainstreaming Gender.”<sup>17</sup> Senior WB economist Andrew Mason (co-author of the groundbreaking 2001 WB report *Engendering Development Through Gender Equality*) states that “societies that discriminate on the basis of gender pay a significant price in greater poverty, slower economic growth, weaker governance, and a lower quality of life.”<sup>18</sup>

‘Democracy,’ to the extent that it is mentioned in the UNDP and World Bank elaborations, takes on a particular meaning in the discussions of bringing more women into legislatures, namely the creation of public institutions that are conducive for so-called good governance.<sup>19</sup> A “gender-balanced representation,” one is told time and again, is a matter of “good governance.”<sup>20</sup> For those unfamiliar with the concept, the UNDP defines governance as “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels,”<sup>21</sup> and it centrally involves “providing an enabling environment for private sector activity.”<sup>22</sup> After a period of skepticism about the importance of state institutions for the market economy, and as a construal of what we are supposed to have learned from the Asian financial crisis, ‘democratic’ political institutions have come to take center stage in the

---

<sup>15</sup> Section III, §125, p 25.

<sup>16</sup> World Bank (2002):4.

<sup>17</sup> “The Business Case for Mainstreaming Gender” is a chapter in the World Bank’s 2002 *Strategy for Action*.

<sup>18</sup> As cited in Mutume (2001).

<sup>19</sup> The concern with Good Governance has grown enormously since the mid 1990s and centrally involves the restructuring of the state. See Duvall and Towns. **How cite??**

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Karam (1998):15, UNDP (2000):24,

<sup>21</sup> UNDP (2000):iii. The UNDP launched its Global Programme for Governance in 1997.

<sup>22</sup> UNDP (2000):29.

production of such an enabling environment. Bueno de Mesquita, former president of the International Studies Association, explains the rationale:

The debate on the virtues of the socialist model as an alternative to capitalism seems settled; market economies enjoy a clear victory... Today, the key to economic success or failure – indeed, to a broad array of policy successes or failures – lies within the political institutions of sovereign states. Political arrangements create incentives for political leaders to foster growth or to steal their nation’s prospects for prosperity. How to govern for prosperity is likely to be the most important policy puzzle of the twenty-first century. (Bueno de Mesquita and Root 2000:1, *Governing for Prosperity*).

Summing up the significance of good governance, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has declared that “a new consensus is emerging on the nature, role and function of official institutions,” concluding that “we are moving from old ideologies to a new pragmatism.”<sup>23</sup> With alternatives to the market economy apparently not only defeated but also relegated to the world of ‘old’ ideologies, a higher number of women legislators is becoming part and parcel of the new, ‘modern’ pragmatism of good governance. Precisely *what* ‘women’ are made out to be in order to bring about democracy and economic growth as office-holders will be more carefully analyzed below, after an examination of the operation of the hierarchy between the ‘modern’ world and ‘traditional’ society in the discussions around quotas. It is this hierarchy, I contend, that provides leverage and dynamism to the global governance organs and activists in their efforts to promote quotas.

#### **IV. International Hierarchy and Quotas:**

##### **Overcoming ‘Tradition’ in the Development of ‘Modern,’ Capitalist Democracy**

In the brief section above, I introduced the notion that quotas are promoted as a component in the construction of ‘modern’ capitalist democratic statehood. In contrast with the norms and world polity literature which see such developments as a simple case of homogenization, I argue that *processes of differentiation* among states help give dynamism to the quota debates. Having become embedded in the production of ‘modern,’ capitalist democracy, much of the drive of the quota debates across the world derives from the efforts to move away from ‘tradition’ and its associated practices. ‘Modern’ statehood is thus articulated together with ‘less advanced’ or ‘traditional’ polities or groups of humans on a single scale of development and success, as will be further elaborated below. The quota struggles thus draw upon and are constitutive of two broad categories of states and the hierarchical relations between them: those which have already attained the ‘modern’ status (generally so-called ‘developed’ states) and those that are understood to still be ‘developing’ away from ‘tradition’ and in the direction of meeting the demands of the global economy.

‘Cultural tradition’ is widely identified as the primary causal force behind low levels of female representation. In sharp contrast with earlier communist theorizing of women’s political participation that emphasized the structure of the economy, economic poverty and a capitalist economy have been forcefully dismissed as a determinant of under-representation of women legislators. Poor and wealthy states alike have managed to increase the numbers of women legislators, it is argued, demonstrating that the wealthy part of the world does not have monopoly on the political empowerment of women. The *UNDP Human Development Report 1995* showed that women’s political empowerment – including levels of women in national assemblies – does not depend on “national income or wealth,” the “level of economic development,” a claim which has since been widely reproduced and presumably accepted.<sup>24</sup> The primary cause of the problem is thought to reside in *culture*, a concept carefully

---

<sup>23</sup> Annan (1997).

