

SEMINAR: QUOTA POLITICS

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DO WE NEED QUOTA?

- How do you understand quota? What does it mean?
- Why is this controversial?
- What about quota and democracy?
- What is the dominant discourse in your country?
- Quota: yay or nay?

MANSBRIDGE, JANE: QUOTA PROBLEMS:
COMBAT THE DANGERS OF ESSENTIALISM

MANSBRIDGE, JANE: QUOTA PROBLEMS: COMBAT THE DANGERS OF ESSENTIALISM

- Descriptive representation necessary for substantive and symbolic representation
- Lower than proportional representation caused by discrimination against the group
- Quotas are the most effective way to achieve desc.rep.
- Group interests cannot be effectively represented when:
 - Representatives who are member of the group tend to respond to group relevant issues with greater concern than others (concern)
 - They can communicate better among themselves, with other representatives, constituents from that group (communication)
- Major challenge: quota reinforce stereotypes and essentialism
- What is the way to fight essentialism? (representation of women/men, what about different women?)
 - To talk about the ways in which the differences between groups are caused by structural biases

BALDEZ, LISA: THE PROS AND CONS OF
GENDER QUOTA LAWS: WHAT HAPPENS
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- Quota fever since 1990s
- Quota effect: increase of number of women (in the right conditions)
- But how about democratization of process of candidate selection?
- Quotas can challenge the status quo, destroy monopoly of (male) dinosaurs
- But in centralized nomination processes it can strengthen the current structures as well (new legitimacy to the old process)
- Gender quota in Latin America strengthen highly centralized undemocratic process
- More women, but the dynamics remains the same
- Example: Mexico 2002 (70:30%), in case of primary elections quotas don't apply
- The effects are not straightforward

KROOK, MONA LENA: GENDER QUOTAS,
NORMS, AND POLITICS

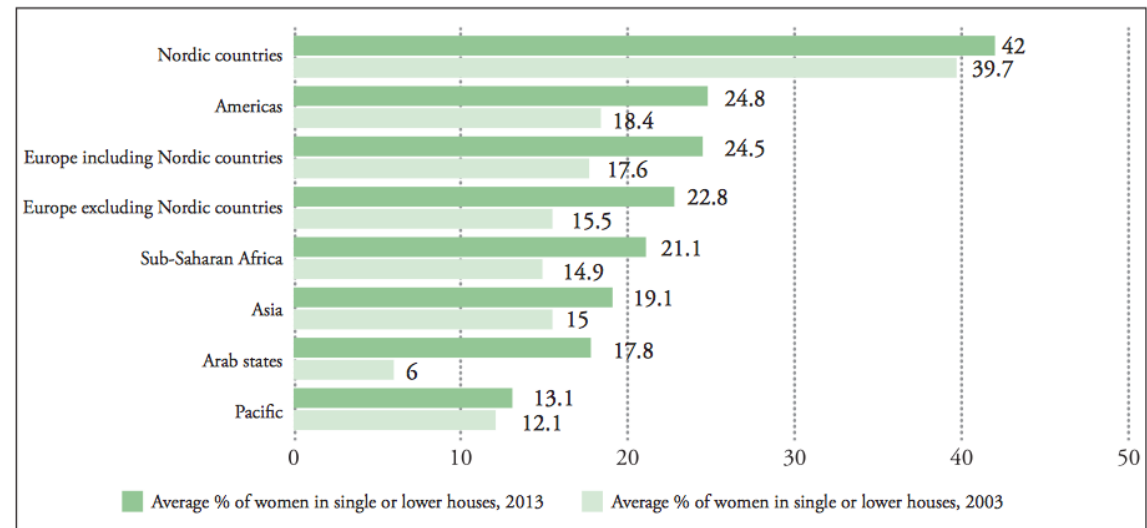
KROOK, MONA LENA: GENDER QUOTAS, NORMS, AND POLITICS

- More countries adopt quota despite normative objections
- Increase in women's representation despite social and economic prerequisites
- Broad shift in international norms, quota as global trend
- Normative concerns: political equality and representation **vs.** privilege of one group, undermining equality of opportunities ignoring more salient cleavages
- Objections:
 - Quota women can't pursue women-friendly policy change
 - Undermining female actors even those who won on their own
- Quota lead to broad positive changes (political agenda, gender consciousness,, engagement of female constituencies)
- Holding office has effects on 1) women who believe they have not been victims of discrimination, 2) second-class citizens
- Quota show the biases of prior recruitment processes
- Shift in responsibility for women's underrepresentation from women to political elites

