Unraveling the Relationship Between Gender Inequality and Quota Failure

A Thesis Presented By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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GLOSSARY

Adolescent Birth Rate (ABR): the annual number of live births to adolescent women per 1,000 adolescent women.[1]

Critical Mass Goal: I define this term as the percentage of women who would be included in the legislature if the gender mandate goal were a direct predictor of actual election rates.

Educational Difference (ED): the number of men who have attained some secondary school education minus the number of women who have attained some secondary school education.[2]

Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM): United Nations index that calculates female political and economic opportunity.[3]

Gender Equity Index (GEI): Social Watch index that measures women's education, empowerment, and economic participation.[4]

Gender Inequality Index (GII): United Nations index that measures gender inequality by measuring women's health, education, political, and economic markers.[5]

Gender Mainstreaming: a pluralistic approach that values diversity among men and women. It aims to bring gender issues to the forefront of political, economic, and social development discussions.[6]

Gender-related Development Index (GDI): United Nations index that measures gender equality change over time.[7]

Human Development Index (HDI): United Nations index that measures global development in numerous categories.[8]

Labor Force Participation Difference (LFRD): the number of men in the labor force minus the number of women in the labor force.[9]

Legislated Ballot Quota: Government mandate on the percentage of women to be included on each party's election list.[10]

Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR): the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births in one year.[11]

Pro-Woman Political Reform: I define this term as legislation that directly benefits women, such bills that promote equal pay, support reproductive rights, or prevent gender-based violence.

Quota Failure: I define this term as a quota system that fails to substantially increase critical mass and/or fails to prompt pro-woman political reform.

Quota Mandate Goal: I define this term as the percentage of women required on a ballot under a quota system.

Quota Success: I define this term as a quota system that has substantially increased critical mass and has prompted pro-woman political reform.

Real Political Power: I define this term as substantial and meaningful political influence measured by the resources, legitimacy, and political capital allocated to politicians.

Reserved Seats*:* A quota system that mandates a minimum number of seats in the legislature to be reserved for female candidates, independent of election results.[12]

Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI): OECD Development Centre index that measures gender equality in social institutions.[13]

Voluntary Party Quotas: Ballot quotas that are freely chosen by individual political parties without government intervention.[14]

Zipper Policy: a ballot regulation that mandates an alternating order between men and women on ballots.[15]

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[1] "Technical Notes." United Nations Human Development Report. 2015.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Adjei, Stephen Baffour. "Assessing Women Empowerment in Africa: A Critical Review of the Challenges of the Gender Empowerment Measure of the UNDP." *Psychology and Developing Societies* 27, no. 1 (March 2015).
[4] "Gender Equity Index (GEI)." Social Watch. 2012.
[5] "Technical Notes"
[6] "Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997." UN News Center. September 18, 1997.
[7] "Gender Equity Index (GEI)."
[8] "Technical Notes."
[9] Ibid.
[10] Quota Project. "About Quotas." 2009.
[11] "Technical Notes."
[12] "Technical Notes."
[13] "Social Institutions and Gender Index." Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) OECD Development Centre. 2016.
[14] "About Quotas."
[15] Freidenvall, Lenita, Drude Dahlerup, and Emil Johansson. *Electoral Gender Quota Systems and Their Implementation in Europe: Update 2013*. 14-15.

ABSTRACT

Have gender quotas facilitated pro-woman reform to promote gender equality? A wave of election reform in the 1990s pushed several countries worldwide to adopt legislative gender quotas. These laws mandated a minimum percentage of women per party to be included on ballots. A rapid adjustment in representation was expected to elevate the status of women by producing pro-woman political reform, such as equal pay, reproductive health, and gender-based violence prevention laws. In reality, however, the results of quota laws are mixed.

Implementation in France, Slovenia, and Belgium has been marked by successes, such as increased female political representation and substantial pro-woman political reform. Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, however, are widely regarded as quota failure countries. This paper examines quota failure as a product of gender inequality. It blends quantitative and qualitative analysis to deepen our understanding of how gender inequality limits female politicians' power. This study ultimately concludes that quota success in a give country depends upon a high level of gender equality within that country.

PROLOGUE

I was nineteen years old and I spent three years in prison where I was brutally tortured. Anyone who dares to tell the truth to interrogators compromises the lives of their comrades. I am proud to say that I lied. Lying under torture, Senator, is not easy. I am proud that I lied because I saved my comrades from the same torture and from death. In the face of torture, a person with dignity lies. I fought the military dictatorship and I have immense pride.[16]

-Dilma Rousseff, Brazil's first female president

In May 2008, three years before assuming the presidency, Dilma Rousseff testified before a Senate committee about her imprisonment and torture under Brazil's military dictatorship. Her testimony, interrupted occasionally by applause from the audience, was charismatically masculine. She aggressively shouted into the microphone throughout the majority of her speech, and aimed her comments directly at Senator José Agripino Maia, a former member of the Brazilian military dictatorship who had suggested that Rousseff might be lying about state information because she had lied under torture as a young woman. This testimony was a rare occurrence for now-President Rousseff. Though Rousseff was labeled the "Joan of Arc" of the guerilla movement,[17] she rarely discusses her youth involvement in leftwing groups or resisting violent interrogation.[18]

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[16] *Eu tinha 19 anos eu fiquei três anos na cadeia e quem e fui barbaramente torturada((...) Efe qualquer pessoa que ousar dizer a verdade para interragadores compremete a vida dos seus iguais entrega pessoas para serem mortas eu me orgulho muito de ter mentido senado porque mentir tortura não é fácil. se fala verdade diante da tortura quem tem coragem e dignidada fala mentira. Eu me orgulho de ter mentido eu vim me orgulho mensalmente desde a mítica figura por quê eu salvei companheiros da mesma tortura e da morte (...) eu combati a ditadura military e disse eu tenho imenso orgulho.*
"Dilma Rousseff E a Resposta Que Demoliu O Senador Agripino Maia."
[17]Brooks, Bradley. "Ex-guerilla to Be Brazil's First Female President." Yahoo News. October 31, 2010.
[18] Romero, Simon. "Leader's Torture in the '70s Stirs Ghosts in Brazil." The New York Times. August 04, 2012.

After her youth involvement in the overthrow of the dictatorship, Rousseff remained active in Brazilian politics. She was appointed to a series of positions in city and state governments, and was then appointed as Brazil's Energy Minister before becoming Chief of Staff to President Lula.[19] Rousseff's campaign for the presidency, however, took an alternative path than her male predecessors. Rather than emphasizing her tough past as a war hero, Rousseff's advisors determined that she would need to heavily accentuate her feminine traits to gain the support of the Brazilian electorate.

So began Dilma Rousseff's lengthy makeover process. Aided by focus groups and a team of experts, Rousseff underwent multiple plastic surgeries to feminize the hardened look of her face.[20] She also began to abandon what was deemed an aggressive public speaking tone in order to portray a softer and more feminine persona.[21] This feminization process, described by President Rousseff's staff as the production of a female authority, underscores the steep cultural barriers that female politicians in Brazil and several other countries face. As a woman, Rousseff's political toughness could actually act as a detriment to her popularity because it defied rigid gender expectations.[22] Much of the media attention devoted to Rousseff ignores her decades of political experience, and is instead highly concerned with her ability to abide by feminine gender norms. President Rousseff encounters practically constant public critique of her physical appearance, undermining her authority as a leader and highlighting a highly unequal gender dynamic in which men are not subject to nearly the same level of physical scrutiny.

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[19] "Ex-guerilla to Be Brazil's First Female President."
[20] Lago, Rudolfo, and Sérgio Pardellas. "Como Construir Uma Candidata." *ISTO Independente*, January 21, 2009.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

This double standard is a recurring theme in countries with high gender inequality. Female politicians, despite their qualifications, are undermined by a misogynistic environment that systematically limits their legitimacy and opportunity. Interestingly, however, several of these countries with high gender inequality have enacted gender quota laws in an effort to increase female political representation. This development begs the question: can increased female political representation actually promote feminist reform in a country with so little respect for its female leaders?

INTRODUCTION

Legislated gender[23] quota laws gained popularity in the late 20th century amidst a widespread push to enhance democratic representation. In 1995, women held only 11.3% of legislative seats globally.[24] Over one hundred countries have since enacted gender quotas in an effort to equalize political representation, appeal to female voters, and yield to pressure from international organizations. Twenty years later, the global percentage of legislative seats held by women had doubled to an impressive 22.6%.[25]

This swift improvement in female representation is notable. The true test of quota law success, however, is not measured by the mere number of seats occupied by women, but rather, by the political and social results of this shift in representation. *Has the higher proportion of women in legislative office due to gender quotas facilitated feminist democracy and produced pro-woman reform to promote gender equality?*

There is a substantial and growing body of knowledge within political science about quota laws and their outcomes. These studies generally seek to determine the relative success of a given country's quota law. Though conceptualizations of success can vary among scholars, in this study I will attribute quota success to two key indicators. First, and most rudimentarily, a quota law must succeed in substantially increasing the percentage of women in legislative office in a given country. Second, a quota law must spur meaningful pro-woman reform[26] as part of a

[23] The quotas discussed in this study actually address the sex of politicians, not necessarily their gender. The term "gender quota" is widely used in legislation and scholarship, however, so I will use that term instead of the phrase "sex quotas."
[24] *Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review*. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015.
[25] Ibid.
[26] I define pro-woman reform as legislation that directly benefits women, such bills that promote equal pay, support reproductive rights, or prevent gender-based violence.

larger effort to fundamentally alter a social system that is oppressive to women. A quota law that has not accomplished both of these tasks is considered a "quota failure."

As I will discuss in the Literature Review, most other scholars have partially attributed quota failure to various legal shortcomings or loopholes. My research accepts these findings, but argues that there is more to quota failure than faulty legal enforcement. Gender equality is actually the underlying cause of quota failure. Using the cases of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, which scholars have classified as quota failure countries, and Belgium, France, and Slovenia, which scholars have classified as quota success countries, I will disaggregate several indicators of gender inequality and show how each of them affect the ability for a quota to succeed or fail. *Ultimately, I conclude that quota success in a given country is dependent on high gender equality within that country. This research will use several forms of analysis to shed light on the relationship between gender inequality and quota failure.*

My research begins with the Literature Review. This chapter will present the findings of several prominent quota scholars. It will describe in detail the legal barriers that women face to gaining political power and how political parties have found ways to undermine quota laws. The Literature Review will place these legal barriers in the context of gender inequality and show how they fit within the larger narrative of gender inequality as the explanatory variable for quota success.

Chapter Two: Gender Mainstreaming and Quota Success delves deeper into the concepts of quota failure and quota success. It acknowledges that "success" and "failure" are nuanced terms within quota scholarship, but will describe how political scientists have generally divided quotas into these categories. This chapter also introduces the concept of gender mainstreaming, which is crucial to our understanding of quota success. In short, this chapter will tell us why

Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil are generally considered quota failure countries, yet Belgium, France, and Slovenia are generally considered quota success countries.

Chapter Three, Methodology: a Multi-Faceted Approach lays out the framework for my analysis of gender inequality and quota failure. It reiterates my initial question: has the higher proportion of women in office within my case studies facilitated feminist democracy and produced pro-woman reform to promote gender equality? Then, it describes the various tests that have led me to my conclusion: quota success in a given country depends upon high gender equality in that country. I include quantitative and qualitative analyses in this study to evoke a detailed and rich understanding of the relationship between quota failure and gender inequality. This section describes the methodology behind those tests, the limitations of those tests, and what I hope to gain from analyzing their results.

Chapter Four, Quantitative Analysis: Measuring Real Political Power, relies on several quantitative tests to introduce the concept of real political power. These tests rely the Enright Index, which is an index that I created to capture a baseline numerical measurement of each country's gender inequality. Using this index, I explore the relationship between gender inequality and critical mass in legislative bodies. My initial findings suggested that the percent of women in legislative office was not necessarily related to gender inequality. With this surprising discovery in mind, I sought to measure quota success not in terms of female critical mass, but in terms of real political power. As Chapter Four will explain, measuring real political power seeks to capture women's political influence in terms of their resources, legitimacy, and political capital. Chapter Four ultimately postulates that women in quota success countries will have more real political power than women in quota failure countries, indicating higher gender equality.

Chapter Five, "Qualitative Analysis: 'The Production of a Female Authority,'" takes a narrative approach to examining the relationship between quota failure and gender inequality. It uses news media sources to create an understanding of gender inequality, reflected in misogynistic media portrayals of female leaders. The importance of female sexuality is discussed at length in this section because female politicians are the targets of countless objectifying attacks in major news outlets. These expectations reflect a society in which even the most powerful women are expected to adhere to traditional expectations of femininity and go to great lengths in pursuit of the "production of a female authority," to maintain an appealingly feminine persona. I use the varying portrayals of women in quota success and quota failure systems to show how women in quota failure systems tend to be subject to a greater degree of media sexism than those in quota failure countries. This tendency fits into our understanding of gender equality as an explanatory variable of quota success.

My research finally concludes that quota success in a given country depends upon high gender inequality within that country. Slovenia, Belgium, and France's gender quota laws have been largely successful because female politicians in those countries have more legitimacy, and the overall climate in those countries is conducive to women's engagement in political life. In contrast, women's political power in Bolivia, Brazil, and Argentina is limited by high gender inequality that undermines female legitimacy and opportunity. Though my research focused on quota countries, these findings are widely applicable to our understanding of political representation in general. Critical mass is not necessarily an indicator of legitimate representation, rather, indicators of real political power provide a more accurate picture of representation.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review: What are the Structural Barriers to Quota Success?

Introduction

This section will review the substantial scholarship that already addresses quota failure. It explains the philosophy and history behind quota laws, and then explores several prominent scholars' assessment of world quota systems. The scholars discussed in this section generally conceptualize quota failure by analyzing a given law's structural shortcomings. My argument accepts that structural barriers inhibit quota success, but ultimately posits that gender inequality is the most important factor in prompting quota success or failure, and that structural barriers are actually an indicator of gender inequality in themselves. This section establishes an understanding of the legal structure surrounding quotas so the rest of the paper can delve deeper into the broader relationship between gender inequality and quota failure.

Legal Barriers to Success

Numerous scholars, eager to demonstrate a link between representative political participation and gender equality, have studied gender quota laws. In reality, the shift to quota democracy has been marked by failure, and in many cases, has not achieved its ultimate goal of advancing the status of women. In fact, some quota laws have not even achieved their rudimentary purpose of establishing greater female representation in the first place.

Researchers point to several factors that cause quota law failure, including too many loopholes, the absence of enforcement mechanisms, party structure that is hostile to quota implementation, and perhaps most importantly, an overarching environment of sexism in political and social spheres that inhibits gender equality. This section will discuss how each of these barriers have contributed to quota failure in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil.

Effective quota enforcement provisions are usually lacking in quota failure countries, and completely undermine the effectiveness of a quota law. For example, Brazil lacks sufficient sanctioning on parties who do not abide by the quota law.[27] As a result, it is common for political parties simply to ignore the gender quota requirement.[28] Similar problems have been noted in Argentina and Bolivia. This undercuts the purpose of the quota law and demonstrates a general lack of respect for its ideals and purposes among violating parties. Argentina and Bolivia also struggled to enforce their quota laws in the early years of their implementation. After introducing better enforcement mechanisms, such as oversight by an election commission with the power to dismiss illegal lists, their quota laws have been much more successful in increasing the percentage of women in office.

In spite of modifications to ensure that party lists contain the correct percentage of female candidates, the Argentine, Brazilian, and Bolivian quota laws are also infamous for an abundance of other loopholes. The use of family members as political placeholders is one classic example of a quota loophole, and is widely taken advantage of in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil. Women are frequently used as "puppet politicians" for male politicians who have reached their term limits, or for parties simply wishing to fill their quota. As Karin Monasterios and Luis Tapia Mealla explain,

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[27] Miguel, Luis F. "Political Representation and Gender in Brazil: Quotas for Women and Their Impact." 2008.
[28] Osava, Mario. "Brazil: Gender Equity Suffers as Parties Flout Quota Law." 2008.

> When it comes to applying [the quota] one turns to one's sisters, female cousins, sisters-in-law, or simply servile women of the party who will not object to the decisions of influential men. (…) It does not matter that they have no preparation, what matters is ensuring their loyalty, and in a sense their lack of understanding about politics, so as to perpetuate the non-interference of women in men's affairs.[29]

This method relies on women as political puppets of powerful male party leaders and limits women's overall influence in the legislative agenda.

The use of loopholes continues far beyond nepotism. In Brazil, the passage of the quota law was accompanied by another law increasing the number of candidates that may be listed per party on a given ballot, effectively diluting the significance of female politicians included on the ballot.[30] For example, even though women may occupy 30% of a party's spaces on the ballot, the new ballot would include space for several more choices of male candidates without in turn adding more seats in Congress. Under this model, male candidates are not actually replaced by female candidates because the higher number of male candidates on the ballot allowed men to maintain their seats in Congress.