<sup>24</sup> E.g. UNDP (1995), Karam (1998):2, UNDP (2000):23 and 72, Lowe Morna (2000):4, UNDP (2002):2. See also Nelson and Chowdhury (1994).

separated out from the economy and politics. It is through cultural development, the move away from ‘traditional’ society towards ‘modern’ state institutions that women are empowered in decision-making. In an interesting reversal of the representations of culture in the suffrage debates of the first few decades of the twentieth century (in which culture was equivalent to civilization and progress, something which non-Europeans allegedly lacked), culture is now approached as ‘tradition’ and antithetical to progress as a remnant of an economically inefficient and undemocratic past not yet overcome. Contrasted against modernity, culture is understood as a set of national beliefs, values and customs that have been passed down from pre-modern eras and which hinder economic and democratic advancement. As states ‘modernize,’ we are expected to see a “weakening of traditional values” and therefore “changes in perceptions regarding the appropriate role for women – all factors that increase women’s political resources and decrease existing barriers to political activity”<sup>25</sup> according to IDEA’s quota website. “Traditional understandings of space as private and public, women generally being relegated to the former” we are told by the UNDP, “lie at the very heart of most of the difficulties women face entering politics.”<sup>26</sup> SADC and others agree that “at the heart of the under representation of women in politics are age old attitudes and stereotypes that assign women to the private, and men to the public domain.”<sup>27</sup> This, of course, is a total reversal from the representations of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when much of the non-European world was chastised as ‘primitive’ for *not* maintaining separate spheres and for *not* keeping women out of political power. The Inter-American Commission on Women argues that it is “socio-cultural patterns” that inhibit women from taking part in “modern society.” “Prejudices and customs” – as low levels of women legislators are now interpreted – “limit [women’s] participation in public life.”<sup>28</sup> These ‘customs’ have been institutionalized as “traditional practice in many political parties and government structures.”<sup>29</sup>

Despite the scathing critiques of modernization theory that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, state officials across the world now share the view that traditional culture is to blame for the lack of progress in bringing more women into national legislatures. Operating in this framework, the Latin American quota debates centered on ‘cultural’ deficiencies as the source of women’s under-representation. “[The low level of female deputies] demonstrates clearly that a patriarchal and *machista* political culture is responsible for the fact that of a total of 2031 parliamentarians, only 84 have been women,” Peruvian deputy quota legislation author Luz Salgado argued in 1997 like many of her colleagues.<sup>30</sup> “The nature of the discrimination that we are debating is cultural and it permeates Argentine society profoundly,” the Argentine Minister of the Interior likewise claimed during the 1991 quota debates.<sup>31</sup> His fellow legislators agreed:

“the law that we are debating today arises from the problematic of a society which has suffered a strong cultural retrocession, because if this had been a democratic people which had long ago overcome authoritarianism and discrimination, we would not need to discuss the 30% female representation for electoral lists. The fact that we are debating how to protect women through affirmative action shows that we in some way accept that there is a problem in Argentine society.” (Deputy Carlos A. Alvarez, Argentine debate in the Chamber of Deputies, Nov 6 1991, from Fundación Friedrich Ebert 1992:87. My translation.)

Such an understanding of the problem leads to certain preferred solutions: quotas are understood as transitory electoral reforms that serve as one step in “achieving a

<sup>25</sup> Matland (1998) on the IDEA website.

<sup>26</sup> UNDP (2000):23.

<sup>27</sup> Lower Morna (2000):12.

<sup>28</sup> Inter-American Commission of Women (1994): no page numbers. Section on “Participation of women in the Structures of Power and Decision-Making.”

<sup>29</sup> Inter-American Commission of Women (1999): Section 2:4.

<sup>30</sup> **Peruvian Congress – correct citation?** 1997:2520.

<sup>31</sup> Fundación Friedrich Ebert (1992):107. My translation.

transformation in the political culture of society,”<sup>32</sup> in “overcoming the sociocultural obstacles that impede or limit [women’s] participation.”<sup>33</sup> Once such cultural change has taken place, quotas will no longer be needed. States that are truly ‘modern,’ that have progressed towards a modern national culture, would have no need for such measures as half of the legislature would automatically be female. Swedish statesmen often point out with pride that the Swedish legislature and cabinet attained their high levels of women without ‘coercive’ quotas. Furthermore, whereas the transfer of *economic* resources from rich to poor states is not seen as a solution within this schema, the transfer of ‘modern’ *values* and the eradication of ‘traditional culture’ is. Women, as we are about to see, are simultaneously an important component in this cultural transformation.

## V. How Women Legislators Advance the State from a Traditional to a Modern Polity

In the 1991 quota debates, Argentine delegate Cecilia Lipszyc cited nineteenth century French Utopian Socialist Charles Fourier’s famous thesis: “*Social progress and historic changes occur by virtue of the progress of women toward liberty, and decadence of the social order occurs as the result of a decrease in the liberty of women.*”<sup>34</sup> Even though general progress from traditional to modern statehood is understood to be the fundamental force behind the political empowerment of women, an increase in women legislators, as this quote suggests, is concurrently thought to bring about general progress. State officials and quota debaters are thus faced with an apparent tautology, a chicken-and-egg situation for which quotas appear as a good intervention. General ‘modernization’ is understood to be beneficial for women, while at the same time the changing status of women allegedly bring about general progress. To be sure, women are sometimes validated as a category of inherent worth in the quota debates, a category that deserves a relation to the state polity that is equal to that of men. Women are simultaneously and primarily approached as a resource for general society, a category whose inclusion in public institutions will help ‘advance’ the state in becoming a ‘modern’ democracy conducive for market growth. For quotas to be promoted as a matter of modern democratic justice across the globe, *women* must obviously be understood to form an at least partially homogeneous group that will be represented in some sense by the few women that end up in parliament. Similarly, for women legislators to stabilize and enhance market economies, they must be conceptualized as a group united by some sort of common traits amenable to capitalism. Reflecting on the issue of *how* women legislators advance the state thus involves the prior question: *what* is it that allegedly unifies ‘women’? How have ‘women’ been constructed as a category so that quotas (asking for *anyone* sharing the female label) appear as a feasible measure?