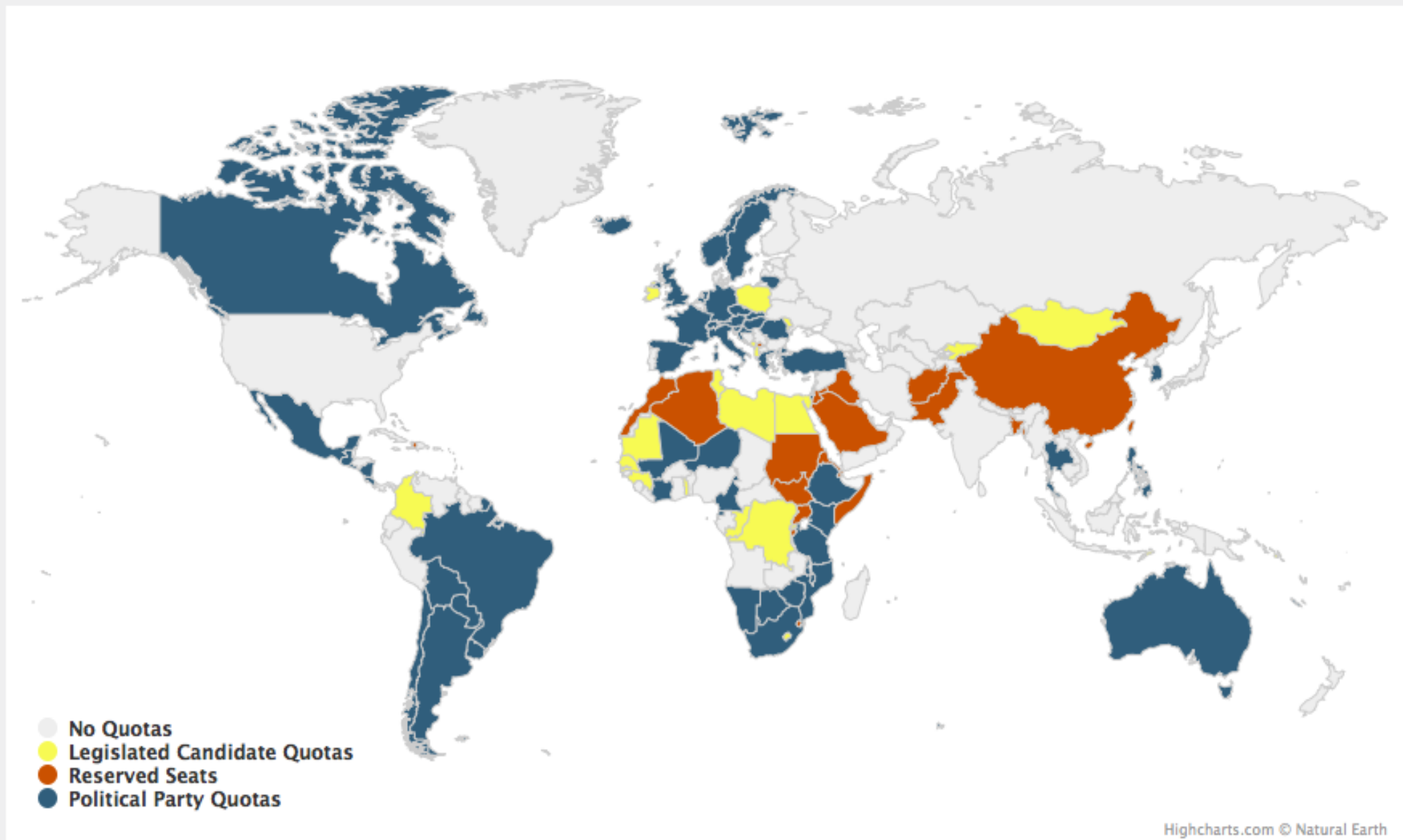
POLITICS OF GENDER QUOTA

- Some type of quota in over half of the countries in the world
- Increase of women in elected offices after 2000
- Project IDEA

Figure 1: Number of women in parliaments, 2003 and 2013 regional averages



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), <<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world011013.htm>>. ⁴



Highcharts.com © Natural Earth

Source: www.IDEA.int

TOP 10 COUNTRIES RIGHT NOW

WORLD CLASSIFICATION									
Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	16.09.2013	80	49	61.3%	26.09.2011	26	10	38.5%
2	Bolivia	12.10.2014	130	69	53.1%	12.10.2014	36	17	47.2%
3	Cuba	03.02.2013	612	299	48.9%	—	—	—	---
4	Nicaragua	06.11.2016	92	42	45.7%	—	—	—	---
5	Sweden	14.09.2014	349	152	43.6%	—	—	—	---
6	Mexico	07.06.2015	500	213	42.6%	01.07.2012	128	47	36.7%
7	South Africa ¹	07.05.2014	394	166	42.1%	21.05.2014	54	19	35.2%
8	Finland	19.04.2015	200	84	42.0%	—	—	—	---
9	Senegal	30.07.2017	165	69	41.8%	—	—	—	---
10	Norway	11.09.2017	169	70	41.4%	—	—	—	---