The structure and rules of political parties also cripple potential quota effectiveness. In Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia, politicians are tightly controlled by party agenda, leaving little leeway for individual candidates or other caucuses to promote alternative policies. As Deborah Lopreite explains, "while the number of women in legislatures was not a determining factor to achieve policy outcomes, party ideology was a key factor when discussing gender status policies."[31] In short, the presence of women in Congress does not drive policy; agendas set by party leaders do. This characteristic in itself does not inherently suppress female political

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[29] Monasterios, Karin, and Luis Tapia Mealla. *Partidos y participación política de las mujeres en El Alto*. Centro de Promoción de la Mujer Gregoria Apaza, 2001

[30] "Political Representation and Gender in Brazil: Quotas for Women and Their Impact."
"Brazil: Gender Equity Suffers as Parties Flout Quota Law."

[31] Lopreite, Debora. "Explaining Policy Outcomes in Federal Contexts: The Politics of Reproductive Rights in Argentina and Mexico." 2014.

influence because in theory, female politicians could amass power and become influential party leaders, gaining the opportunity to set their party's political agenda. In reality, however, women in countries with high gender inequality rarely have access to party leadership positions.[32] This is because female politicians generally have more limited access to vital resources, like ad space, campaign funding, and political advice, than their male counterparts.[33]

Low Status of Women

The idea of cultural influence on quota success appears repeatedly throughout the scholarship on this topic. There seems to be general agreement that the low social status of women in quota failure countries such as Brazil, Argentina, and Bolivia obstructs the potential for quota effectiveness. A UNICEF report on the status of women in Bolivia explains that, "in Bolivia, a traditional misogynist culture persists where women are assigned a subordinate, traditional and dependent role, mainly the roles of reproduction and care of the family."[34] Additionally, the traditional *machismo* culture in South America further elevates the status of men over women.[35] This attitude permeates deeply into political culture, where women are taken less seriously as politicians, are expected to juggle traditional domestic duties with their political careers, and can face gender based violence because of their political roles.[36]

It is unrealistic to expect an increase in female representation to enhance gender equality when those female politicians are not actually afforded the opportunity to engage fully in the

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[32] Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Sustaining Gendered Practices? Power, Parties, and Elite Political Networks in Argentina." 2014.
[33] "Political Representation and Gender in Brazil: Quotas for Women and Their Impact."
"Brazil: Gender Equity Suffers as Parties Flout Quota Law."
Costa Benavides, Jimena. "Women's Political Participation in Bolivia: Progress and Obstacles." 2003.
[34] "The Situation of Women in Bolivia." *UNICEF Bolivia*. 2003.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Women's Political Participation in Bolivia: Progress and Obstacles."

political realm. Female politicians' hands are tied in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil by quota loopholes, lack of quota enforcement, and party politics that systematically exclude them. Most importantly, the low status of women in Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil promotes general disrespect for female politicians and the motives of the quota laws, crippling women in the polls. A "quick-fix" quota law in a country with high gender inequality is unlikely to singlehandedly promote rapid gender equality reform and social change. As Jimena Costa Benavides explains,

> The mere implementation of the quota law is not enough to ensure substantive gains in women's political participation. It is necessary to take steps towards the ideological transformations of the political system, the party system, and, particularly, civil society, so that women themselves change their conduct and expectations.[37]

Prominent Scholarship

The remainder of this chapter will explain in detail the findings of several prominent quota scholars. Ultimately, these political scientists conclude that the quota systems in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil have failed to promote substantive pro-woman reform.

Tricia Gray's Scholarship:

Tricia Gray analyzes quota failure through a structural lens. The legal intricacies of an electoral system heavily affect a quota law's ability to put more women in office. For example, the use of a "closed system," in which the party sets the order of their candidates to assume office, typically produces more female legislators than does an "open system," in which elected officials are freely chosen by the electorate.[38] Argentina and Brazil offer comparison for these systems. Argentina is a closed party system, allowing greater opportunity for the government to

[37] Ibid.
[38] Gray, Tricia. "Electoral Gender Quotas: Lessons from Argentina and Chile." 2003.

heavily regulate the party list order. Since the introduction of the quota law, female representation in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies has steadily risen (and surpassed the quota ballot mandate) to reach 37% after the last election.[39] By contrast, Brazil's open system Chamber of Deputies only reached 10% in the last election.[40]

Though the efficacy of a closed party list is frequently cited as one of the main reasons for Argentina's numerical success in putting women in office, Gray points out a few other characteristics of the Argentine quota law that have facilitated its numerical success. She explains that under the initial implementation of the Argentine quota law, it was relatively easy for parties to dodge party list regulations. Because it was up to the female candidate harmed by the illegal list to contest the validity of the list, "such [list] challenges were often very difficult to carry out (…) considering the economic and political costs of challenging one's own party list."[41] Over the years, however, the Argentine government has closed this and other loopholes. Gray explains that today, the Argentine quota law is quite successful at earning women seats in Congress because of several of these reforms: a women must be up for legitimately electable positions,[42] a women must be at least third on the closed party list, anyone may contest a party list's validity,[43] and the Argentine Attorney General has ordered federal prosecutors to take all actions necessary to ensure compliance with the quota law.[44] If we were to measure quota success solely by critical mass (the number of women put in office as a result of the quota law) the Argentine quota law would be considered very successful, largely as a result of these reforms. In fact, Argentina and Bolivia's positive relationship with pro-quota election reform

[39] "Argentina." *Quota Project.*
[40] "Brazil." *Quota Project.*
[41] "Electoral Gender Quotas: Lessons from Argentina and Chile."
[42] As opposed to simply being alternates on a ballot.
[43] As opposed to just the harmed candidate.
[44] "Electoral Gender Quotas: Lessons from Argentina and Chile."

and high critical mass is particularly telling in comparison to Brazil's dearth of pro-quota structural election reform and low critical mass.

There are, of course, several other vital measures of quota success, namely the results of increased female representation. Examining these indicators reveals the superficiality of Argentina and Bolivia's numerical quota success. Gray begins to explain this phenomenon, and the rest of the scholars included in this literature review provide further analysis. Gray describes a major inherent drawback to quota laws: the fact that the sheer existence of a quota will always undermine to some degree the legitimacy of those put in office by the quota. She explains the two principal arguments against quota legitimacy, saying, "one is that merit based competition between women and men is the only fair and adequate means for improving women's representation. The other is that not enough women are willing and/or qualified to fill decision-making roles."[45] Denise Walsh echoes this evaluation, and adds that this attitude also keeps women from being appointed to key party leadership positions.[46] In addition, Gray describes a lack of feminist political organization among Argentine politicians, noting that there is "not a strong women's agenda"[47] within the legislature. In spite of the Argentine quota law's numerical strides in critical mass, Gray concludes that "the comparative analysis of increased female representation in (…) Argentina has not shown clear cut empirical evidence that more women in power will result in greater integration of gender issues on the public policy agenda."[48]

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Walsh, Denise. "A feminist approach to quotas and comparative politics*." 2013.*
[47] "Electoral Gender Quotas: Lessons from Argentina and Chile."
[48] Ibid.

Mala Htun, Marina Lacalle, and Juan Pablo Micozzi's Scholarship:

Mala Htun, Marina Lacalle, and Juan Pablo Micozzi's research is concerned with the legislative results of a quota-induced jump in female representation, and concurs with the common conclusion that quota laws do not necessarily produce pro-woman political and social reform. They analyze all of the bills introduced in the Argentine Congress between 1983 and 2007, and identified 33,272 bills, about 1.8% of the all bills introduced, as "women's rights" bills.[49] They also find that female politicians were generally more likely to introduce these women's rights bills.[50] In spite of these efforts, their research reveals that, "as women's presence has grown and the process of representation has improved, the chances of successful outcomes have shrunk."[51] They conclude that a women's rights bill was significantly less likely to pass than other bills on average,[52] and that as the number of women in Congress increased, the likelihood that women's rights bills would pass decreased, even adjusting for growing percentages of women and office.[53] They conclude, "as women's presence has grown, male politicians have worked harder to reduce their influence by pushing them into less important committees and preventing their bills from reaching the floor."[54]

Susan Franceschet and Jennifer Piscopo's Scholarship:

Susan Franceschet and Jennifer Piscopo, two of the most prominent quota scholars, further explain the inverse relationship between increasing female critical mass and decreasing pro-woman bill approval. Franceschet and Piscopo differentiate between legislative agenda

[49] Htun, Mala, Marina Lacalle, and Juan Pablo Micozzi. "Does Women's Presence Change Legislative Behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983-2007." pp 106. 2013
[50] Ibid. pp. 108.
[51] Ibid. pp. 115
[52] Ibid. pp. 113.
[53] Ibid pp. 97, 115.
[54] Ibid. pp. 115.

(bills introduced) and legislative outcomes (bills passed and the real repercussions of their passage).[55] Similar to Htun et. al., they categorized Argentine bills introduced and followed the outcomes of those coded for women's issues. They explain,

> In examining all bills introduced in [women's issue] areas over a 19-year period (1989–2007), we found that the vast majority were introduced by women (...) Women authored 79% of the bills on gender quotas, a category that includes the application of quotas to other bodies, such as the judiciary or the executive, as well as bills to increase the existing congressional quota from 30% to 50%. In the area of reproductive rights, women introduced 80% of the bills to legalize abortion and to expand access to contraception, and to improve reproductive health through education and access. In the area of violence against women, a category that includes all bills to enhance women's protection from violence, female legislators sponsored 69% of all bills. Women also authored 73% of bills aimed at combating sexual harassment.[56]

After following the outcomes of a pro-women legislative agenda, Franceschet and Piscopo find that women's issue bills were twice as likely to fail than other bills on average.[57] In fact, of the ninety-three bills concerning reproductive health introduced between 1989 and 2007, only two passed.[58] Overall, 1.3% of women's rights bills were enacted into law compared to the Argentine lower and upper house all bill averages of 3.73% and 2.15%, respectively.[59]

Franceschet and Piscopo later discuss female politicians' lack of legitimacy, which is a major contributing factor to the small likelihood that pro-woman bills—especially those introduced by women—will pass. Female politicians' perceived lack of legitimacy is largely perpetuated by the prevalence of nepotism in Argentine, Brazilian, and Bolivian politics, which have a history of using women as political puppets to meet quota mandates. Though nepotism is widely practiced among male and female politicians in South America, female politicians are

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[55] Susan Franceschet and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." pp. 398. 2008.
[56] Ibid. pp. 409-410.
[57] Ibid. pp. 416.
[58] Ibid. pp. 415-416.
[59] Ibid. pp. 416.

sometimes referred to as *"mujeres de…"* translating to "women of…" meaning that their office is essentially symbolic and a female politician is the "woman of" whichever man for whom she is holding office (such as her husband or a party leader).[60] This stereotype does have heavy basis in fact because appointing loyal and easily manipulated women to meet quota compliance is a very common practice in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil. The *mujeres de* stereotype, however, effectively plagues most women in office, even those who were elected based on their own merit, because it calls into question their legitimacy and undermines their political power.[61]

This legitimacy issue is not uniform throughout all quota countries. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and several other developing nations opted for legislated gender quotas that quickly mandated the increase in female representation from a top down approach. This mandate fueled internal resistance within some parties because of the rapid status quo shifts required of their nomination policies.[62] As Franceschet and Piscopo explain of this fast-track mandated approach, though "descriptive representation increased rapidly, (…) [it lacked] an underlying cultural shift that supported women's accumulation of political power."[63] On the other hand, some Scandinavian political parties adopted voluntary internal quota reform, which gradually grew popular among several parties. Though more incremental, this self-driven approach allowed parties to maintain their autonomy and use their voluntary reform as a selling point for progressive voters. This method facilitated greater internal acceptance of quota values within the party and produced less hostility and distrust toward female politicians.[64]

Overall, Franceshcet and Piscopo's work helps us understand why the problem of legitimacy presents a major barrier to quota *outcome* despite a relatively strong pro-woman

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[60] Ibid. pp. 406.
[61] Ibid, pp. 403-404, 421.
[62] Ibid. pp. 404.
[63] Ibid. pp. 421
[64] Ibid.

agenda produced by female politicians. They conclude, "gender quotas cannot change the institutional rules and norms that govern the legislative process, meaning that quotas cannot guarantee improvements in substantive representation as outcome."[65]

Though Franceschet and Piscopo's original analysis of legislative quotas in South America definitively denounces quota success, they later released another paper about quota diffusion that suggested some modest quota success. Quota diffusion refers to the adoption of quota policies as a result of the original legislated quota example. This can result in quota broadening, which refers to the implementation of quotas in other areas of government (such as judicial appointments) or within the private sector (such as corporate boards). It can also result in quota deepening, which is when legislators choose to upgrade to even more progressive quota laws, like when Bolivia increased their quota to 50%.[66] This policy change shows a dedication to the "move beyond symbolic or rhetorical acceptance of women's equality to engage in a more radical redistribution of power."[67]

Franceschet and Piscopo are optimistic about the broadening and deepening of quota laws because they indicate mainstream "acceptance of the norm that public spaces must include women and the growing recognition that democracy depends on women's equal presence."[68] Quota diffusion promotes policy shifts to accommodate for female participation and demonstrates understanding that social changes must accompany political reform in order to bring about substantive improvements in gender equality.[69] Several scholars have criticized legislated quota laws for their failure to address longstanding social inequities and tendency to

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[65] Ibid.
[66] "Bolivia." *Quota Project*.
[67] Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Equality, Democracy, and the Broadening and Deepening of Gender Quotas." pp. 312. 2013.
[68] Ibid. pp. 313.
[69] Ibid. pp. 311.

only produce superficial change. According to Franceschet and Piscopo, quota diffusion could be the beginning of a new era of quota laws that seek to address the social realities necessary for feminist development.

Teresa Sacchet's Scholarship:

In her article, *Beyond Numbers: the Impact of Gender Quotas in Latin America*, published in the International Feminist Journal of Politics, Teresa Sacchet discusses more challenges that female politicians face in South America. She explains, "women's political participation is (…) hindered by the gender division of labour and women's consequent domestic responsibilities."[70] It is difficult for women to seek out or be considered for positions of political power when they are also expected to be the primary caregivers for their children and maintain their households. She also explains that South American female politicians are often at a disadvantage in terms of campaign financing because less party money is typically allotted to them.[71] Sacchet further explores the impact of a greater female politician critical mass on the legislative agenda. She explains, "an increase in the number of women in decision-making positions in political institutions may foster the development of a women's coalition that can press for a common policy agenda, helping to create a different balance of power. (…) However, the size of a group is not a condition for, or guarantee of, its political influence."[72] In short, while increasing the percentage of women in office has the *potential* to enhance female political power, this is will not be true in all cases because other factors can limit female political power, even within large groups.

[70] Sacchet, Teresa. "Beyond Numbers." pp. 374. 2008.
[71] Ibid. pp. 375.
[72] Ibid. pp. 376.

Jimena Costa de Benavides' Scholarship:

Jimena Costa de Benavides' work explores quota failure and barriers to female politicians' success in Bolivia. She notes that upon implementation, the quota law originally struggled because parties could fulfill the quota by listing women as alternate candidates, not actual candidates up for election. Parties widely took advantage of this loophole.[73] This problem was eventually corrected when Bolivia modified its quota law to include a gender parity requirement where women could not simply be used as alternates.[74] Even after this modification, however, discrimination against female politicians was rampant in Bolivia. Female politicians faced harassment and physical violence in attempts to provoke resignation.[75] Furthermore, the women in office frequently lacked the knowledge on legislative procedures or advisors that their male counterparts possessed.[76] Benavides explained that Bolivian female politicians were far less likely than male politicians to introduce bills, and on top of that they very rarely introduced bills concerning women's rights.[77]

Benavides contributes much of this quota failure to a sexist party system. She notes that, "the party system is clearly a reflection of the society from which it has come; in it the politicians reproduce the styles and conduct of society."[78] Political parties in Bolivia are highly centralized around a single leader and promote traditional clientelistic relationships. Sexism within the parties makes it difficult for women to gain party leadership positions, and without the clientelistic power that accompanies leadership, it is difficult to remain in office. Finally, party

[73] "Women's Political Participation in Bolivia: Progress and Obstacles." pp. 5.
[74] Ibid. pp. 6.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid. pp. 7.
[78] Ibid. pp. 8.

leaders are rarely involved in "women's issue" campaigns, further limiting the opportunity for pro-woman bills to gain traction.[79]

Benavides aptly concludes, "the mere implementation of the Quota Law is not enough to ensure substantive gains in women's political participation. It is necessary to take steps toward the ideological transformations of the political system, the party system, and, particularly, civil society, so that women themselves change their conduct and expectations."[80]

Conclusions

Various scholars conclude that quotas in South America failed due to an abundance of loopholes, widespread nepotism, and general disrespect for the quota. The rest of my research will place these, and other, factors within the larger question of gender inequality and will show that quota success in a given country is contingent on the status of women within that country.