Most fundamentally, the discussions of quotas rest on a base conceptualization of ‘women’ and ‘men’ as two mutually exclusive ‘sexes’ whose difference is rooted in allegedly natural biology, a biology which is understood to provide the base for ‘gender’ as socially constructed identities and behaviors. Thus, at a time when academic feminisms have demonstrated and accepted the fragmented and contested nature of the category women and pointed to sex itself as a social construct, quota debaters share a view of humanity as constituted by two natural categories of beings: men and women. As ‘half of humanity,’ quota proponents argue, women are entitled to half the legislative seats, making ‘a gender-balanced representation’ and ‘getting the balance right’ goals for the composition of legislatures. In many cases, to be sure, a lesser portion than half may be advocated as more

---

<sup>32</sup> Inter-American Commission for Women (1999), Section 3.I “Cultural Change.”

<sup>33</sup> Inter-American Commission for Women (1994), Section 1.B.1.

<sup>34</sup> Fundación Friedrich Ebert (1992):60.

politically feasible in the short run. In others, such as that of France, anything less than half would have been impossible. As Kramer (2000:115) explains, “while 25% is a quota, 50% is merely the female half of the ‘universal,’ or of ‘the people’ or of ‘neutral citizens.’”

‘Gender’ is approached as the cultural interpretation of biological sexual difference, and is as such notably *not* represented as an effect of politics or the economy.<sup>35</sup> This, again, stands out in dramatic contrast with the socialist theorizations on women’s political participation, in which the relations of production were thought to shape women’s ability to partake in political organization. As a cultural construct, gender-based separation of the two ‘sexes’ – in fact, *gender itself* as anything other than ‘natural and biological’ difference – becomes understood as something ‘traditional,’ a remnant of a superstitious and prejudiced past that ‘modern democracies’ and ‘modern economies’ leave behind.<sup>36</sup> Using an excerpt from the World Bank that is representative of the approach, gender

“refers to *culturally* based expectations of the roles and behaviors of males and females. The term distinguishes the socially constructed from the biologically determined aspects of being male and female. Unlike the biology of sex, gender roles and behaviors can change historically, sometimes relatively quickly, even if aspects of these roles originated in the biological differences between the sexes. Because of the *religious or cultural traditions* that define and justify the distinct roles and expected behaviors of males and females are strongly cherished and socially enforced, changes in gender systems often is contested.” (World Bank 2002:2, emphasis added)

Gender, as any distinction between males and females that cannot be attributed to allegedly natural differences stemming from ‘sex,’ is thus itself rendered suspect and understood as a potential source of inequality between men and women. Such ‘cultural’ difference between men and women often becomes understood as a limiting and perverting stereotype or prejudice that lock men and women into ‘unnatural’ roles. In fact, were it not for ‘gender,’ (the “culturally based expectations of the roles and behaviors of males and females”) the female sex would allegedly not have been under-represented in national assemblies to begin with. However, as we will see below, the fault-line between ‘gender’ and ‘sex’ is markedly ambivalent, and many of the participants in the quota debates express uncertainty about whether to attribute observed differences between men and women to ‘gender’ or to ‘sex.’ What is more, gender is sometimes seen as beneficial, if temporary, traits for democracy and growth.

Most norms, world polity and quota scholars share the sex/gender understanding delineated above. With this as a basis, quota measures may appear to generate a diminution of *gender*, as women and men alike hold legislative positions rather the ‘gendered’ public/private distinction that kept legislatures an almost exclusively male domain. With quotas, difference seems to be giving way to equality. However, the allegedly natural and immutable sexual distinctions are certainly not understood to be disappearing. What is more, few of the actual quota proponents approach the issue of increasing the number of women in parliament as a mere head-count, as simply assuring that half of the legislators are of female sex. If women were thought to share nothing more than genitalia, making the case that bringing a few such reproductive organs into a legislature is a source of justice for *all* women of a state would be difficult. Skeptics such as Peruvian feminist Maruja Barrig have asked “Can [some] women, by the simple fact of being women, represent all women? Personally, I believe that whatever sisters me with Margaret Thatcher is nothing but a biological accident.”<sup>37</sup> Such skepticism about the politically relevant unity of the sexual category

---

<sup>35</sup> E.g. UN Commission on the Status of Women (1996), Lambsdorff (1999:13), Swamy et al (1999:53), World Bank (2002:2),