DEFINING QUOTAS

- Affirmative measure which ensures that there should be certain number or proportion of women among those who are nominated or elected
- Numbers and percentages
- Fast-track policy goal
- Quotas either for women or gender neutral

TYPES OF QUOTAS

- PARTY CANDIDATE QUOTA
- LEGISLATIVE QUOTA
- RESERVED SEATS

QUOTA MEASURES

- Most common in PR electoral systems
- France and Mexico – plurality systems, single-member constituencies
- Rank order rules (double quota): placement of mandates on the list
- Legal sanctions for non-compliance, refusing of list is the most effective

QUOTA DISCOURSE

- Traditionalists deny that there is a problem of underrepresentation
- Resistance to quota, conviction that its women's' free choice
- Quota, affirmative action etc. = special treatments
- VS.
- Promotion of justice in society
- International organizations support affirmative action
- "Temporary special measures" (UN CEDAW 1975)
- "Measures against discriminative practices" (UN Beijing Action Platform 1995)
- High legitimacy of these documents

ARGUMENTS PRO
AND AGAINST
QUOTA
(DAHLERUP 2017)

Opponent's arguments	Proponent's arguments
Descriptive representation	Descriptive representation
1. Quotas unnecessary, number of women will gradually increase	1. Quotas necessary to achieve rapid increase in women's representation
2. It will not be possible to find sufficient number of (qualified) women. Women will not want to be nominated because of their sex	2. There will be a sufficient number of women if the parties look for women more seriously
3. Quotas are violations of free choice of voters, are demanding on women and undermine the principle of merit	3. Quotas will contribute of enlarging the pool of potential candidates and make much better use of diverse qualifications in society.

Substantive representation	Substantive representation
4. Women elected via quotas will be only seen as "quota women", their political effectiveness will be limited	4. A critical mass of women will bring a different style and approach of politics
5. Quota women will be regarded as token or proxy women, too dependent on their party leaders or husbands	5. A critical mass of women will be able to introduce new policy concerns onto political agenda

Symbolic representation	Symbolic representation
6. After women quotas, other minorities will also demand quotas (including the left-handed and redheads)	6. Gender is one of the most important axes of power in society, they are not only important but also necessary
7. Quotas are only a symbolic gesture and will not treat the real causes of under-representation	7. Quotas will contribute to the process of democratization

SHOULD THERE BE QUOTAS FOR MEN???

- Rainbow Murray 2014
- Need to reframe the debate
- Problem of overrepresentation of men!
- There is no merit in current system

THE BIG QUOTA CONTROVERSY

- A Czech female Senator (ongoing research):
- *"We are thinking about (intra-party) mechanisms, how to bring them (women) there. We don't want quotas. I don't think that would be the ideal model. But our ideal model is to have at least one third of eligible positions occupied by women. That is, when the six first positions are eligible, there should be at least two women."*

WAVES OF QUOTA MEASURES

- 1st wave: 1970s and 1980s Scandinavia (and Communist regimes)
- 2nd wave: after 1991 (Argentina) in Latin America, Beijing Action Plan 1995
- 3rd wave: current reforms of quota measures (to make them effective)