[79] Ibid. pp. 7.
[80] Ibid. pp. 10.

CHAPTER TWO

Gender Mainstreaming and Quota Successes

What Does Quota Success Look Like?

Recall that there are two requirements of a successful quota law: first, it must significantly increase female political representation; second, it must stimulate substantial pro-woman reform.[81] To significantly increase female political representation, a quota law will generally need to be well enforced and have certain list order regulations to ensure that the women on the ballot can actually be elected. Even quota systems that do dramatically increase female critical mass,[82] however, can still be deemed as failures in this area. As discussed in the previous chapter, Argentine, Bolivian, and Brazilian quota laws are ridden with loopholes, which allow parties to put "puppet politicians" on their ballots. These "puppet politicians," sometimes known as *mujeres de* politicians in Latin America because they essentially represent a male politician, are not really legitimate leaders. Their inclusion on party lists underscores a misogynistic system in which women are merely tokens, and men control true power. Therefore, countries with a high prevalence of sexist nepotistic loophole usage are often considered quota failures, even if they have achieved superficial numerical success.

In addition to increasing female representation with legitimate leaders, a successful quota system must promote pro-woman reform. This is measured by researching the laws that quota

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[81] Examples of pro-woman reform include equal pay, reproductive health, and sexual assault prevention laws.

[82] In their book, *Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation,* Tali Mendelberg and Christopher Karpowitz refer to critical mass as the size, amount, or number of something to produce a particular result. This traditional Political Science definition conceptualizes critical mass as a definite tipping point. For the purpose of this paper, however, I will use the term more loosely. I refer to female critical mass as the number of women in a legislative body. I do not have a definite number of female legislators in mind when using the term critical mass in this paper.

countries have passed since quota implementation. Quota success countries will have several laws that make significant advancements in areas such as access to women's healthcare, guarantees of equal pay, or prevention of sexual assault and intimate partner violence.

Several scholars have concluded, however, that even these political reforms are not enough to enact fundamental and wide reaching gender equality. In a successful quota system, quotas will fit within an ambitious framework to promote gender equality in several areas of society. This is part of the larger goal of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is a concept that was introduced at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women, and has become prominent in discussions of world development. Gender mainstreaming can be defined as,

> the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.[83]

At its core, gender mainstreaming aims to bring gender issues to the forefront of political, economic, and social development discussions. Gender mainstreaming is not a "quick fix" solution—it is the radical and intentional shift in favor of gender inequality in all aspects of society. Discussions of quota success countries will frequently discuss the quota system in terms of gender mainstreaming.

The remainder of this chapter will describe several of these measures of quota success and explain why Slovenia, Belgium, and France are generally considered quota success countries, while Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil are generally considered quota failure countries.

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[83] Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997."

Increase in Critical Mass

Tablee 1 [84]

Country	Election 5	Election 4	Election 3	Last election but one	Latest election	Difference (1 – 5)
Belgium (L)	1995: 12.0%	* 1999: 23.3%	2003: 35.3%	2007: 36.7%	2010: 38.0%	+26.0
Slovenia (L)	1996: 7.8%	2000: 13.3%	2004: 12.2%	* 2008: 13.3%	2011: 32.2%	+24.4
France (L)	1993: 6.0%	1997: 10.9%	* 2002: 12.3%	2007: 18.5%	2012: 26.9%	+20.9

The asterisk indicates the first election in which the quota law went to effect.

Table1 displays female representation after five elections in France, Slovenia, and Brazil. We can see in all three cases that quota implementation was accompanied by a noticeable jump in representation, particularly in the second election after the quota law went into effect. This substantial increase in female representation can probably be attributed to two factors: list regulation and quota enforcement.

List Regulation:

Government regulation of list order is generally a helpful tool in ensuring that female candidates are actually up for "winnable seats" in elections.[85] If most women are placed at the bottom of a ballot in a PR system, it is likely that they would not be elected. France and Belgium both mandate heavily regulated party lists to ensure that women are afforded an equal opportunity to be elected. Belgium stipulates that the top two candidates on their lists cannot be of the same gender, and the rest of the list must be 50% female and 50% male. France has a 50% ballot mandate "zipper policy," meaning male and female candidates are represented equally on the ballot in an alternating order to ensure that one sex is not isolated to the bottom of the list.

[84] *Electoral Gender Quota Systems and Their Implementation in Europe: Update 2013*. pp. 112.
[85] Ibid. pp. 14.

Slovenia, which has a relatively recent quota law, does not currently have order regulations, though they do mandate than no gender may have less than 35% of the slots on each ballot.[86]

Quota Enforcement:

Belgium and Slovenia's laws are both enforced by electoral authorities. Any list that is presented to the election commission without fulfilling the quota requirement will be dismissed. Election commissions have effectively enforced this rule. France opted for economic sanctions on parties that did not fulfill the requirement. Parties who did not comply with the law would lose public funding proportionate to the number of members of one gender were missing from their list.[87] Overall, this law has effectively persuaded French parties to follow the list regulations, though there have been a few instances where some of parties accepted a fine instead of completely complying with the quota on a given list.[88]

In summary, Slovenia, Belgium, and France have well enforced quota laws that have successfully increased critical mass of female politicians. Belgium and France's laws also include strict regulation on party list order to ensure that female politicians are not isolated at the bottom of the lists. Effective enforcement and regulation of the quota law is in itself an indicator of gender equality. It places value on female representation, and demonstrates commitment to the ideal that a quota law is not window dressing, rather, a vehicle to enact substantive pro-woman reform.

[86] Ibid. pp. 15.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid. pp. 16.

Quota Failure in Countries with High Critical Mass

From a critical mass perspective, Slovenia, Belgium, and France far outnumber Brazil in terms of female representation post-quota implementation. Brazil introduced its quota law in 1998, after Belgium, but before France and Slovenia. Even with nearly two decades to amass female representation, Brazil's critical mass has not exceeded ten percent. This is probably because Brazil does not have ballot order rules or effective enforcement mechanisms. Furthermore, after its quota law went into effect, Brazil expanded the number of ballot slots permitted on lists without expanding the number of seats in the legislature, which has minimized the effect of the quota provisions.[89]

Argentina and Bolivia, however, have effectively increased female critical mass, like Slovenia, Belgium, and France. Bolivia has adopted a zipper system like France. Argentina's list system is more loosely regulated than Bolivia, France, or Belgium's. According to the Argentine quota law, a woman must be listed in at least one of the top three places on a party list. Argentina and Bolivia's substantial increases in critical mass underscore some of the structural strengths of their quota structure in comparison to Brazil, and to a much lesser extent, even Slovenia.

In spite of some of these successes, there are still major shortcomings associated with the Bolivian, Argentine, and Brazilian quota laws. Most notable is the tendency for parties to use *mujeres de* tactics in order to meet quota mandates and inflate critical mass. As discussed earlier, *mujeres de* refers to a quota woman who "belongs" to a male politician. She may be his wife, sister, other family member, or a woman who is chosen due to her unwavering party

[89] Quota Project. "Brazil." 2015.

loyalty.[90] These politicians may not possess the background or training necessary to make them viable political leaders—and the parties select them precisely for this reason. Their token presence on the ballot fulfills the quota requirement without disrupting the party agenda or hierarchy. This loophole is one of the main reasons why Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil have been classified as quota failure countries. In contrast, scholars rarely, if ever, raise this concern about post-quota female politicians in France, Belgium, and Slovenia. In fact, a University of London study specifically researched the qualifications of French "quota women" and concluded that the women in French parliament were as effective and as qualified as their male counterparts.[91] It appears that the nepotism fueled quota dodging is not nearly as prevalent in these countries.

In addition to low critical mass or prevalence of "puppet politicians," quota failure countries do not enact pro-woman reform at the level that quota success countries do. Though Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil have all struggled to enact substantive pro-woman reform, the example of Argentina is particularly telling. As previously discussed, women's rights bills were twice as likely to fail in the Argentine Congress than all bills on average. Though Argentina has passed some women's rights bills since quota implementation, Franceschet and Piscopo, who extensively studied bill passage data in Argentina concluded that those few laws "constitute neither a dramatic nor wholesale change to policy outcomes in Argentina."[92] The scarcity of women's rights laws enacted after quota implementation is further evidence of quota failure.

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[90] "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." pp. 406.
[91] Murray, Rainbow. "Second Among Unequals? A Study of Whether France's "Quota Women" Are Up to the Job." 2010.
[92] "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." pp. 415.

Pro-Woman Reform and Gender Mainstreaming

Though there certainly are shortcomings within the Belgian, Slovenian, and French quota systems, the literature on these countries is laden with examples of their success. The remainder of this chapter will describe some of these successes in each European case study country. These "success stories" include the importance of the feminist movement in promoting and regulating the quota law, fundamental attitude shifts on gender equality since the implementation of the quota law, and pro-women legislation passed since the quota law. These successes fit within a larger narrative of gender mainstreaming, indicating that each country's quota law is part of an overarching movement to bring gender issues to the forefront of political *and* social development.

Sabine de Bethune and Els Van Hoof agree in their article "The Gender Issue in Belgian Party Politics and Elections," that the Belgian quota law has been successful. They attribute this success to the women's movement within the Flemish Christian Democratic Party. The Smet-Tobback Act, introduced by Christian Democrats, was Belgium's first quota law.[93] Though the idea of a gender quota was originally met with skepticism, it quickly gained traction. The 2002 Belgian constitution was modified to ensure equality between men and women, and the original quota ballot mandate of 33% was eventually strengthened to a party rule.[94] Bethune and Van Hoof also note that women's movements have played a major role in Belgium's quota success. They have supervised the creation of party lists to ensure that women are placed in electable positions and have launched major advertising campaigns urging Belgians to vote for women.[95]

[93] Bethune, Sabine De, and Els Van Hoof. "The Gender Issue in Belgian Party Politics and Elections." 2013. pp. 115.
[94] Ibid. pp. 116.
[95] Ibid pp. 117.

The authors conclude that Belgium has included quotas as part of a widespread gender equality movement, and for this reason, quotas have been successful in enacting pro-woman societal development.

Like Belgium, Slovenia's quota law was also initially met with some hesitancy. As Milica Antić Gaber explains in her article, "Slovenia: From Voluntary to Legislated Quotas," Slovenians were generally reluctant to enact a gender quota after a history of communist rule. A quota had been used previously in Slovenia, but "there was a widespread understanding that (…) [the women's quota] was a mask behind which the most powerful Communist Party leaders (in the Central Committee) were the people who decided."[96] In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a number of feminist groups became highly active in Slovenia, and they were crucial in integrating a feminist agenda into Slovenia's post-communist modernization and democratization movements. Several Slovenian political parties began to adopt their own gender quotas in the 1990s, but female political representation remained very low compared to other European nations, peaking at 13%.[97] In 2004, the Slovenian constitution was amended to guarantee gender equality before the law, and in 2006 after persistent pressure from feminist groups and the European Union, gender quotas earned a national mandate.[98] In the ten years since its implementation, Slovenian female representation has surpassed its initial quota ballot mandate of 35% to a current total of 37%,[99] and its legislature has enacted several pro-woman reforms,

[96] Antić Gaber, Milica. "From Voluntary Party to Legal Electoral Gender Quotas in Slovenia." 2014. pp. 113.
[97] Lokar, Sonja. "The Implementation of Quotas: European Experiences." 2004. pp. 119.
[98] "From Voluntary Party to Legal Electoral Gender Quotas in Slovenia." pp. 113.
[99] Inter-Parliamentary Union. "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments." 2016.

including intimate partner violence prevention laws,[100] equal pay laws,[101] and maternity and paternity leave laws.[102]

Scholars have also begun to analyze quota's effects on political opinion. A study conducted by Bram Wauters, Bart Maddens, and Gert-Jan Put in Democratic Audit analyzed changing political attitudes in Belgium after quota implementation. The study found that opinions among the electorate and political elite gradually appeared to become more accepting of female politician's legitimacy after quota introduction. Changing opinions from party elites, who are historically male, is particularly important because they control campaign budgets and party list structure. Wauters, Maddens, and Put concluded that since quota implementation, the political climate has gradually grown to be more favorable to female candidates.

Finally, in addition to major post-quota pro-woman legal reforms such as gender based violence, sexual harassment, and domestic violence laws,[103] France's expansion of the quota law into extra-political fields exemplifies a commitment to gender mainstreaming. France mandated an across the board 40% quota for corporate boards of publicly listed companies, boards of public institutions, chambers of commerce, and sports federations. This action acknowledges that improvements in gender equality must extend beyond the political realm to be effective.[104]

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[100] "Gender Equality and Women's Rights / Empowerment in Slovenia." European Commission. 2013.
[101] "Employment Relationships Act." Republic of Slovenia Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. 2007.
[102] "New Parental Protection and Family Benefit Act to Bring More Rights." Republic of Slovenia Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. October 10, 2013.
[103] Lépinard, Eléonore, and Marylène Lieber. *The Policy on Gender Equality in France: In-depth Analysis*. 2015. pp. 7.
[104] Ibid. pp. 8.

Conclusions

For simplicity's sake, I will use the terms quota success and quota failure frequently in this paper. In reality, however, these terms are oversimplifications of very complex political and social systems. The terms "failure" and "success" reflect frequent, overarching themes in quota literature that describe the general nature of quota outcomes in that country. There are, of course, some examples of the Argentine, Brazilian, and Bolivian governments enacting pro-woman reforms since the implementation of their quota laws; and there are certainly female politicians in those countries who have entered office without strong political ties to a male politician. In spite of the successes of gender mainstreaming in Slovenia, France, and Belgium, some scholars have voiced concern that critical mass has not yet reached a parity, and conclude that there is still more to be done beyond the political realm to enhance gender equality.

In general, however, we can classify Slovenia, France, and Belgium as overall quota success stories for several reasons. Since quota implementation, all countries have dramatically increased the percentage of women in legislative office due to strong enforcement mechanisms. There has not been extensive discussion of male-controlled female politicians in these countries, indicating minimal use of nepotistic manipulation as a quota loophole. Several scholars have discussed the role of the women's movement in French, Slovenian, and Belgian quota scholarship and have concluded that quota implementation and feminist development have gone hand in hand to promote fundamental enhancements in gender equality. This partnership is supported by the passage of several pro-woman laws in those countries.

In comparison, we can generally classify Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil as quota failure countries. Brazil has a very poorly regulated and enforced quota law, which has utterly failed to

substantially increase female political representation. Argentina and Bolivia have successfully increased female representation, but, like Brazil, their political parties are infamous within quota literature for using *mujeres de* loopholes to inflate female representation. Overall, almost all quota scholars who write about Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil conceptualize their quota systems as "quick fixes" for a massive gender inequality problem. Though there have been some glimmers of improvement, Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil's quota systems have failed to tackle some large gender inequality issues to the extent that quota success countries such as Slovenia, France, and Belgium have.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology: a Multi-Faceted Approach

Introduction

Based on the conclusions of numerous political scientists, we know that quota success is rare. Several academics have explored the degree of quota success by measuring the number of bills passed by women, the number of pro-woman bills passed by a given legislative body, and the number of women who wield significant political power due to the quota law. As previously discussed in this paper, scholars have already classified Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil as quota failure countries due to their shortcomings in these areas. Most of these studies offered significant insight into the structural and legal intricacies of quota laws, and then pointed out the loopholes in the laws that have facilitated quota failure.

Much of the existing quota scholarship follows a common model: an inadequate legal framework is examined as the independent variable for the dependent variable of quota failure. There is, however, another very common trend among these studies: an overarching discussion of gender inequality. Some scholars weave mentions of gender inequality throughout their articles, others reference it as a closing thought in their conclusions. In spite of a primary focus on the structural and legal barriers to quota success in current quota scholarship, there is certainly a recurring motif of gender inequality inextricably linked to academic discussion of quota failure.

My research accepts the conclusions of scholars such as Tricia Gray and Denise Walsh, who describe the structural barriers to optimal quota implementation. This paper, however, is concerned with the broader topic of gender inequality as an explanation for quota failure. In fact, I conceptualize the structural and legal loopholes associated with quota failure as indicators of

steep gender inequality in themselves. Though quota scholars often make references to gender inequality, it has not yet been explored fully as the underlying cause of quota failure. My research seeks to explore the relationship between gender equality and quotas. I argue that quota failure goes much deeper than legal shortcomings and loopholes and conclude that widespread gender inequality is the root of quota failure in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil.

Selection of Case Studies

My research relies on three primary case studies: Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, and to a lesser extent, three secondary case studies: Slovenia, France, and Belgium. I chose these countries because they all use legislated ballot quotas and have varying degrees of gender inequality.