<sup>36</sup> E.g. Swamy et al (2001), World Bank 2002, Lambsdorff (1999)

<sup>37</sup> Barrig (1990):44. “*Las mujeres, por el hecho de serlo, pueden representar a todas las mujeres? Personalmente, creo que lo que me hermana con Margaret Thatcher es sólo un accidente biológico.*”

‘women’ is rare among quota proponents, however. Quotas are advocated as a manner of looking after ‘women’s interests’ via “the difference that is made, as a result of having women in politics.”<sup>38</sup> According to the Beijing Platform for Action “women’s equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women’s interests to be taken into account.”<sup>39</sup> A UNDP policy paper explains the rationale: “The basic idea behind why women can contribute differently is that women share men’s lives anywhere in the world, yet they have their own experiences, specificity’s [sic], attitudes, and life-styles, which are reflected in different approaches, needs, insights, and goals from politics and decision-making. As the other half which shares life and planetary interests, women are also a different half with different life-experiences.”<sup>40</sup> While cognizant of the possible disruption of this sex/gender unity by differences stemming from class, nationality, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, religion or any other line of differentiation of potential social relevance, quota advocates carefully compose ‘women’ as a coherent category with certain shared interests. “There are many commonalities between what is seen as crucial concerns by women, regardless of geo-political location and aspects. The examples quoted here were violence against women and economic participation.”<sup>41</sup> WEDO agrees that “when women enter decision-making bodies in significant numbers, such issues as child care, violence against women and unpaid labor are more likely to become priorities for policy-makers.”<sup>42</sup> “Given the composition of the legislatures all these years, it is not surprising that none of the basic problems affecting women – landlessness, domestic violence, lack of control over decisions and, above all, female infanticide – has been addressed seriously by our majestic law-making bodies,” an opinion piece in *the Hindu* argued in 2000.<sup>43</sup> Academic research from across the world lends support to differing legislative behavior and priorities of male and female delegates. Given such different practices and the understanding of what women do as legislators, it is problematic to simply equate equality with *sameness* as is the tendency in world polity scholarship. Clearly, the empowerment of women as legislators rests on their construction as simultaneously equal to *and* different from men, as one of two different halves of a common humanity. The concept of *parity* thus “reflects the fact that persons of one or the other sex are different but nonetheless equal,” as the IPU proclaims.<sup>44</sup> The promulgation of quotas has not resulted in the dismantlement of sex/gender systems but rather their reinterpretation.<sup>45</sup>

Having analyzed the unification of women as a category, we can now turn to the primary question of *how* such women legislators advance and ‘modernize’ the state. While furthering ‘women’s interests’ is a goal of quota proponents, bringing more women into legislatures is expressly *not* about furthering women’s interests at the expense of men. As we saw above, more women legislators are said to be good for everyone, men and women alike, in a world of no inherent conflicts of interest. How, then, are women in national legislatures supposed to bring about general welfare? Firstly, by enhancing general economic development, a feature central for ‘modernity’ and the quest away from ‘tradition.’ Interestingly, if the level of a state’s economic development is not an important determinant of women in decision-making, the reverse is certainly said to hold true: the number of women in decision-making has been positively related to a state’s level of economic development.

---

<sup>38</sup> Karam (1998):iv.

<sup>39</sup> under section *Women in Power and Decision-Making find exact citation again.*

<sup>40</sup> Karam (1998):16

<sup>41</sup> Karam (1998):2.

<sup>42</sup> WEDO (2003a)

<sup>43</sup> Chandhoke (2000).

<sup>44</sup> IPU (1994):6.

<sup>45</sup> We could say that rather than a world of simple individuals (understood as the constitutive Other of women), there are female individuals and male individuals.

The landmark 1997 UNDP conference on *Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity* – the first global UN conference on governance which officials from more than 153 Member States attended – highlighted a close relationship between the low number of women parliamentarians and the high number of women in poverty.<sup>46</sup> A close relationship between low numbers of women parliamentarians and high level of general poverty has been established and underscored time and again.<sup>47</sup> Bo Asplund, the UNDP Resident Representative in Indonesia, sums up the view of women’s role in parliament in a typical statement:

Only a few weeks ago, an election law was passed [in Indonesia], which recommends that at least 30 per cent of the candidates of political parties to national and regional parliaments should be women... Women’s participation is about ensuring development policies and programs addressing the concerns, needs and experiences of both men and women. The presence of women in Government contributes to better governance. A recent World Bank study indicates that there is a correlation between an increase in women’s representation in parliaments and a decrease in corruption in Government. (Asplund 2003).