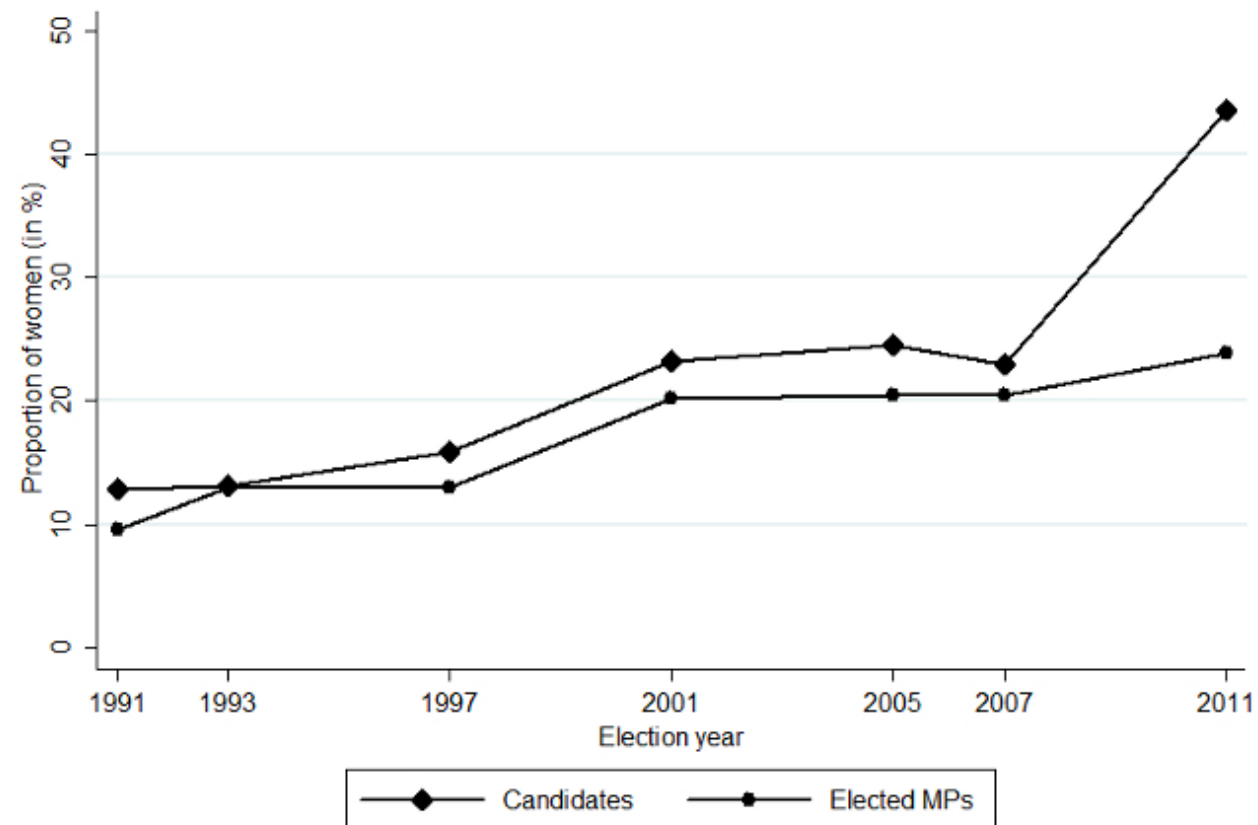
QUOTAS WORLD WIDE

- Reserved seats: Asia, Middle East, North Africa
- Legislative quota: Latin America, Europe, Africa
- Party quota: Europe, South Africa

- EU countries form party to legislative quota: France, Belgium, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Croatia, Poland

POLISH CASE

Figure 1: Proportion of female candidates and elected members in the Polish Sejm (1991-2011)



DRIVING FORCES

- 1) regional adoption of gender quotas
- 2) international organizations
- 3) domestic women's movement, intervention within parties

- Number of structural factors not important

- (Gender Quota Database 2014)

EFFECTIVENESS

Table 3.3. Immediate effect of quota laws on women's parliamentary representation and on quota law revision

Change in the proportion of women after the first quota law (in percentage points)	Total number of countries (N)		Hereof countries that have amended the original quota law	
	N	%	N	%
Decrease	10	12.8	4	11.4
No change	1	1.3	1	2.9
Increase < 5%	23	29.5	12	34.3
Increase 5–9.99%	9	11.5	5	14.2
Increase 10–19.99%	14	18.0	7	20.0
Increase >20%	6	7.7	3	8.6
No previous election	3	3.8	1	2.9
Elections not held yet	10	12.8	–	–
N/A	2	2.5	27	5.7
N=	78	100	35	100

Note: Italy and Venezuela are omitted as the only countries that have abolished their quota laws for national parliament.

Source: The Gender Quotas Database (GQD). Release May 1 2014, Stockholm University.

QUOTA RESISTANCE (KROOK 2016)

Table 1. Stages and forms of resistance to gender quotas

	Goals	Forms	Actors	Effects	Tools	Counter-strategy
Pre-election period	Criticize quotas Foster ambiguity re: legal status	Appeal to legal frameworks to overturn or minimize quotas	Aggrieved men Media Legal “purists”	Quotas declared unconstitutional or illegal <i>or</i> Quotas affirmed as constitutional or legal	False universalism of political principles	Constitutional and legal reforms to “legalize” quotas Gender-neutral phrasing of quotas
Election period	Violate spirit and/or letter of quota rules	“Misunderstand” or “forget” quota requirements Apply minimal interpretation of quota rules Engineer women’s electoral losses Commit violence, intimidation, or electoral fraud Nominate wives and daughters of male politicians	Party elites Male rivals	Quotas not effective in electing more women Elect but dis-empower women as political actors	Male power and political survival	Clarifications to quota requirements Improved monitoring of compliance Legal judgments and reforms to strengthen women’s political rights Name-gathering campaigns
Post-election period	Reduce women’s capacity and legitimacy as legislators, whether or not elected through quotas	Raise doubts that quota women are “qualified” Undermine women’s legislative performance	Male rivals Media Citizens	Disparage female politicians Reduce other women’s political ambitions	Gender and leadership norms	Studies on qualifications of quota and non-quota officials Women-specific orientations and training Laws and policies on violence and harassment