There are several different types of quota laws worldwide. For example, some political parties in various countries have voluntarily committed to gender quotas within their own parties. In fact, as voters began to positively respond to this commitment to more proportional representation, voluntary quotas often became the norm among all political parties in a given country. These voluntary quotas are not legally binding, however, and were not voted into law by a legislative body. Voluntary gender quotas exist in Canada, Chile, Norway, Malawi, Thailand, Australia, among others.[105]

On the other end of the spectrum, there are countries such as Haiti, China, Kenya, Saudi Arabia, and Afghanistan in which a certain number of parliamentary seats are automatically reserved for female candidates. These laws strictly guarantee a certain percentage of female representation in parliament, regardless of the outcome of an election.

[105] Quota Project. "About Quotas." 2009.

This study focuses on the results of legislated ballot quotas. Legislated ballot quotas legally guarantee that each party will include a certain percentage of women on their ballots. It is not guaranteed that women will be actually elected from this ballot—the law is simply designed to regulate the *opportunity* to be elected. Some legislated ballot countries have opted to strengthen ballot regulations by opting for a "zipper system," in which male and female candidates alternate on the order of the ballot.[106] Others have passed laws ensuring that at least one woman is included within the first two or three slots on the ballot. These added regulations increase the chances that female candidates will actually earn a seat in parliament.

Argentina's constitution guarantees a 30% ballot quota for lower and upper houses of the nation's federal bicameral system.[107] The Argentina Justicialista party also adopted additional voluntary quotas of up to 50% in some provinces.[108] Bolivia adopted one of Latin America's most ambitious quota laws, with a 50% quota placed on its upper and lower houses at a federal level. It also mandates a zipper system on parliamentary ballots.[109] Brazil's quota laws stipulate that the ballots for upper and lower houses at a federal level must contain a minimum of 30% and a maximum of 70% of candidates of each sex. This law is not included in the Brazilian constitution and there are not currently any Brazilian parties with added voluntary quotas.[110]

The Belgian quota law specifies that the difference between the number of candidates of each sex on a lower or upper house parliamentary ballot should not be more than one. It also ensures that the top two candidates on a party list are not of the same sex.[111] France's constitution promotes equal access to political office. Party lists for the national lower house

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[106] "Electoral Gender Quota Systems and their Implementation in Europe Update 2013." pp. 2013.
[107] Quota Project. "Argentina."
[108] Ibid.
[109] Quota Project. "Bolivia."
[110] Quota Project. "Brazil."
[111] Quota Project. "Belgium."

may not exceed a 2% majority of either sex on the ballot. The difference between the numbers of candidates of each sex on the upper house national ballot may not exceed more than one. France also has a legislated zipper policy.[112] Finally, Slovenia's lower house quota law guarantees that no gender shall be represented by less than 35% on a party list. Slovenia does not have a legislated ballot law for the upper house, but some of its political parties have adopted voluntary quotas.[113]

The six countries included in my case study present a wide variety of ballot quota laws. My research originally began by questioning which type of quota law was most effective: voluntary party quota, legislated ballot quota, or reserved seat quota. I also researched the ideal quota ballot mandate percentage. This research, however, quickly revealed how complex the study of quota laws is. The passage of a quota law in itself is virtually meaningless in countries where enforcement mechanisms are not equipped to bring the law to fruition. Quota laws also tend to be ridden with loopholes and are magnets for political corruption. In reality, therefore, one cannot simply predict quota success by the tracking the quota percentage guaranteed by law, or by sorting success and failure countries by quota type. Quota law analysis must examine numerous variables to create an accurate picture of the role of a quota law in a given country. My research, therefore, seeks to establish an understanding of the status of women in each of my case study countries and compare it with overall quota success. *I predict that countries with relatively high gender equality at the time of quota implementation will generally have more quota success than countries with relatively low gender equality at the time of quota implementation.*

[112] Quota Project. "France."
[113] Quota Project. "Slovenia."

Conceptualization of Analysis

I examine the independent variable of gender inequality through quantitative and qualitative lenses. I use a quantitative approach as a baseline indicator of gender inequality, and then rely on a qualitative narrative to provide more insight into the complex cultural norms that influence gender inequality in each of my main case studies.

For my quantitative analysis, I researched several indices of gender inequality. These indices establish a baseline understanding of gender relations in a given country because they combine several well-known markers of gender inequality to produce a composite numerical indicator of gender inequality. Gender indices are useful in capturing a snapshot of gender relations and tracking these trends over time. There are, however, several limitations to gender inequality indices. Though most indices rely on well-established indicators of gender equality, such as political representation, educational attainment, maternal mortality ratio, etc., it would be virtually impossible to take into account every single potential indicator of women's social status. There is also, of course, variation in a country's gender inequality by region, social class, and ethnic group. When it comes to gender inequality indices, therefore, we can use them to establish a broad understanding of women's status on a macro level. They are not a comprehensive and conclusive indicator of gender relations, rather, a foundation for further analysis.

I use qualitative analysis to build upon this foundation and offer a richer explanation of how gender inequality creates a climate that is inhospitable to female politicians and can hinder quota implementation. As I will discuss later, this qualitative analysis provides details into the misogynistic political systems that hyper-sexualize female politicians and belittle their power. I

will show that in spite of strong critical mass increases, high gender inequality can undermine female legitimacy and overall quota success.

Methodology of Quantitative Analysis

Analysis of Current Gender Equality Indices:

There are several well-known and credible indices of gender inequality, including the Gender-related Development Index, the Gender Empowerment Measure, the Gender Equity Index, the Social Institutions and Gender Index, and the Gender Inequality Index. I ultimately decided that none of the current gender indices would help me answer my question about the relationship between gender inequality and quota failure. To answer my question about quota failure, an index should take women's health, education, and labor force participation variables into account while separating parliamentary seats held from the data.

The United Nations' Gender-related Development Index (GDI) measures gender equality change over time as opposed to capturing independent data points for every country,[114] which I needed for my research. The United Nations' Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) calculates opportunity for participation, but not the actual participation that may or may not result from that opportunity.[115] There has also been significant scholarly criticism of this index because it is said to mask results and have data gaps. [116] Social Watch's Gender Equity Index (GEI) focuses on three categories: education, economic participation, and empowerment. It lacks any sort of

[114] Schuler, Dana. "The Uses and Misuses of the Gender-related Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure: A Review of the Literature." 2007.
[115] Ibid.
[116] *Klasen, Stephan. "UNDP's Gender-related Measures: Some Conceptual Problems and Possible Solutions."* 2006.

reproductive or maternal health component, however, which I consider an essential factor in the calculations of gender inequality.[117] The OECD Development Centre's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) seeks to measure the social institutions that can effect gender equality such as family code, physical integrity, ownership laws, and civil liberties.[118] This measure is intended as a supplement to more mainstream indices of gender inequality, and is not suitable for an independent indication of gender inequality.

In contrast, the United Nations' Gender Inequality Index provides a relatively comprehensive range of gender equality indicators, including reproductive health, education, political participation, and workforce participation variables. The Gender Inequality Index (GII) data is derived from the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI). The Gender Inequality Index "shows the loss in potential human development due to inequality between female and male achievements."[119] The Gender Inequality Index exposes achievement disparities between women and men on a scale of zero to one. A score of zero indicates no gender inequality, while a score of one indicates very high gender inequality in the areas captured by the GII. It captures a simple yearly measurement of each country's status, as opposed to an indicator of change over time, which allows for better multi-national comparison of countries on vastly differing ends of the gender inequality spectrum. Finally, its measurements capture actual participation (excluding reproductive health measurements) rather than the mere opportunity for participation. It quantifies gender inequality within three categories: health, empowerment, and labor market participation. The health component takes maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rate into account. The empowerment measure includes female and male populations who have attained at least a secondary education and the

[117] "Gender Equity Index (GEI)."
[118] "Social Institutions and Gender Index."
[119] "Technical Notes."

female and male parliamentary seats. Finally, labor market participation measures male and female participation in the work force. In spite of its strengths, the Gender Inequality Index would not be suitable for my research because it relies on women's parliamentary representation as one of its variables. Using an index that blends my independent and dependent variables would not be useful in explaining the relationship between gender inequality and quota success.

Creation of the Enright Index:

After considering several current gender inequality indices and noting their potential drawbacks, I concluded that I would need to create my own index, customized to the needs of my study, to best analyze my research question. My index, entitled the Enright Index, is most closely related to the Gender Inequality Index in the sense that it also relies on the 2014 United Nations Human Development Report data[120], but it excludes a parliamentary participation variable and corrects for some noted disadvantages in the Gender Inequality Index.

Dr. Iñaki Permanyer explores these flaws in his paper, "A Critical Assessment of the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index." Permanyer points out that the GII's inclusion of female workforce participation ignores contributions of traditional female unpaid work and promotes the undervaluation of these roles. I agree that this is an important consideration, but ultimately support the inclusion of female market force participation because traditional female confinement, whether legal or social, to unpaid work is in itself an indicator of inequality.[121] Permanyer later points out that the GII calculates some variables solely in relation to women,

[120] I use the 2014 United Nations Human Development Report data because at the time I began this research, the 2014 report was the most current data available. To ensure consistency in all calculations, all quantitative data used in this study will be from the year 2014.
[121] Permanyer, Iñaki. "A Critical Assessment of the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index." 2013. pp. 6.

while also calculating some variables that compare women and men.[122] For example, maternal mortality ratio clearly does not include a male comparison, while the rates of secondary education are compared between women and men. This imbalance can penalize low-income countries due to the health component. Countries with poor overall healthcare will probably also have poor reproductive healthcare as a result of a widespread underfunded health system, not necessarily as a result of gender inequality. While low overall development scores are balanced in the areas with a male to female comparison, the variables included in the health section do not allow for comparison to men's healthcare. This generally skews two components of the overall GII score, maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rate, in the favor of countries with highly functioning and well-funded healthcare systems without actually taking into account the health related gender inequality present in a given country. Most importantly, Permanyer concludes that the GII is unnecessarily complicated and confusing and could be improved by using a simpler formula to generate its values.[123]

Calculating the Enright Index:

I derived all of my data for the Enright index from the United Nation's Human Development Database and created a dataset of each country's maternal mortality ratio, adolescent birth rate, difference between men and women who have attained at least some secondary education, and difference between men's and women's labor force participation. Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) is the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births in one year. Maternal death is defined as a female death from any cause related to or aggravated by pregnancy or its management during pregnancy and childbirth or within forty-two days of

[122] Ibid. pp. 1.
[123] Ibid.

termination of pregnancy.[124] Maternal death is most commonly caused by postpartum bleeding or complications from unsafe abortion.[125] A low maternal mortality ratio, therefore, is regarded as a strong marker of high gender equality because it generally indicates societal value placed on women's healthcare, including access to safe and legal abortion.

Adolescent birth rate refers to the annual number of live births to adolescent women per 1,000 adolescent women. An adolescent woman is defined as any woman between the ages of fifteen and nineteen.[126] Low adolescent birth rate is also regarded as an indicator of high gender equality because it demonstrates women's autonomy. Low adolescent birth rate can indicate effective sex education, access to contraception and abortion, and the ability for women to choose when (or if) they would like to marry and/or have children. I acknowledge Permanyer's point that including reproductive health markers in gender equality indices can mathematically penalize poor countries with limited healthcare resources. I argue, however, that maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rate are crucial indicators of women's autonomy and opportunity, and warrant inclusion in discussion of the global status of women.

My educational attainment variable relies on the percentage of women who enter secondary school compared to the percentage of men who enter secondary school secondary education. I subtract the percentage of women who have entered secondary school from the percentage of men who have entered secondary school. In most cases, this produces a positive value, indicating that higher percentages of men attain at least some secondary education than women. Calculating the *difference* between these percentages corrects a bias in favor of wealthier countries with more educational resources as opposed to simply using the percentage

[124] "Millennium Development Goals Indicators." United Nations Statistics Division.
[125] Murray, Christopher. "Global, Regional, and National Age-sex Specific All-cause and Cause-specific Mortality for 240 Causes of Death, 1990-2013: A Systematic Analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2013." 2015.
[126] "Human Development Reports." Adolescent Birth Rate (women Aged 15-19 Years). United Nations. 2015.

of women who attain at least some secondary education without factoring in men. For example, in the Netherlands, 87.7% of women attain at least some secondary education, while 90.5% of men attain at least some level of secondary education. In comparison, access to education for both men and women is far more limited in Venezuela than the Netherlands. Interestingly, however, 56.6% of Venezuelan women attain some level of secondary education while 50.8% of Venezuelan men attain some level of secondary education. This leaves the Netherlands with a raw score of 2.8% in this category and rewards Venezuela a raw score of -5.8%. Even though there is less overall access to secondary education in Venezuela than in the Netherlands, Venezuela outperforms the Netherlands in this measurement because they have a negative difference between the number of women and men who attain some level of secondary education.

In a similar manner, my labor force participation variable also relies upon the *difference* between men and women participating in the labor force. Labor force participation rate refers to the proportion of a country's population, age fifteen and older, that engages in work or is actively seeking work[127]. The difference between male and female labor force participation rate is a helpful indicator of gender inequality because it can demonstrate the degree to which women have the freedom to seek work outside the home, earn an income, and gain financial stability. All countries except Rwanda, Malawi, Mozambique, and Burundi had higher male labor force participation than female labor force participation.

My index does not include female parliamentary participation, like several other indices, because this would distort my research. In fact, as I will ultimately conclude in this paper, the mere percentage of women in office is not necessarily a true indicator of gender equality due to

[127] "Human Development Reports." Labour Force Participation Rate (female-male Ratio). United Nations. 2015.

several potentially confounding variables, such as nepotism, corruption, and disrespect for quota values, which undermine real female political agency.

As we can see below with Tables 2 and 3, removing female parliamentary representation from a gender inequality measurement affects gender inequality measurement.

Table 2

United Nations Gender Inequality Index ranking of case study countries 2014:

Country:	GII Rank	% female parliament seats
Slovenia	1	27.2%
Belgium	8	42.4%
France	13	25.7%
Argentina	75	36.8%
Bolivia	94	51.8%
Brazil	97	9.6%

Table 3

Enright Index:

Country:	Index Rank	% female parliament seats
Slovenia	10	27.2%
France	28	25.7%
Belgium	31	42.4%
Brazil	77	9.6%
Argentina	84	36.8%
Bolivia	114	51.8%

The new index reflects shifts in the order of all of my case study countries when percentage of women in office after quota law implementation is removed from the measurement. We can even see that Bolivia and Brazil, the countries with the highest and lowest

percentages of women in parliamentary office in my case study, shifted positions drastically. Bolivia may have impressively high female representation, but its very poor performance in the reproductive health measures compared to Brazil's relative success lowers its ranking under my measurement.

My index also responds to one of Permanyer's key criticisms in the sense that it is a much simpler calculation. The Gender Inequality Index uses a complex mathematical formula that generates a numerical value for gender inequality on a scale of negative one to one. My research, however, is more concerned with each country's relative gender inequality compared to average global gender inequality. It does not attempt to specifically quantify each country's exact value of gender inequality. Rather, it shows each country's gender inequality—based on four key markers—compared to global average gender inequality. This is accomplished using z-scores, where a score of zero indicates the mean gender inequality for all countries.[128] Each country's z-score, therefore, reflects a country's distance in standard deviations from the global gender inequality mean. A negative z-score on my index reflects lower than average gender inequality. A positive z-score on my index reflects higher than average gender inequality.

I will demonstrate this calculation below with Table 4 using the example of Norway, the highest-ranking country on my

[128] 160 countries were used in this study as opposed to 196 because some very small countries did not have enough data to be included in the UN Human Development Report database. All countries that had reported values for Maternal Mortality Ratio, Adolescent Birth Rate, attainment of at least some secondary education, and labor force participation were included in this study.

Table 4

Norway Raw Scores

Maternal Mortality Ratio	**4**
Adolescent Birth Rate	**7.8**
Difference between female and male population with some secondary education	*96.7 (male)-97.4 (female)=* **-0.614**
Difference between female and male labor force participation	*68.7 (male)-61.2 (female)=* **7.5**

Norway z-scores

Maternal Mortality Ratio	**-0.7367**
Adolescent Birth Rate	**-1.0113**
Difference between female and male population with some secondary education	**-0.739**
Difference between female and male labor force participation	**-0.9505**

-0.7367 + -1.0113 +-0.739 + -0.9505 = -3.437

-3.437/4 (because there are four categories) **= -0.8594**

Norway's final index score: -0.8594

This index score tells us that Norway is -0.8594 standard deviations away from the average global inequality score when we measure inequality using the four quantitative markers in this study. Because a score of zero indicates the global average of gender inequality, Norway's negative score is well below the average world gender inequality.

Applying the Enright Index:

In the next chapter, I will compare the Enright Index's baseline measurement of gender inequality to various markers of quota success to assess gender inequality's effect on quota implementation. I begin by comparing Enright Index scores with critical mass percentages of women in legislative office. The data on female political representation is also taken from the 2014 United Nations Human Development Report dataset. I chose to begin my quantitative analysis by comparing the Enright Index with each country's female legislator critical mass, and seeks to answer the question, "do countries with more women in legislative office have lower gender inequality?" This comparison takes data from all countries included in the Enright Index into account, not just quota countries. I chose to compare all countries because most countries do have some sort of ballot quota, and a larger sample size would create a fuller picture of the relationship between gender inequality and the larger issue of female representation. Female representation, of course, is what quota laws seek to address.