Empowered as a distinct category with unique experiences and interests, women legislators are valued for contributing towards poverty eradication by bringing their difference into the policy process. Women’s interests – often conspicuously related to the value of children – such as equal opportunity for education and employment, reproductive health, nutrition and child care are understood to benefit the economy as a whole. The “failure to include women in the political running of societies is regarded by the IPU as a major impediment to development,” the Secretary General of the IPU proclaims in unison with other quota proponents.<sup>48</sup>

If the pursuit of ‘women’s interests’ are said to be an important strategy for the welfare of all, women are even more predominantly celebrated in a second manner, as the honest sex. Allegedly less corrupt and less selfish, women have become ideal for the construction of transparent states. The honest sex has come to play a crucial part in the struggle to lessen corruption, the lessening of which is thought to advance markets and, in extension, purportedly reduce poverty, all according to relatively recent discoveries by global governance organs. A series of studies show strong positive correlations between women and good governance, arguing as a rule that “the greater the representation of women in parliament, the lower the level of corruption.”<sup>49</sup> (As an interesting aside, new all-female traffic-police forces were created in Mexico City and Lima in the late 1990s with the hope of reducing corruption, an initiative which allegedly has had the expected effects.<sup>50</sup>) The World Bank explains that “good governance is critical for sustainable development. A growing body of evidence suggests that gender equality in rights and resources is associated with less corruption and better governance.”<sup>51</sup> In a widely cited study commissioned by the World Bank, we learn that “numerous behavioral studies have found women to be more trust-worthy and public-spirited than men. These results suggest that women should be particularly effective in promoting honest government.”<sup>52</sup> The authors of the study elaborate:

Men are more individually oriented (selfish) than women... women will be less likely to sacrifice the common good for personal (material) gain. This may be particularly relevant for the role of women in government since, almost by definition, one of the most significant difficulties faced by public bureaucracies

---

<sup>46</sup> The Conference also called upon countries that have attained 30% women in parliament to share their experiences and strategies of others.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. UNDP 1999,

<sup>48</sup> IPU (1997e):4.

<sup>49</sup> Dollar et al (2001:1). See also Frey Nakonz (1999); UNDP (2000), UN Development Fund for Women (2000), World Bank (2001) and (2002); Swami et al (2001) Stückelberger (2003).

<sup>50</sup> Moore (1999) and McDermott (1999).

<sup>51</sup> World Bank (2002):9.

<sup>52</sup> Dollar et al (1999):cover page.

is designing institutions that discourage their agents from acting opportunistically, at the expense of the public. (Dollar et al 1999:1)

Such representations of selfless women – analogous to claims of 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars Louis-Aimé Martin and Sarah Lewis but with reversed implications for women in politics – are echoed time and again across the world. “Women have stabilized politics in a way because they tend not to be so opportunistic. They tend to go after the interests of stability. They’re not so reckless as men,” Uganda’s president Museveni stated in 2000.<sup>53</sup> “Women generally refuse corrupt behavior and are less inclined to adopt corrupt behavior than men,” the Swiss protestant aid organization Bread for All declared in 2003.<sup>54</sup> Peruvian delegate Luz Salgado, co-author of the quota bill that won approval in 1997, explained in the brief parliamentary debates that

being a woman gives us a special condition that doesn’t simply consist of a having a different color, stature or texture. We women have different life experiences from men. The quota system will put things in order, like they should have been from the beginning...politics will be clean when there are clean characters, when there are transparent characters, when there is a decision to work, when there is solidarity. (Segunda Legislatura Ordinaria de 1996, 18 June 1997:2521. My translation.)

Some quota debaters are still unsure whether such honesty is inherent to women’s ‘sex’ or a malleable matter of ‘gender:’ “the reasons are unclear, various hypothesis [sic] could be established, such as socialization, less access to the networks of corruption, less access to the ‘corruption currencies,’ less know-how of corrupt practices.” Whatever the verdict, women are presently understood at a minimum as important for the fight against corruption in the short run: “...efforts to promote the involvement of women in public life could at least in a short term represent an effective strategy to fight corruption.”<sup>55</sup>

As Luz Salgado’s statement above suggests, women legislators and politicians have been active proponents of the understanding of women as more honest in politics. The surge in interest in ‘the honest sex’ as well as in ‘women’s issues’ may, in turn, have importantly helped create an opening for women to enter political office. Mexican senator Maria Elena Chapa argued in 1997 that “because citizens in Latin America are increasingly demanding a more virtuous political system, new opportunities may open for women in the political arena.”<sup>56</sup> A number of women legislators or candidates have indeed stepped into this speaking position, campaigning on platforms of greater honesty and promoting anti-corruption measures once elected. For instance, Peruvian presidential candidate Lourdes Flores Nano used her status as a woman to launch herself as an anti-corruption candidate in 1995(?). Margaret Dongo in Zimbabwe, Wangari Maathai and Charity Ngilu in Kenya and Winnie Byanyima in Uganda have come forward as among the most ardent opponents of corruption in their respective countries.<sup>57</sup> In arguing in favor of quotas, Argentine deputy Lubertino, while skeptical of the natural origins of women’s honesty, claimed that “having been left on the sidelines of power... each one of us women, from our distinct ideologies, would like to move ahead without frivolities, corruption, in-fighting.”<sup>58</sup> The Women’s Caucus of the Ugandan Parliament furthermore initiated “transparency measures” by pushing for making government disbursement information available to the public.<sup>59</sup> Women are understood to literally help advance states by bringing their different life experiences into the policy-making

---

<sup>53</sup> As cited in Simmons and Wright (2000).

<sup>54</sup> Stückelberger (2003):47.

<sup>55</sup> Stückelberger (2003):47-8.

<sup>56</sup> As cited in UNDP (1997):86.