Later, I gather party leadership data from all six of my case study countries. I gathered this data from CIA World Factbooks, which list major political parties and their leaders each year. I chose to compare the number of male and female party leaders per each country, with the prediction that quota success countries would have higher female leadership than quota success countries—indicating a higher degree of power for female politicians beyond the quota driven critical mass increases.

Methodology of Qualitative Analysis

Conceptualization of Analysis:

As discussed earlier, the Enright Index used as quantitative analysis in this study provides the foundation for further in depth cultural exploration of women's status in my case study countries. I rely on qualitative analysis to enhance understanding of the status of women in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, and to explain how this status affects quota success. The qualitative analysis explains why female politicians in quota countries can lack legitimacy.

Perhaps the most substantial criticism of quota reform is that it does not promote true legitimacy of female candidates. "Quota women" can become placeholders for the male leaders who truly hold power. Women in office can be perceived as less deserving of respect than their male counterparts because unlike women, men did not directly benefit from quota assistance during their campaigns. Rather than radically shifting gender norms through changes in political representation, quota laws in countries with high gender inequality tend to shed light on the oppressive barriers that women face in the struggle to amass political power.

One clear marker or gender inequality is the near constant expectation of feminine beauty for female politicians. Female politicians undergo a level of physical scrutiny that would be unheard of for their male counterparts. While media attention for male candidates is largely centered upon their professional experience and political successes or shortcomings, I argue that female politicians in countries with high gender inequality will encounter frequent media objectification rooted in sexism.

I use numerous media sources to establish an understanding of each country's tendencies in describing their female politicians. All of my sources are published in the country to which

the female politician belongs. This ensures that the inferences made from the publication reflect upon the norms of the country in question. All of my sources are major news outlets, as opposed to beauty magazines. The fact that several major publications often devote press coverage to analyzing female politicians'—but not male politicians'—beauty regimes is telling of the sexist double standard that women face.

I gathered these media sources by searching news databases in all six of my case study countries. I chose to research the highest-ranking female politicians in each country. Dilma Rousseff is the current president of Brazil. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner was the president of Argentina between 2007 and 2015. Gabriela Montaño Viaña is the current president of the Bolivian Senate and Betty Asunta Tejada Soruco is the current president of the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies.[129] Christine Defraigne is the current President of the Belgian Senate. Édith Cresson was the Prime Minister of France from 1991 to 1992. Alenka Bratušek was the Prime Minister of Slovenia from 2013 to 2014. I searched news databases with each politician's name and the phrases for "fashion," "plastic surgery," "makeup," and "weight." I chose these phrases because they reflect a set of feminine expectations unrelated to traditional political power.

This form of research veers away slightly from legislative quota examination in the sense that it analyzes the highest ranking female politician in each country, some of whom are members of the executive branch, as opposed to a narrowly tailored focus on female leadership in legislative bodies. This is because my news media analysis seeks to examine the independent variable of gender inequality as a whole, not just attitudes toward quota elected women the

[129] There has been one female president in Bolivia. Lidia Gueiler Tejada was an interim president between 1979 and 1980. She was quickly overthrown in a military coup led by her cousin in 1980. Though she technically has been the highest-ranking female Bolivian politician, I chose not to use her for my analysis because she was president long before the quota law went into effect and was only in office for a very brief period.

legislature. I assumed that the highest-ranking female politician in each country would generally have some of the strongest qualifications and backgrounds in politics, correcting for most "warranted" media criticism of her legitimacy as a leader. I also chose to focus on the each country's highest ranking female politician because I assumed that there would be a great deal of press coverage devoted to her, allowing the most samples for my qualitative study. My research assumes that widespread and frequent misogynistic media attention toward a country's highest ranking female politician is indicative of pervasive gender inequality throughout that country, which in turn directly affects the legitimacy of female politicians in legislative bodies.

Brazil and Argentina:

The search with these terms in Brazilian and Argentine news sources combined with the terms "Dilma Rousseff" and "Cristina Fernández de Kirchner," respectively, revealed numerous articles. It was very common to find articles that intimately discussed the politicians' weight gain, attractiveness, or sexuality without any mention of their policy agenda. I will closely analyze several of these selected sources later in this paper by examining their wording and imagery within the larger framework of sexist obstacles to female political power. I also ran similar searches for high-ranking Brazilian and Argentine male politicians. Predictably, this search yielded hardly any relevant results.

This is certainly not to say that most media interpretations of Rousseff and Kirchner seek to undermine their authority through misogynistic objectification. In fact, the majority of articles I found on both politicians did not address their physical appearance or feminine qualities. Analyzing several of the readily accessible articles that do address the feminine beauty expectations that female politicians encounter, however, is helpful in explaining the political

culture of Argentina and Brazil. This political culture that so harshly pushes female politicians to adhere to an objectifying feminine norm is indicative of a society that can tend to undervalue women and undermine their power.

Bolivia:

The same test for Gabriela Montaño Viaña the current president of the Bolivian Senate and Betty Asunta Tejada Soruco, the current president of the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies was far less fruitful. There were not any relevant results after searching these terms in Bolivian news sources with either politician's name. Upon further investigation, I learned that this shortage of results was not necessarily due to a lack of feminine beauty expectations in Bolivian politics. On the contrary, it is because hardly any media attention at all is devoted to either woman. Though Viaña and Soruco both have brief biographies on a Bolivian government website, the press coverage devoted to them is limited to scarce and brief mentions in the occasional news article. In contrast, there are several other lower-ranking Bolivian male politicians who are featured quite regularly in the press.

Though the absence of information on Bolivian female politicians does not lend itself to my initial exploration of feminine beauty expectations, it is still very telling of gender inequality in Bolivia. Two of the highest-ranking government officials in Bolivia, who happen to be women, receive far less press coverage than lower-ranking male politicians. This indicates less overall interest in their agendas and limits their public voices. Though most of my qualitative study will center upon the beauty expectations of Argentine and Brazilian female politicians, it is important to keep in mind that the absence of media coverage on Bolivian female politicians is also indicative of underlying sexism.

Discussion of Selection Bias

Finally, it is important to acknowledge an understanding of selection bias in this study. My case study selection was intentional because I was seeking to explore successful and unsuccessful legislated quota countries with a broad range of gender inequality scores. I strategically chose Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Belgium, France, and Slovenia to allow me to examine a range of quota successes and failures. As Robert Alford, Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba explain in their book, *Designing Social Inquiry,*

> Usually, selection must be done in an intentional fashion, consistent with our research objectives and strategy. Intentional selection of observations implies that we know in advance the values of at least some of the relevant variables, and the random selection of variables is ruled out.[130]

My research seeks to unpack the relationship between gender inequality and quota failure, with gender inequality as an explanatory variable for quota failure. I accept the previous scholarship that categorizes Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil as quota failure countries while classifying Belgium, Slovenia, and France as quota success countries. I explain the dependent variable of quota failure by analyzing gender inequality, which is the independent variable, in each of my case study countries. A pre-determined dependent variable is generally problematic in an academic study. In the case of this study, however, previous scholarship had already classified my dependent variables. My research seeks to explore *how* my independent variable affects the dependent variable through a series of quantitative and qualitative studies. It adds more variation to the independent variable and offers a richer and fuller understanding of a relationship that other scholars have already begun to explore.

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[130] "Alford, Robert R., Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. "Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research." 1995. pp. 132.

Conclusions

This section explains the methodology behind my quantitative and qualitative approaches. My quantitative analysis relies upon the Enright Index, which seeks to create a baseline indicator of gender inequality. I then use the Enright Index for other quantitative comparisons to draw some conclusions about the relationship between gender inequality and quota laws in each of my case study countries. These findings are further explored in my qualitative research, which compares news media discussion of female political leaders to describe how gender inequality can limit the female politicians' legitimacy.

CHAPTER FOUR

Quantitative Analysis: Measuring Real Political Power

Introduction

This section explores the relationship between quota success and gender inequality through a quantitative lens. I analyze the relationship between gender inequality and share of female seats in parliament, and then further analyze substantive female legislative power by examining the number of women with party leadership roles in each case study country since quota implementation. I will discuss the limitations to these measurements, but ultimately show how these markers help to establish a basic understanding of the relationship between quota laws and gender inequality.

Hypotheses and Conceptualization

This section relies on measurements from the Enright Index, which measures gender inequality without taking female political representation into account. I argue that for a quota law to be successful in a given country, there must be a high level of gender equality within that country. This pre-existing gender equality allows female politicians to be valued and respected, permitting them to promote their agendas and amass political power by gaining leadership roles. Without this pre-existing equality, female politicians can simply be ushered into office via the quota law without having real legitimacy or power. High gender inequality can cause a lack of respect for female politicians, which essentially renders a quota law useless because female politicians will lack decision making power and voice. The Enright Index seeks to capture a

very basic measurement of each country's gender inequality so it can be compared with quota success. The Enright Index uses z-scores to compare all countries' gender inequality with the global mean gender inequality. Table 5 displays all of my case study countries' Enright Index scores, the components that helped to determine those scores, and their ranking compared to all other countries included in the index. The entire dataset with all world countries can be found in Appendix 1.

Table 5

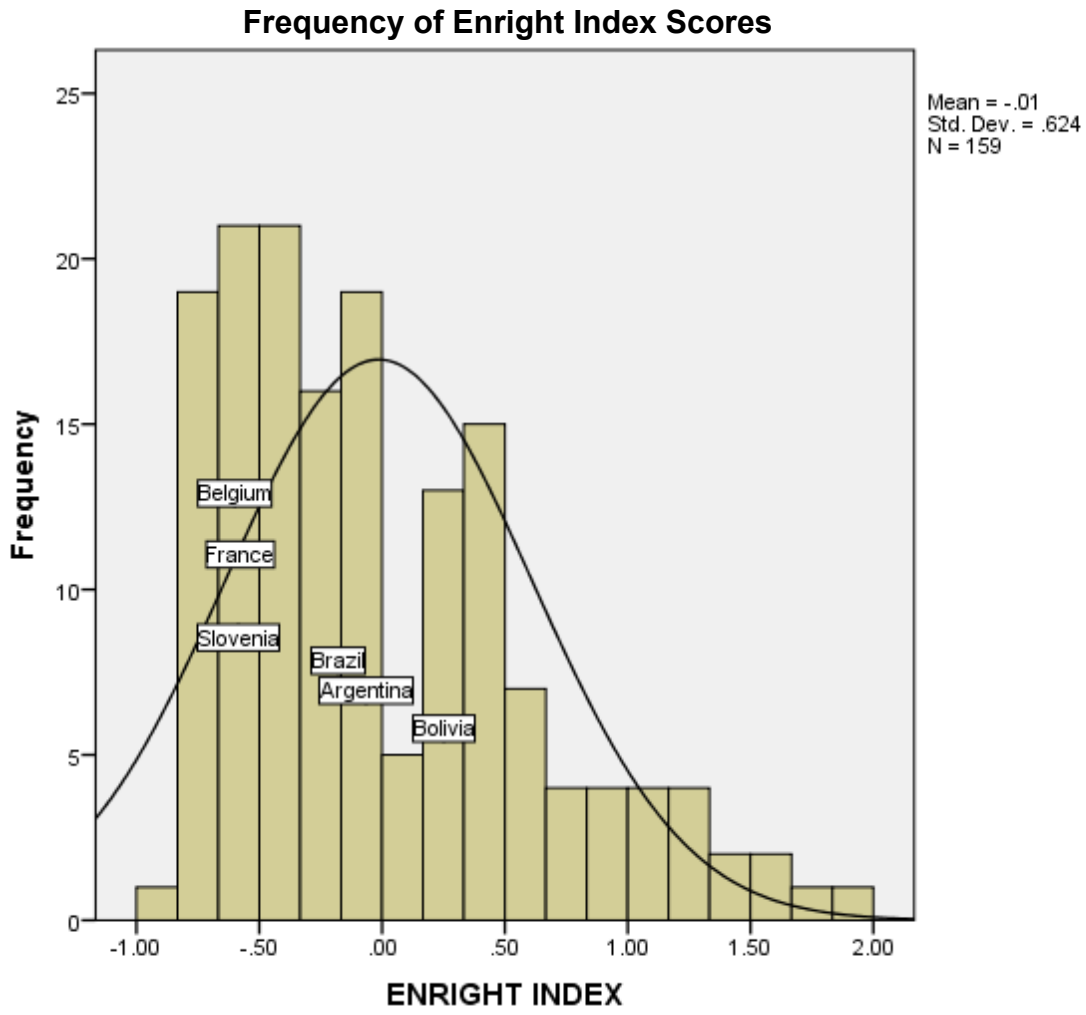
Case Study Countries' Enright Index Scores

Country	Maternal Mortality Ratio	Adolescent Birth Rate	Education Difference	Labor Force Participation Difference	Enright Index Score	Enright Index World Rank
Slovenia	7	0.6	2.250	10.9	-0.752	10
France	12	5.7	5.195	10.9	-0.622	28
Belgium	6	6.7	5.378	11.8	-0.603	31
Brazil	69	70.8	-2.216	21.4	-0.221	77
Argentina	69	54.4	1.280	27.5	-0.109	84
Bolivia	200	71.9	11.502	16.7	0.292	114

**Recall that a negative score indicates lower than average gender inequality, while a positive score indicates higher than average gender inequality.*

Figure 1 illustrates roughly how these scores are distributed, indicating the frequency that certain Enright Index scores appeared after calculating the aggregate components of the index.

Figure 1



**Recall that under the measurements in the Enright Index, a negative score indicates below average inequality, while a positive score indicates above average inequality.*

I also use the measurements gathered in the Enright Index to compare gender inequality with female political representation. Because female politicians, especially in quota countries, frequently face formidable barriers to gaining prominent political power even if they hold office, I predicted that gender inequality and share of female seats in the legislature would not strictly correlate. As several scholars have already determined, various quota countries have successfully increased critical mass of female legislators without actually enacting pro-woman reform and without affecting gender equality.

H1: There will be no clear relationship between gender inequality and number of female held seats in the legislature.

The true question when it comes to quota success is not the critical mass, but rather the real power that female politicians hold in office—which is dependent on gender equality. I define real political power as substantial and meaningful political influence measured by the resources, legitimacy, and political capital allocated to politicians. I sought to capture this more complex measurement of real power by examining the number of female political party leaders in each country. I predicted Belgium, France, and Slovenia—which scholars have classified as quota successes—would have a very high number of female party leaders, indicating substantial resources, legitimacy and political capital allocated to female politicians. I also expected Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil—which scholars have classified as quota failures—to have very few female party leaders, indicating a fewer resources, legitimacy, and political capital allocated to female politicians.

H2: Quota success countries will have a much greater number of female party leaders than quota failure countries.

Relationship between Enright Index and Female Seats in Parliament

Based on the work of the scholars discussed in the Literature Review, we know that a quota law does not automatically increase female representation in a legislative body. As we've seen in the cases of the quota failure countries discussed earlier--Brazil in particular--loopholes, faulty enforcement mechanisms, and lack of party support can inhibit a quota law from

increasing the critical mass of women in office. Quota countries will not necessarily achieve their goal of increasing critical mass or prompting pro-woman political reform.

As we see below in Table 6, my case study countries have had varying success in their ability to meet or exceed ballot critical mass goals. I equate critical mass goals with the quota ballot mandate percentages.[131]

Table 6[132]

Case Study Countries' Quota Mandates and Female Representation

Case study country	Year quota began	Quota ballot mandate	2014 % of female held seats
Argentina	1991	30%	36.8%
Bolivia	1997	50%	51.8%
Brazil	1998	30%	9.6%
Belgium	1994	~50%	42.4%
France	2000	48%-52%	25.7%
Slovenia	2006	35% for lower house only	27.2%

Brazilian women only occupy 9.6% of congressional seats while their ballot stipulates 30% inclusion of female candidates on ballots. This divergence can probably be attributed to Brazil's very poor quota law enforcement mechanisms. France, Belgium, and Slovenia have notably higher percentages of women in office, but have still not met the critical mass goal expressed in their ballot regulations. France, Belgium, and Slovenia all have relatively strong quota laws with adequate enforcement mechanisms. A poorly structured quota law, therefore, is probably not to blame for the relative lag in female representation compared to their quota ballot mandates. Argentina and Bolivia, which have both gradually increased quota enforcement mechanisms and eliminated several loopholes, have exceeded their quota ballot mandates in

[131] At their core, quota laws are meant to increase ballot *access* for women—not necessarily actual critical mass. Most scholars agree, however, that the ability of a quota to increase female critical mass is a key marker of quota success. For this reason, I define a given country's critical mass goal as the same number as that country's quota ballot mandate. For example, Argentina has a 30% quota mandated ballot minimum, so under my definition, their critical mass goal would also be 30%.

[132] "Technical Notes." Quota Project. "About Quotas."

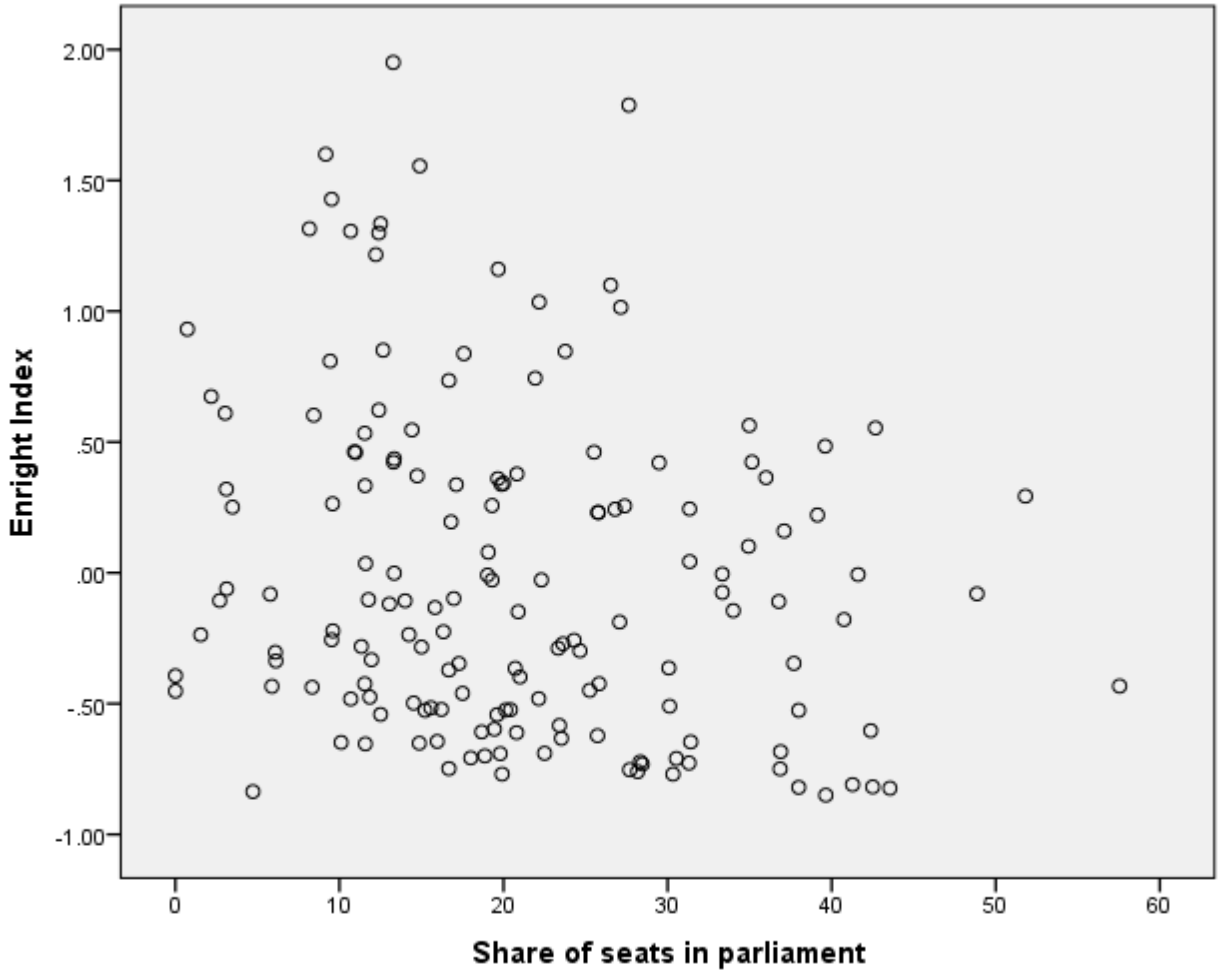
critical mass. This development suggests that well enforced quota laws with few loopholes can, with time, effectively increase female critical mass in Parliament.

As discussed earlier in this paper, however, this increase in critical mass does not necessarily lead to pro-woman political reform. In fact, after reviewing the work of several scholars, I became skeptical that the number of women in office (quota mandated or otherwise) was indicative of a given country's gender equality. If the number of women in office directly impacted gender equality, we would generally expect countries with high rates of female political representation to have low gender inequality. This relationship is key to understanding quota laws because countries with well-implemented quota laws often have relatively high female political representation. We know, however, that the superficial numerical success of increased female critical mass due to quotas may include under qualified, easily manipulated, *mujeres de* politicians. These female politicians may not have true power or authority.

With this reality in mind, I predicted that gender inequality (as measured by the Enright Index) would not strongly correlate with the number of female seats in a country's legislative body. As we see in Figure 2, this hypothesis was correct.

Figure 2

Relationship between Enright Index and Share of Seats in Parliament (2014)[133]



This scatter plot displays the percentage of 2014 female seats in parliament for all countries worldwide with their Enright Index score. This plot has a slight negative trend with a -.011 linear regression line slope. This slight negative trend means that countries with a higher share of female seats in parliament were generally somewhat more likely to have a lower Enright Index inequality score (indicating lower gender inequality).

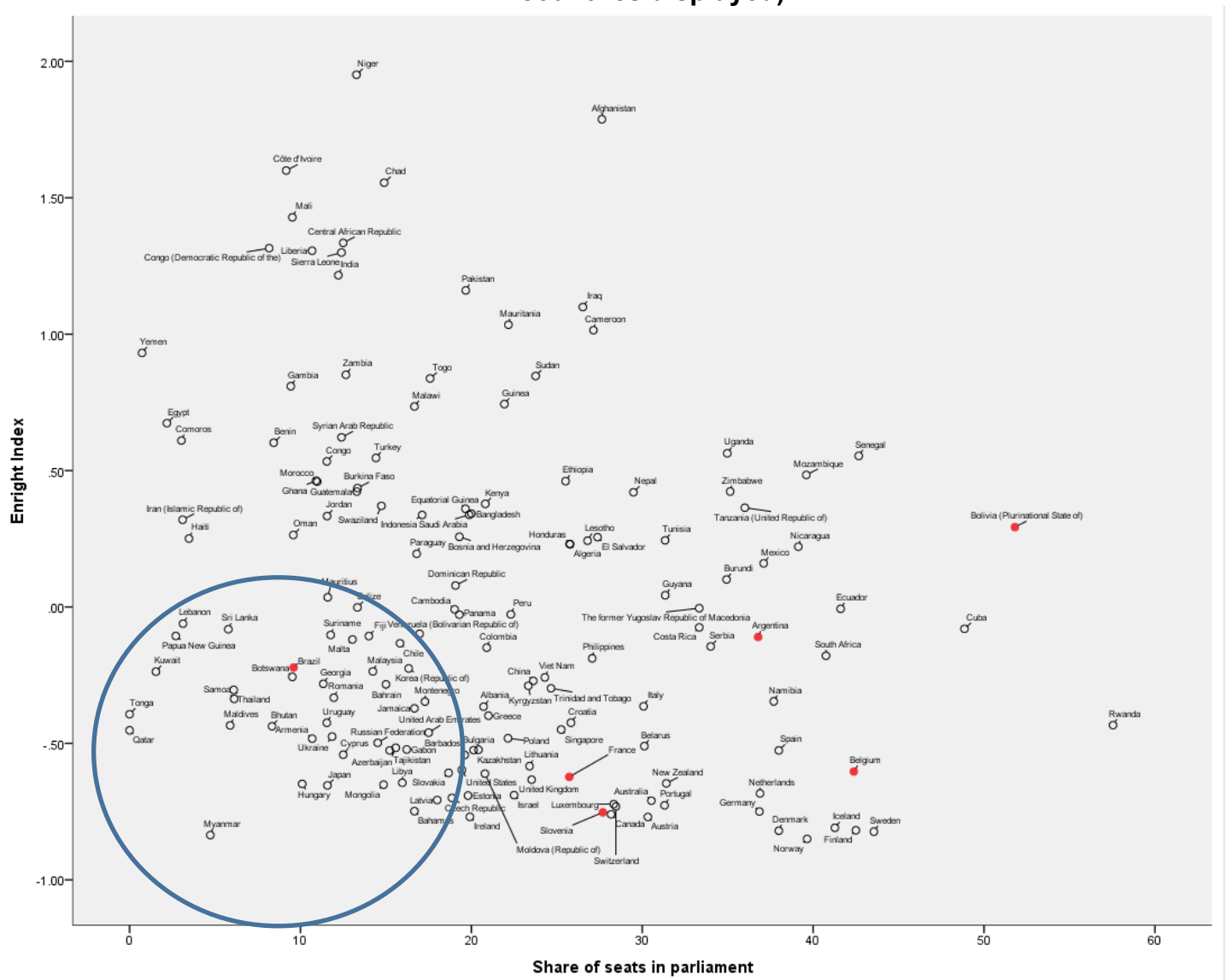
[133] "Technical Notes."

Overall, however, this plot is widely dispersed without any strong correlation between share of seats in parliament and gender inequality. Conventional wisdom might tell us that a high number of female elected officials would correlate strongly with high gender equality, but this graph indicates that the share of female held legislative seats has little relation with a country's gender inequality.

Below, Figure 3 adds country labels to this scatter plot. The case study country plots are highlighted in red.

Figure 3

Relationship between Enright Index and Share of Female Seats in Parliament (all countries displayed)[134]



I circled a large cluster of points on this scatter plot to emphasize that there are several countries with less than twenty percent of female held seats *and* a below average gender inequality measurement. The United States is included in this group, with 19% of federal congressional seats held by women in 2014. The case study countries are widely distributed across this plot. We can see that Brazil is included in the cluster of countries with few female

[134] "Technical Notes."

legislators (9%) and below average gender inequality (-0.22). Slovenia, Belgium, and France all have Enright Index scores below -0.6, well below average gender inequality scores. Of those countries, Belgium falls furthest to the right due to its high percentage of female parliamentary representation at 42%. Slovenia and France lag slightly behind this percentage at 27% and 25% female representation, respectively. Argentina has a relatively high rate of female parliamentary representation (36%), and has slightly lower than average gender inequality (-0.1). Bolivia's plot falls in the upper right area of this scatter plot because it has very high female legislative representation at 51%, accompanied by a high Enright Index gender inequality score of .29, indicating above average gender inequality. Overall, this scatter plot supports my hypothesis that gender inequality does not strongly correlate with share of female seats in parliament.

When considering quota success, one cannot immediately consider high female critical mass an indicator of success nor gender equality. Female politicians face numerous barriers to amassing real political power.

Relationship between Gender Inequality and Party Leadership

With this distinction between critical mass and gender inequality in mind, I sought to examine the relationship between quotas and real female political power. We know that a mere seat in the legislature does not necessarily equate to real political power. Leadership of a prominent political party, however, would indicate real political power. As discussed earlier in the Literature Review, political parties heavily influence agenda and political hierarchies in all six of my case study countries. Party leaders create platforms and oversee allocation of campaign resources. For this reason, a party leader has a great deal of power over who is elected

and which policies will be pursued. I suspected that countries that have been categorized by scholars as quota successes would have several female party leaders, indicating real political power, while quota failure countries would have fewer female party leaders, underscoring the potential for quota women to become political puppets.

This hypothesis proved somewhat true. Table 7 represents party leadership from the year that a quota was implemented in each case study country to 2015. These lists of party leaders were gathered from annual CIA Factbooks, which included a list of all prominent political parties in existence that year and their leader(s). My case study countries have multi-party systems, meaning the party divisions and their leaders could shift every year.

Table 7

Female Political Party Leaders in South American Case Studies[135]

Year	Argentina		Bolivia		Brazil	
data begin first year of quota implementation	Female party leaders	Total party leaders	Female party leaders	Total party leaders	Female party leaders	Total party leaders
1991	0	4				
1992	0	4				
1993	0	5				
1994	0	6				
1995	0	5				
1996	0	5				
1997	0	5	0	8		
1998	0	5	0	7	0	10
1999	0	5	0	8	0	9
2000	0	4	0	20	0	11
2001	0	4	0	7	0	9
2002	1	5	1	9	0	10
2003	1	6	0	12	0	12
2004	1	6	0	12	0	12
2005	2	7	0	11	0	15
2006	2	7	0	11	0	15
2007	2	7	1	7	1	16
2008	3	8	1	7	1	18
2009	2	7	1	7	1	20
2010	2	7	1	8	1	19
2011	3	8	0	6	1	20
2012	2	6	0	5	0	25
2013	2	6	0	5	0	25
2014	2	6	0	6	0	30
2015	2	6	0	6	0	30
Totals	27	144	5	162	5	306

This table shows party leadership since quota implementation. The data for each country begins at the year their quota law was implemented. The right-hand column for each country shows the number of major party leaders that year, as determined by the CIA World Factbook, and the left-hand column for each country tells us how many of those party leaders were female.

[135] "CIA World Factbooks." Central Intelligence Agency. 1991-2015.

The number of political party leaders in every fluctuates annually as party coalitions merge and shift.

This table indicates that, in spite of quota driven increases in female representation, very few female politicians in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil actually became party leaders. Argentina's female party leadership is notably larger than Bolivia or Brazil's, but it took ten after quota implementation for a woman to become a party leader. Since that time, yearly Argentine female party leadership numbers have remained modest. In comparison, however, Bolivia and Brazil have far lower numbers with only five female party leaders each over several years of quota implementation. This overall imbalance of power is highly indicative of a political climate that does not value female leadership as much as male leadership. Party leaders wield substantive political decision making power, and becoming a party leader requires a high degree of political capital and respect. Argentine, Bolivian, and Brazilian women may have gained seats in office through the quota law, but overall, they have not entered into the prominent and powerful party leader spaces. This finding supports the research of other authors who have concluded that a seat in office does not grant a woman substantive political power. It will be very difficult for women to gain political power in a system that does not value female leadership.

Bolivia, in particular exemplifies this phenomenon. Bolivia's legislature is now over fifty percent female, yet they have only had five female party leaders between 1997 and 2015. The heavy female representation in Bolivian legislature provided ample candidates for female party leadership, yet male leaders still disproportionately dominated party leadership—and political decision-making power. This discrepancy indicates high gender inequality, and has surely inhibited true quota success. While Bolivia has been very successful in reforming quota

loopholes and increasing critical mass, their quota law is still classified as a failure by several scholars. These finding support that conclusion, and shed light on how gender inequality in Bolivia has inhibited quota success.

Below, Table 8 shows the same information gathered about Slovenia, Belgium, and France.

Table 8

Female Political Party Leaders in European Case Studies[136]

Year	France		Belgium		Slovenia	
data begin first year of quota implementation	Female party leaders	Total party leaders	Female party leaders	Total party leaders	Female party leaders	Total party leaders
1991						
1992						
1993						
1994			0	10		
1995			0	9		
1996			0	11		
1997			0	11		
1998			0	10		
1999			0	10		
2000	2	17	1	11		
2001	1	10	1	9		
2002	2	17	2	11		
2003	3	13	3	13		
2004	3	14	3	14		
2005	3	15	3	14		
2006	3	15	3	14	0	8
2007	1	11	3	14	0	8
2008	2	17	3	8	1	8
2009	3	14	5	14	2	9
2010	4	18	4	11	2	9
2011	2	15	1	7	2	9
2012	7	12	1	13	2	11
2013	7	12	1	13	2	11
2014	7	20	2	13	2	6
2015	7	20	2	13	2	6
Totals	57	240	38	253	15	85

Like the previous table, Table 8 displays party leadership in France, Belgium, and Slovenia since their quota implementations. This chart shows that Belgium and France have had several more female party leaders than Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil. Slovenia's female party leadership, though still higher than Bolivia and Brazil, is lower than female leadership numbers in France, Belgium, and Argentina. This can probably be attributed to the fact that Slovenia's

[136] "CIA World Factbooks." Central Intelligence Agency. 1991-2015.

2006 quota is relatively recent and there are fewer post-quota yearly data reports to add to their total. These leadership roles indicate more power and respect for female political leaders in these countries than in the South American countries. Still, for countries that have been overwhelmingly classified as quota successes by scholars, I was expecting a much higher prevalence of female leadership. Though these numbers certainly indicate *more* female leadership than exists in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, this measurement does not contribute to the classification of France, Slovenia, and Belgium as quota success countries. There is still a large discrepancy between male and female party leadership, indicating an imbalance of power and lower value placed on female leadership than male leadership.

Scholars have classified Slovenia, Belgium, and France as quota success because they have been passing pro-woman reform bills and expanding their quotas within politics and in the private sector. Though these indicators are very important indicators of quota success, this contradictory marker of leadership inequality is also telling. While Belgium, Slovenia, and France certainly have more female party leadership than Bolivia, Brazil, and Argentina, their party leadership is still male dominated. This measurement—though not as severe as the South American countries—displays gender inequality that has probably also affected quota success in these countries.