<sup>57</sup> Tripp **year of paper??**: 23.

<sup>58</sup> Fundación Friedrich Ebert (1992):57.

<sup>59</sup> UNDP (2000):4.

process and by reducing corruption, both aspects which are seen as key in the development of 'modern,' market-led economies that have moved out of 'tradition.'

If women quite literally help advance the state and general welfare through making use of their different characteristics, they also do so symbolically by serving as a crucial marker of 'modernity.' Since neither the economy nor politics are approached as important in generating higher levels of women in national legislatures, only 'traditional' states governed by 'culture' rather than modernity would exhibit low levels of female representation. As was stated above, the causal relation between 'the status of women' and 'cultural advancement' is circular – general 'progress' away from 'tradition' allegedly benefits women, and the advancement of women via quotas brings general progress away from tradition. Quotas, as a quick fix for bringing more women into national assemblies, help mark states as 'modern,' a point which has clearly not been lost on state officials. So when Ugandan parliamentarian Beatrice Kiraso claims of the quota legislation that "women are now the main instruments of modernization in Uganda. We're also leading the way for women in Africa – It's hard to believe we've come so far,"<sup>60</sup> she suggests that Uganda has inched closer to 'modernity' simply by passing the quota law, before the women legislators have had time to have their expected effects. Senior WB economist Mason explains that a higher level of female political representation "signifies a country that is more open in general, with more transparent government and a more democratic approach."<sup>61</sup> In other words, having produced more women legislators, the country must be more modern – transparent and democratic. In a world where being ranked as corrupt has serious effects for a country's total capital inflows,<sup>62</sup> such symbolic representation can potentially be consequential.

## **VI. Conclusion**

It is only when we have figured out *what* quotas are about that we can move on to questions of *how* they came about or what quotas *do* (their effectiveness). We know from previous international campaigns such as that of suffrage that women's movements are not in full control of meaning-generation and the interpretation of our world. To be heard and effective, they have to be mindful of social context, a context which moderates what can be said. Rather than trying to affect unrelated and individuated states, quota proponents are both products of and have to contend with the 'modern-traditional' relations within which states are situated, relations which are often contentious and certainly imbued with financial and symbolic inequality. In studying the tactics of quota proponents and attempting to address why state legislatures that are overwhelmingly made up by men adopt quota legislation, we have to not only be attentive to the arguments for democratic justice but also the importance of market demands made by global governance and development organs.

### **Bibliography**

"Swiss Voters Reject New Initiative." by Geir Moulson. *Associated Press* March 12, 2000.

Barrig, Maruja. 1990. "Qué es lo femenino en política?" *Viva!* 5(19):44-5.

Biersteker, Thomas. 1990. "Reducing the Role of the State in the Economy: A Conceptual Exploration of IMF and World Bank Prescriptions." *International Studies Quarterly* 34(4): 477-492.

Brill, Alida, ed. 1995. *A Rising Public Voice: Women in Politics Worldwide*. New York: the Feminist Press.

---

<sup>60</sup> As quoted in Simmons and Wright (2000).

<sup>61</sup> As cited in Moline (2002).

<sup>62</sup> For instance, Lambsdorff (1999) shows in a cross-section of 65 states that being labelled 'corrupt' decreases capital inflows at a 99% confidence level.

- Dahlerup, Drude. 2002. "Using Quotas to Increase Women's Political Representation." updated version of chapter which was originally published in International IDEA's Handbook *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm: International IDEA, 1998. (<http://www.idea.int>)
- - -. 2003. "Comparative Studies of Electoral Gender Quotas." *Paper presented at the International IDEA Workshop "The Implementation of Quotas: Latin American Experiences" held in Lima, Peru 23-24 Feb 2003.*
- Feinberg, Richard E. 1988. "The Changing Relationship Between the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund." *International Organization* 42(3):545-60.
- Frank, Björn and Günther Schulze. 1998. "How Tempting is Corruption? More Bad News About Economists." in *Diskussionsbeiträge aus dem Institut für Volkswirtschaftslehre*. Nr 164/1998. Universität Hohenheim, Stuttgart. (<http://www.gwdg.de/~uwww/Research-area/Frank/experiment.html>).
- Htun, Mala. 1998. "Women's Political Participation, Representation and Leadership in Latin America." *Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas Issue Brief*. Inter American Dialogue, September 1998.
- Htun – add the other pieces to biblio.**
- Htun, Mala and Mark Jones. 2002. "Engendering the Right to Participate in Decision making: Electoral Quotas and Women's Leadership in Latin America." in Nikki Craske and Maxine Molyneux, eds. *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave, 32-56.
- Kelber, Mim, ed. 1994. *Women and Government: New Ways to Political Power*. Westport and London: Praeger.
- Kramer, Jane. 2000. "Liberty, Equality, Sorority. French Women Demand Their Share." *The New Yorker* (May 29):112-23.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2003. "Get the Balance Right!: Global and Transnational Campaigns to Promote Gender-Balanced Decision-Making." *Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention*, Portland, OR, Feb 25 – March 1, 2003.
- Kvale, Steinar. 1996. *InterViews. An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Lambsdorff, Johann Graf. 1999. "Corruption in Empirical Research – A Review." Paper presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> *International Anti-Corruption Conference* Durban, South Africa, 10-15 December 1999 and posted on the World Bank web-site (<http://www.worldbank.org>).
- Lenoir, Noëlle. 2001. "The Representation of Women in Politics: From Quotas to Parity in Election." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 50(April):217-47.
- McDermott, Jeremy. 1999. "Women Police Ride in on a Ticket of Honesty." *The Daily Telegraph* (July 31).
- Moline, Ann. 2002. "World Bank to Rate All Projects for Gender Impact." *Women's E-News* 04/04/02. (<http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/866/context/archive>)
- Moore, Molly. 1999. "Mexico City's Stop Sign to Bribery; to Halt Corruption, Women Traffic Cops Replace Men." *The Washington Post* (July 31).
- Mutume, Gumisai. 2001. "Gender Discrimination Not Good for Growth." in *One World*. (March 7) (<http://www.globalpolicy.org/soecon/inequal/2001/0308girl.htm>)
- Neumann, Iver. 2003. *Mening, materialiet, makt. En introduktion till diskursanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- SADC. 1999. "Thirty Percent Women in Power by 2005." *SADC Gender Monitor*. ([http://www.sardc.net/widsaa/sgm/1999/sgm\\_ch3.htm](http://www.sardc.net/widsaa/sgm/1999/sgm_ch3.htm))
- Sainsbury, Diane. 1993. "The Politics of Increased Women's Representation: the Swedish Case" in Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris, eds. *Gender & Party Politics*. London:

- Sage Publications, pp. 263-290.
- Sgier, Lea. 2001. "Gender Quotas and Institutionalised Conceptions of Citizenship: France and Switzerland." Paper presented at the eighth annual Conference of the International Political Science Association, Copenhagen, Denmark August 23-25 2001.
- Squires, Judith. 2000. "Group representation, deliberation and the displacement of dichotomies." in Michael Saward, ed. *Democratic Innovation: Deliberation, representation and association*. London: Routledge, 93-105.
- United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 1955. *The Convention on the Political Rights of Women. History and Commentary*. New York: UN Publications.

### Primary documents.

- Abdela, Lesley. 2001. "Women Lose Ground. Quotas Are the Only Way to Ensure an Adequate Number of Female MPs." *The Guardian*. May 8, 2001.
- Annan, Kofi. 1997. "Inaugural Address" given at the United Nations *International Conference on Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity*. New York, 28-30 July 1997.
- Asplund, Bo (UNDP Resident Representative). 2003. "Statement at the Public Discussion 'Indonesian Women Welcoming the General Elections 2004: Preparedness and Strategy' and Launch of UNDP's Publication 'Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges.'" Jakarta, 6 March 2003. from [http://www.undp.or.id/statements/20030307\\_rrspeech.asp](http://www.undp.or.id/statements/20030307_rrspeech.asp)
- Center for Legislative Development. 2000. "The Quota System: Women's Boon or Bane?" *Women Around the World* 1(3).
- . 2002. "A Policy Paper on Promoting Gender Balance in Political Representation." March 22, 2002.
- Chandhoke, Neera. 2000. "Some Thought On Women's Quota Bill." *The Hindu* Dec 6, 2000.
- Council of Europe. "Women in Parliament." <http://stars.coe.fr/equality/tableu2.htm>.
- Desai, Lord. 1997. "Keynote Address" given at the United Nations *International Conference on Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity*. New York, 28-30 July 1997.
- Dollar, David, Raymond Fisman and Roberta Gatti. 1999. "Are Women Really the 'Fairer' Sex? Corruption and Women in Government." *World Bank Policy Research Report on Gender and Development. Working Paper Series, No. 4*.
- Favoreu, Louis. 1996. "Principe d'égalité et représentation politique des femmes: la France et les exemples étrangers." Report of the French Council of State No 48.
- Frey Nakonz, Regula. 1999. "Genderdimension von Korruption." Paper written for Bread for All, December 1999.
- Inter-American Commission of Women. 1994. "Strategic Plan of Action of the Inter American Commission of Women (CIM)." 27<sup>th</sup> Assembly of Delegates of the CIM.
- . 1998 – 2002 (annual) "Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission of Women to the [29<sup>th</sup> – 33<sup>rd</sup>] Regular Session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States."
- .
- . 1999. "Plan of Action of the CIM on Women's Participation in Power and Decision Making Structures." CIM/Ser.L./II.8.1.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. **YEAR?** *Participation of Women in Political Life: An Assessment of Developments in National Parliaments, Political Parties, Governments and the Inter Parliamentary Union, Five Years after the Fourth World Conference on Women*. Geneva: IPU
- . 1995a. "Parliamentary Action for Women's Access to and Participation in Decision