Measurements of real political power are key to understanding quota success or failure, and more broadly, our understanding of effective representation in its entirety. As this paper will conclude, a female seat in the legislature, or even a high female critical mass in the legislature, is *not* an indicator of real female political power. Measurements of real political power should explore the resources, legitimacy, and political capital allocated to politicians. These indicators would vary across countries as political systems and customs differ. Some other useful

indicators of real political power for future study, however, may include membership on powerful committees or caucuses, leadership within those committees or caucuses, inclusion in cabinet positions, court appointments, party campaign funds allotted to candidates, ad space and television or radio airtime devoted to candidates, and the passage rates of bills authored by certain candidates.[137]

Other Considerations

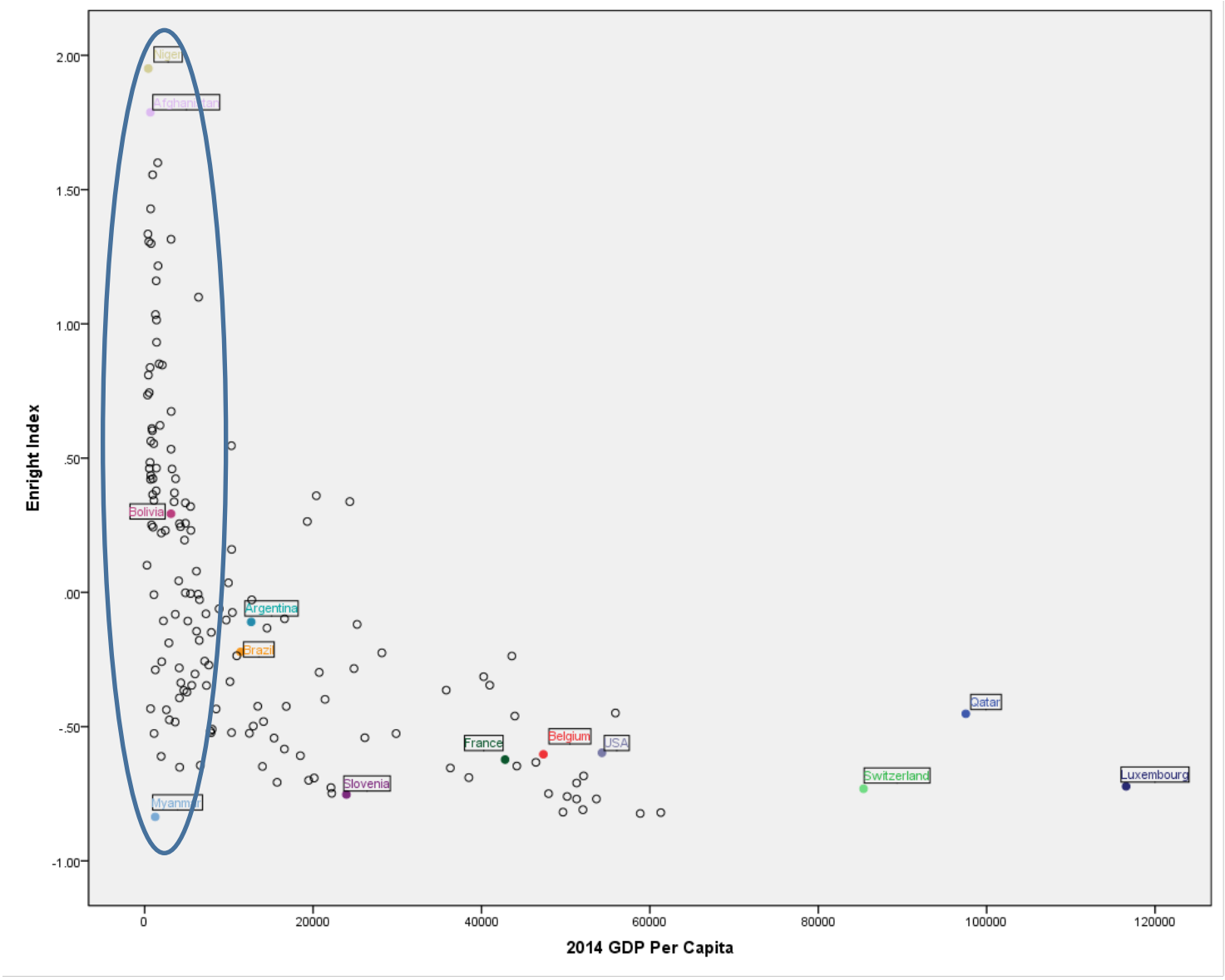
Other gender inequality indices have been critiqued because they were skewed in the favor of wealthy countries. My index, like most others, takes reproductive health factors into account. Wealthier countries with more advanced health systems will generally have the resources to promote better reproductive healthcare, reducing maternal mortality and adolescent birth rates.

As we can see in Figure 4, this is a valid consideration.

[137] Recently, political scientists have started examining this bill passage data as they have realized that quota driven critical mass increases are not necessarily indicative of quota success. My early research plan intended to examine bill topics, female bill passage rates, and bill sponsorship. I quickly realized that this route would require a several more months of information gathering and sorting aided by research assistants who fluently spoke Portuguese, French, Dutch, German, and Slovenian. Though I later settled on party leadership as a point of analysis for real female political power, I was able to find some brief bill passage analyses in my preliminary research. These findings are included in Appendix 2.

Figure 4

Relationship between Enright Index Scores and 2014 GDP Per Capita[138]



There is a very wide range of Enright Index scores for countries with a 2014 GDP per capita of less than $10,000, indicating that it is certainly possible for poor countries to have high

[138] "Technical Notes."

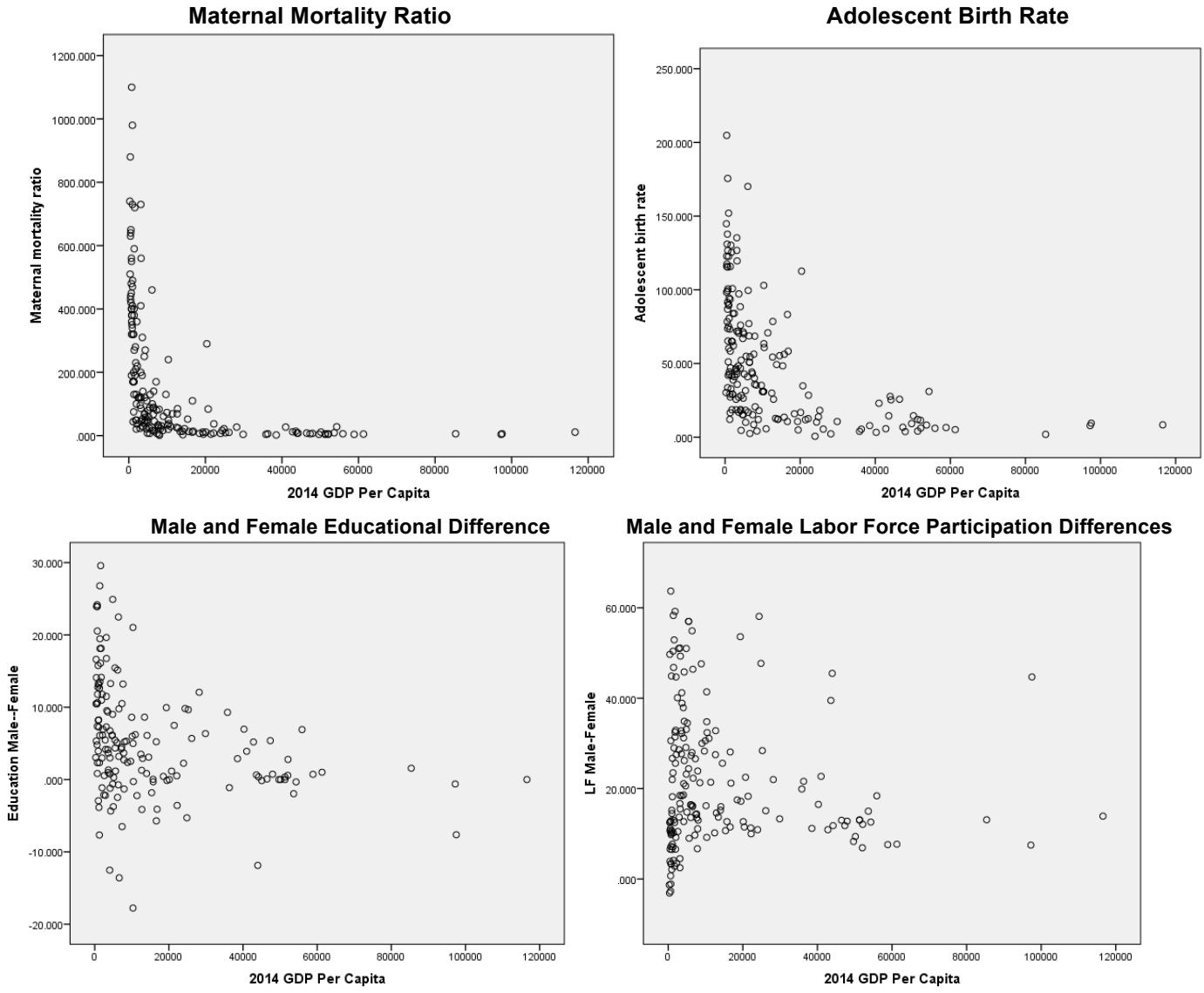
measures of gender equality.[139] All countries with 2014 GDPs per capita greater than $20,000, however, had below average gender inequality. This relationship tells us that the critique of GDP's influence on gender inequality measurements has merit. We must keep this relationship in mind while evaluating gender equality from a qualitative lens. In spite of the tendency for wealthy countries to have below average gender inequality, poorer countries can, and have, demonstrated strong gender equality.

I also generated scatter plots comparing 2014 GDP per capita with all four components of the Enright Index: maternal mortality ratio, adolescent birth rate, difference in education between men and women, and difference in labor force participation between men and women. I was curious if GDP per capita influenced any of these factors more strongly than others. Figure 5 displays that relationship.

[139] Perhaps most interesting is Myanmar. Myanmar had a 2014 GDP per capita of $1,244 but has very low gender inequality on the Enright index. Myanmar scored slightly worse than average in maternal mortality rates, but was far better than the average global adolescent birth rates, male and female education differences, and labor force participation rate differences. Myanmar does not have a gender quota and has 5% female representation in its legislative body.

Figure 5

Influence of GDP Per Capita on individual components of the Enright Index



These comparisons of 2014 GDP per capita with each Enright Index component echo the trends of the previous scatter plot comparing the 2014 GDP per capita with the aggregate Enright Index. In general, countries with higher GDPs per capita also tend to have lower gender inequality, according to these Enright Index markers. Like the scatter plot comparing the overall Enright Index with 2014 GDP per capita, however, there is a great deal of score variation among countries with very low GDP per capita. This tells that, although wealthy countries tend to score

better in terms of equality, there are several poor countries that also display markers of strong gender inequality.

The Maternal Mortality Ratio plot contains a large cluster of countries in the lower left corner, indicating several countries with a low maternal mortality ratio and a low 2014 GDP per capita. This cluster is not as prominent in the Adolescent Birth Rate plot. Though there are poor countries with low adolescent birth rates, wealthy countries generally perform better in this measurement. The remaining two components, which examine education and labor force participation are calculated by subtracting female values from male values. In almost all cases, these outputs were positive, indicating that men had higher education and labor force participation rates than women. In a select few cases, however, the outputs were negative, indicating that women attended secondary school at higher rates than men and that more women participated in the labor force than men. Most of these female dominated educational attainment differences were minor (very close to zero difference), but in the cases of the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Gabon, and Micronesia the difference actually exceeded ten percent. In the educational difference measurement, wealthy countries tend to have educational difference scores closer to zero, though several poor countries have scores near or even below zero. Interestingly, it is the poor countries that have the most points near zero in the labor force participation measurement (indicating roughly equal rates of male and female labor force participation). This might be attributed to the increased necessity for a two family income in poor countries. The four countries with higher female than male labor force participation rates were Malawi, Mozambique, Burundi, and Rwanda, and their differences between male and female participation were all below 3.2%

Taken together, the overall Enright Index and the individual Enright Index components validate some scholarly suspicion of a bias towards wealthy countries in gender inequality indices. In my opinion, however, the truly interesting result of these comparisons is that there is a surprisingly large number of poor countries that, despite minimal resources and other disadvantages, have managed to rival rich countries in one or more gender equality measurement. This peculiarity would prompt interesting analysis in future research.

Conclusions

Quota success is contingent upon a high level of gender equality. Gender equality is not necessarily dependent on the number of women in elected office. As Figures 2 and 3 showed, there are several countries that have demonstrated success in measurements of gender equality with relatively few women in legislative office. Simply putting a woman in parliament is not enough to enhance gender equality, and we know that while critical mass may be higher in several quota countries, this will not necessarily translate into pro-woman reform. Measuring the real political power that female politicians wield is far more telling of the status of women than the critical mass of female politicians. Examining the number of women who have become leaders of prominent political parties revealed that very few women in Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil had amassed that level of power. I conclude that this lack of substantive power has been a key barrier to quota success. The data also shed light on quota success countries, however, and though these countries demonstrated more female political power than the South American countries, they still indicated a highly disproportionate leadership system. Though the quota

laws in Belgium, France, and Slovenia have been deemed successful, perhaps a more equitable leadership climate would have fostered even more success.

The data gathered in this quantitative section create a framework for understanding the upcoming qualitative analysis. These numerical analyses indicate some broad trends in gender inequality and their relationship with quota success, but the next session will further explain the cultural factors that impact each country's quota system.

CHAPTER FIVE

Qualitative Analysis: "The Production of a Female Authority"

Introduction

This section aims to provide further insight into the relationship between gender inequality and quota failure through a qualitative lens. I searched for news articles about the highest-ranking female politician in all six of my case study countries. I predicted that the countries with high gender inequality, as established using the Enright Index in the previous chapter, would also feature obvious indicators of gender inequality in the news media regarding those high ranking female politicians. Though the numerical indicators gathered in the Enright Index in the last section can tell us some basic information about gender inequality in each of those six countries, this qualitative section provides more insight into *how* that gender inequality manifests itself in the political realm of each country in question. In particular, I was interested in the way the expectation of aesthetic femininity affects female politicians' legitimacy. My findings suggest that the rigid expectations of feminine beauty placed on some female politicians indicate high gender inequality and can undermine female leaders' legitimacy.[140]

Other scholars have also explored the relationship between sexist cultural markers and barriers to female representation. As Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris explain in their book, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World,* sexist attitudes "have a powerful impact on political reality, since egalitarian values are significantly associated with

[140] Each article is cited once in a footnote at the beginning of the section. All of the Portuguese and English translations are included in footnotes as well.

women being successfully elected to office. Culture matters."[141] Inglehart and Norris further explain that hostile attitudes toward women, as evidenced by cultural markers, are one of the most important barriers to women running for parliament.[142] The rest of this section will explain how hostile attitudes toward women, as evidenced in various news sources, undermine female politicians' legitimacy and ultimately impede quota success.

My qualitative study is primarily focused on findings from Argentina and Brazil. Searches for the two highest female politicians in those countries, former President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and President Dilma Rousseff, respectively, yielded countless articles discussing both women's physical appearance in relation to a feminine ideal. The sections below present a selected sample of those search results[143]. Close analysis of these news articles reveals intense and ubiquitous scrutiny placed on female politicians' femininity at a level unparalleled by their male counterparts. There are certainly some examples of male politicians in Argentina or Brazil who have been physically critiqued by the media, or who have opted for some aesthetic enhancements, but the volume of media attention devoted to these instances is exorbitantly surpassed by the number of articles critiquing female politicians' physique in an objectifying manner. My analysis in this section will help us understand how gender inequality in Argentina and Brazil limits female politicians' power.

As discussed earlier in my methodology section, a thorough search for articles about Bolivia's two highest-ranking female politicians yielded very few results. While there were not any articles critiquing either woman's physical appearance, there was also a noticeable scarcity

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[141] Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World*. pp. 144.

[142] Ibid. pp. 134.

[143] It should be noted that the majority of news articles about President Rousseff and President Fernández de Kirchner did focus solely on their policy and did not attempt to critique either woman's physical appearance or femininity. There were, however, a seemingly endless supply of articles that did criticize each woman's physical appearance and femininity. Even though these themes were not in the majority of articles published, they were an impressively prominent minority that indicates pervasive cultural themes.

in any media attention for either woman. There was, however, substantial media discussion of lower ranking male politicians in Bolivia. Though we cannot unpack the role of femininity in Bolivian politics using a news media search, this absence is still indicative of a high level of gender inequality. The lack of media attention for Gabriela Montaña Viaña and Betty Asunta Tejada Soruco in Bolivia suggests fewer resources, lower priority, and less public interest for female politicians in Bolivia.