- Making Structures Aimed at Achieving True Equality for Women.” *Resolution adopted by the 93<sup>rd</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Conference*, Madrid, 1 April 1995.
- - - . 1995b. “Beijing Parliamentary Declaration.” Adopted by the participants to Parliamentarians’ Day at the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 7 September 1995.
  - - - . 1995c. *Women in Parliaments 1945-1995*. Geneva: IPU.
  - - - . 1997a. “Specialized Conference in New Delhi.” *Gender Partnership: What the IPU is Doing*. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/nd-conf.htm>
  - - - . 1997b. “Concluding Statement by the President on the Outcome of the Conference.” (“New Delhi Declaration”). *Specialized Inter-Parliamentary Conference “Towards Partnership Between Men and Women in Politics.”* <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/Ndelhi97.htm>
  - - - . 1997c. *Men and Women in Politics: Democracy Still in the Making*. Geneva: IPU.
  - - - . 1997d. “Women Make up Less Than 12 Percent of World’s Parliaments, Less Than 11 Percent of Party Leaders.” *Press Release No 62*, 13 Feb 1997.
  - - - . 1997e. *Towards Partnership Between Men and Women in Politics. New Delhi, 14-18 February 1997*. (Series: “Reports and Documents” No 29). Geneva: Inter Parliamentary Union.
  - - - . 2000. “Tripartite Consultation on ‘Democracy Through Partnership Between Men and Women’” organized with the UN Division for the Advancement of Women on the occasion of the Beijing +5 Special Session of the UN General Assembly. <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/bjn5.htm>.
  - - - . 2003. “Political Will Indispensable for Steady Progress in Women’s Participation in Parliament.” *Press Release No 155*. 5 March 2003.
- Karam, Azza. 1998. “Beijing + 5: Women’s Political Participation: Review of Strategies and Trends.” Background Paper No 1. for the UNDP *Meeting on Women and Political Participation: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges*. 24-26 March 1999, New Delhi, India.
- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- King, Angela. (UN Assistant Secretary-General, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women). “Statement at the Panel Session: Working Together Toward Gender Equality in the Context of the Millennium Development Goal.” at the *Launch of the Publication of the World Bank’s Gender Mainstreaming Strategy*. Washington D.C., 15 Jan 2002.
- Lowe Morna, Colleen. 2000. “Towards Sustainable Democratic Institutions in Southern Africa.” Paper prepared for the International SADC-IDEAS Conference *Women’s Political Participation in SADC*. May, 2000.
- Matland, Richard. 1998. “Box 1. The Effect of Development and Culture on Women’s Representation.” in Azza Karam, ed. *International IDEA Handbook on Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm: Idea, 65-90. Online at [http://www.idea.int/women/parl/ch2\\_box1.htm](http://www.idea.int/women/parl/ch2_box1.htm).
- Mehlomakhulu, Sandra. 1999. “Creating New Structures of a Chapter. Gender and Corruption. Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) paper presented at the annual meeting of TI in November 1999.
- Organization of American States. 2001. *Inter-American Democratic Charter*. Twenty-Eighth Special Session of the General Assembly, September 11, 2001. OEA/Ser.P AG/RES. 1 (XXVIII-E/01).
- Stückelberger, Christoph. 2003. *Continue Fighting Corruption. Experiences and Tasks of Churches and Development Agencies*. Geneva: Bread for All.

- Swamy, Anand, Stephen Knack, Young Lee and Omar Azfar. 2001. *Journal of Development Economics* 64:25-55.
- United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. 1990. *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women on its Thirty-Fourth Session*. Supplement 5.
- . 1992. *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women on its Thirty-Sixth Session*. E/CN.6/1992/13.
- . 1997. *Report of the Forty-First Session*. E/1997/27 CSW.
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 1998. "AFR-FEM Working Group: Summary Three (4/04-4/11)," of the conference African Women and Economic Development: Investing in Our Future held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 28 April – 1 May 1998.
- United Nations Economic Commission on Eastern Europe. 2001. "Regional Workshop on Gender and Labour Markets in Transition Countries" held in Warsaw on 15-17 Jan 2001. Geneva: United Nations.
- United Nations Development Fund for Women. 2000. *Progress of the World's Women 2000*.
- United Nations Development Programme. 1997. *Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity*. New York: UN Publications.
- . 1999a. "Women Call for Transformation of Political Process. Recommendations from Women & Politics Meeting." *UNDP India News*.
- . 1999b. "Women and Political Participation: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges." Draft Aid Memoire. 24-26 March 1999, New Delhi.
- United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. 2000. "Women in Power and Decision-Making." *Fact Sheet No. 7*.
- United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. 1990. E/CN.6/1990/2, annex, para. 22
- United Nations General Assembly. 2001. "Road Map Towards the Implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration. Report of the Secretary-General to the Fifty sixth session of the General Assembly. A/56/326.
- United Nations Office at Vienna. 1992. *Women in Politics and Decision-Making in the Late Twentieth Century. A United Nations Study*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Women's Environment and Development Organization. 2003a. "50/50 Campaign." <http://www.wedo.org>
- . 2003b. "Fact Sheet No 1: Quotas." <http://www.wedo.org>.
- . 2003c. "The 50/50 Campaign: Get the Balance Right!" <http://www.wedo.org>
- World Bank. 2000. *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance*.
- . 2001. *Engendering Development – Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*.
- . 2002. *Integrating Gender into the World Bank's Work: A Strategy for Action*.