A search for the highest-ranking female politicians in France, Belgium, and Slovenia did yield numerous results. Christine Defraigne of Belgium, Édith Cresson of France, and Alenka Bratušek of Slovenia are all heavily represented in their respective countries' news outlets. The articles that appear about those women, however, almost exclusively discuss their political agendas. A thorough search for these politicians with terms like "plastic surgery," "fashion," "makeup" and "weight" that yielded countless discussions about Presidents Rousseff and Fernández de Kirchner did not provide any results in French, Belgian, or Slovenian news outlets. This absence indicates to us that media objectification and intense physical scrutiny of female politicians in France, Belgium, and Slovenia is far less pervasive than it is in Brazil and Argentina.

Argentina

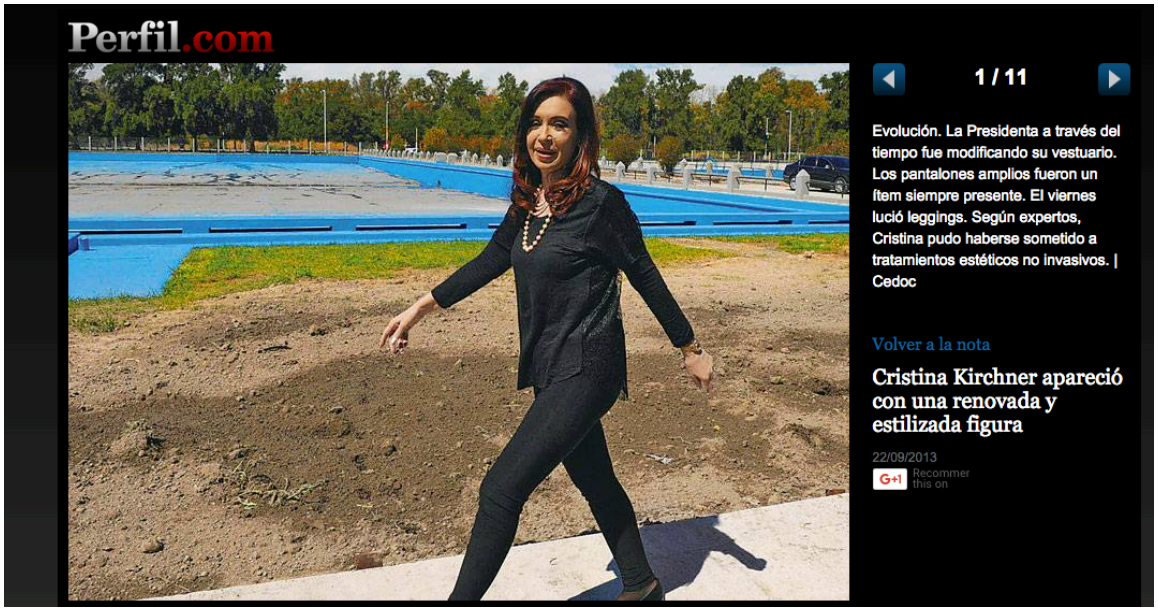
This section offers a sample of four articles discussing President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. It includes on article from *Perfil,* one article from *La Nación,* and two articles from *Clarín.* All of these sources are major news publications in Argentina.

Perfil:[144]

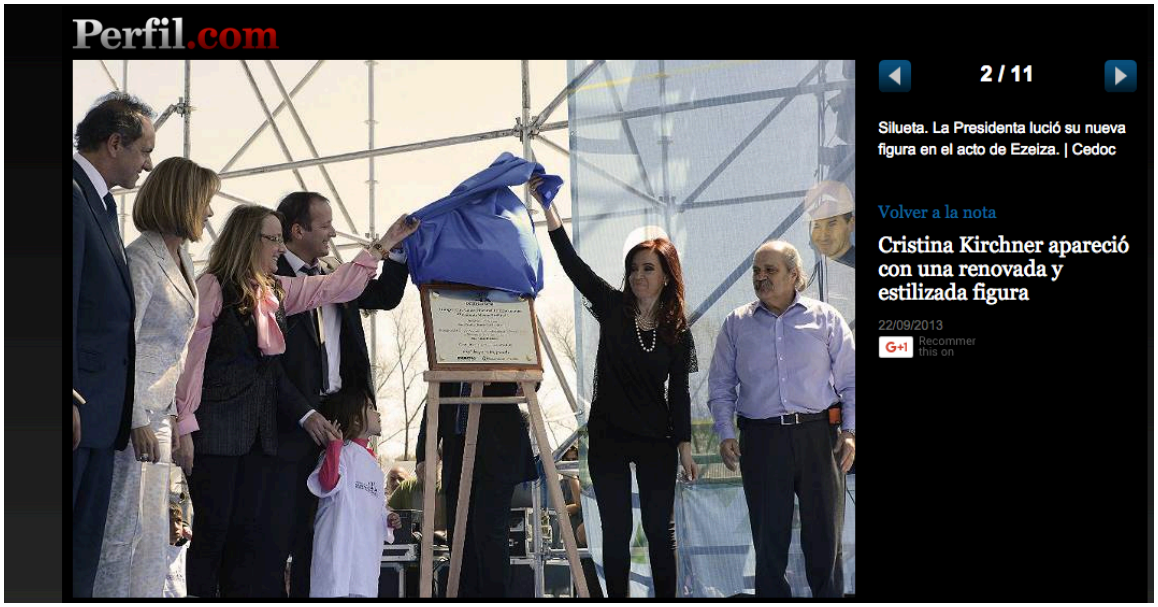
A 2013 article from the Argentine newspaper, Perfil, entitled "Cristina Kirchner appeared with a renewed and stylized figure,"[145] features an in depth analysis of then-President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner's decision to wear leggings at the opening of a large industrial center in Ezeiza, Argentina. Perfil is a large Argentine publication featuring news on politics, economics, and culture. The article begins with an image gallery analyzing the President's figure, displayed by the leggings. The gallery then provides further commentary on some of President Fernández de Kirchner's previous fashion choices. While this article offers a detailed fashion analysis that would be rare for a male politician, the meticulous examination of President Fernández de Kirchner's figure throughout the article further exemplifies the sexism that has accompanied her political career.

[144] Gallardo, Augustín. "Cristina Kirchner Apareció Con Una Renovada Y Estilizada Figura."*Perfil.com*, September 22, 2013.
[145] *Cristina Kirchner apareció con una renovada y estilizada figura.*

Selected images from the photo gallery

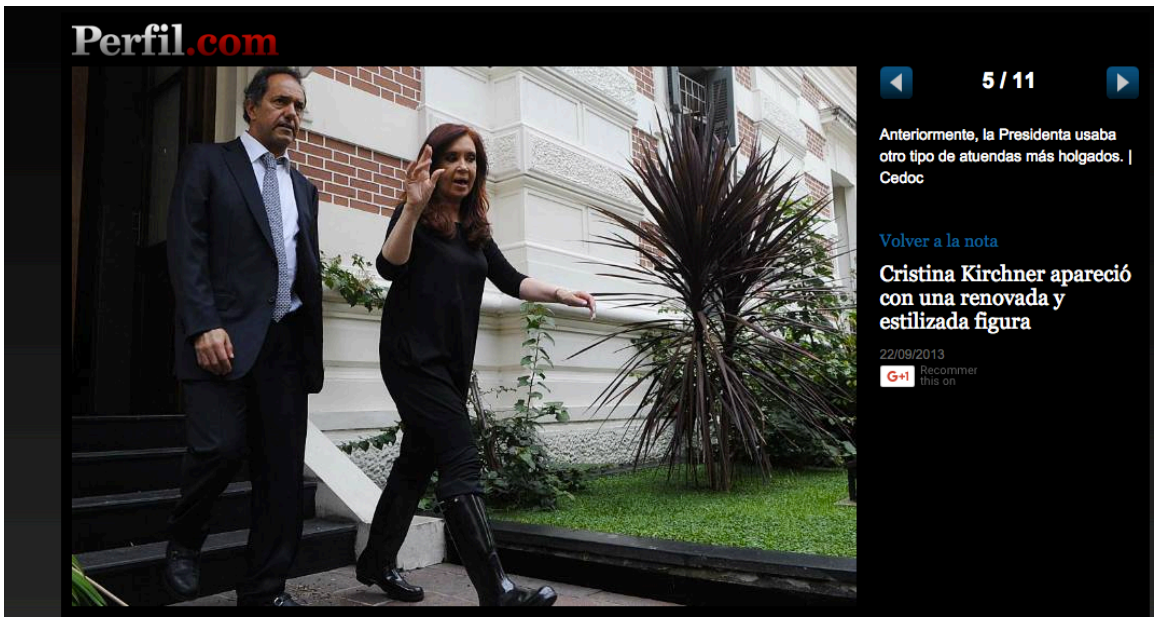


Translation: Evolution. The President's changing wardrobe. Wide legged pants were always a present item [in her wardrobe]. On Friday, she wore leggings. According to experts, Cristina could have undergone noninvasive aesthetic treatments.

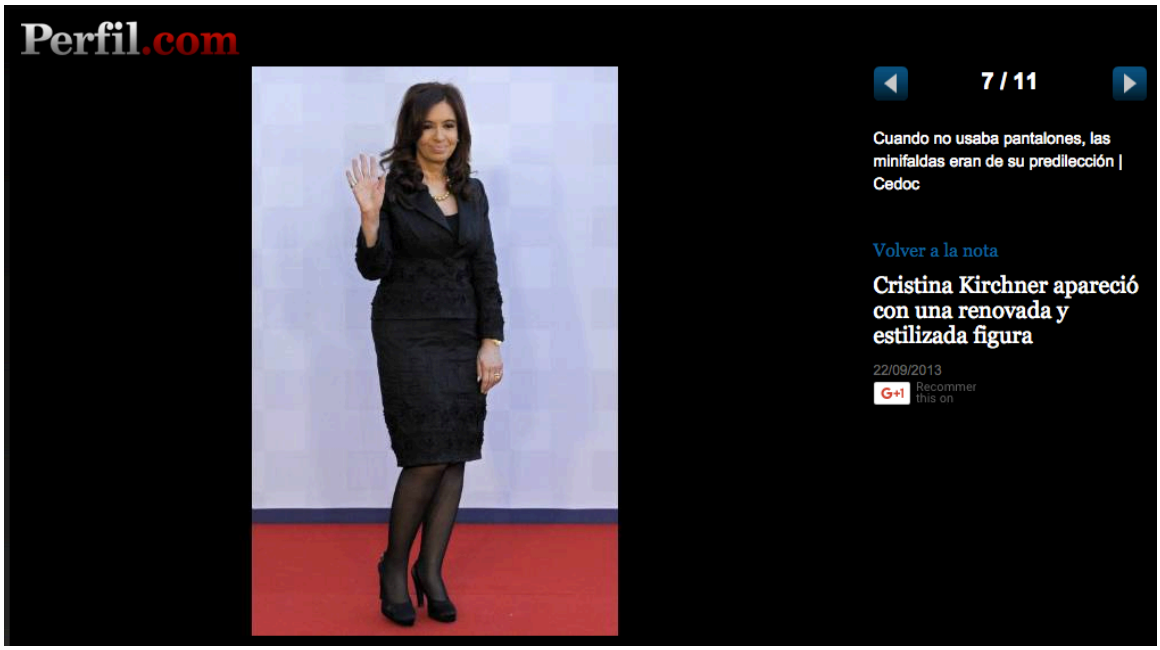


Translation: The President shows off her new figure in Ezeiza.

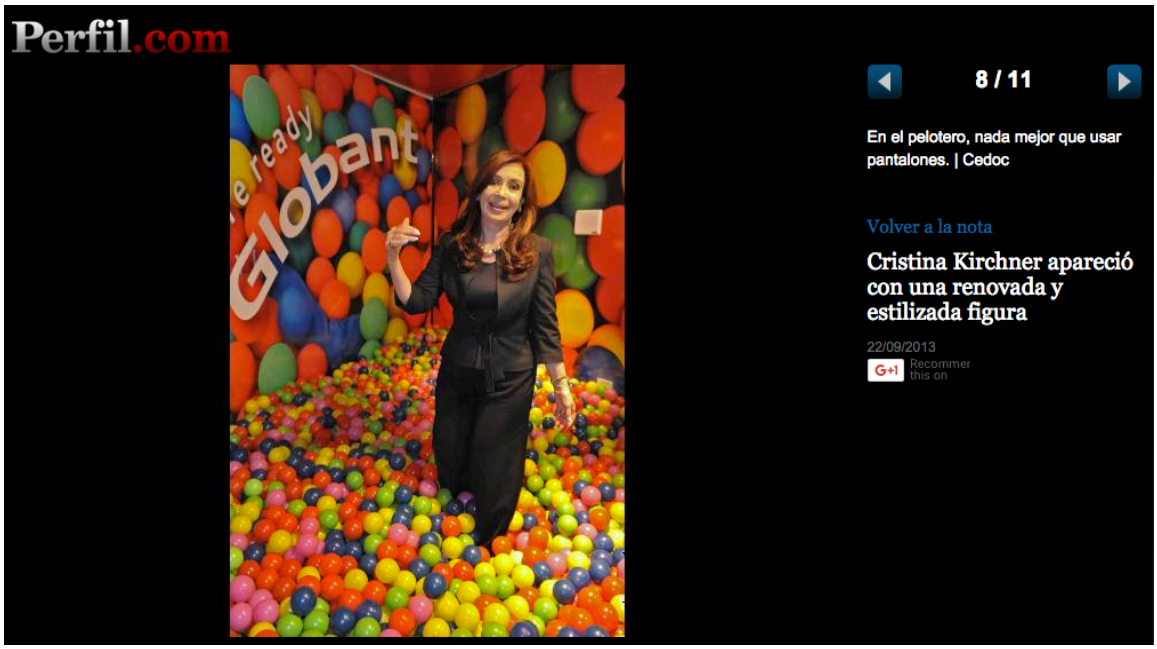
Translation: All eyes on the President's new figure.



Translation: Earlier, the President wore looser pants.



Translation: When not wearing pants, miniskirts are her favorite.



Translation: For a ball pit, there is no better choice than pants.

The article then goes on to describe the President's alleged weight loss goals, saying, "Eliminate that small fat roll that's always bothering you. (…) Undoubtedly, this is the dream of all women who wish to look good. Cristina Kirchner is no exception."[146] The article finally describes her fitness regime, noting that she walks an hour every day. It later reports that experts consulted by Perfil suggested that the President may have eliminated some of her fat using a technique called Cool Sculpting. The article speculates that this fat reducing treatment may have been the reason that President Fernández de Kirchner began wearing leggings.

It is important to note that this article did not contain a single explanation of the President's business at the industrial complex opening in Ezeiza, nor did it mention of any of her policies, opinions, or experience as a politician. Instead, it focused exclusively on critiquing President Fernández de Kirchner's physical appearance within the constraints of a feminine ideal. Her thin figure is of the utmost importance in this article. The leggings accentuate her feminine figure and provide the opportunity to discuss her fitness regime and weight loss. The article also sexualizes the President, noting that she favors miniskirts and that her leggings "revealed a well-sculpted figure."[147]

Taken together, these aspects can undermine President Fernández de Kirchner's legitimacy. The final photo, analyzing her ball pit fashion choice, is unpresidential. The trivial discussion of her fashion, weight loss, and sexualization distracts from the image of a leader that most male politicians enjoy.

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[146] *"Eliminar ese rollito que tanto molesta. (...) Sin duda, éste es el sueño de cualquier mujer que desea verse bien. Cristina Kirchner no es la excepción,*

[147] *que dejó ver una inédita y moldeada figura.*

La Nación:[148]

A 2007 article in the Politics section of La Nación, one of Argentina's leading newspapers, provides an in depth evaluation of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's feminine style. The article, titled "Secrets and mysteries of Cristina Kirchner's glamorous look" features interviews with insiders who report on the President's fashion and beauty tendencies.

The article opens by describing an encounter between President Fernández de Kirchner and Ecuadorian President, Rafael Correa. It reads, "Cristina Kirchner looked at the audience and played with a white fan. She moved her hands carefully. Clumsiness could ruin her delicate hair in front of Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa."[149]

It later describes her physical appearance, noting that her eyelashes are loaded with mascara, and she wears diamonds and a designer suit. The author notes that the President is known for her expensive taste in designer fashion, and that the President seeks to achieve a "young and modern"[150] style. A picture included in the article claims that President Fernández de Kirchner frequently chooses silk and chiffon materials in her clothing.

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148 Fernández, Flavia. "Los Secretos Y Las Incógnitas Del Glamoroso Look Cristina Kirchner." *La Nación*, September 24, 2007.

149 *Cristina Kirchner miraba al public con un abanico blanco. Movía las manos con cuidado. Una torpeza podia arruinarle el delicado peinado frente al presidente ecuatoriano, Rafael Correa.*

150 *joven y moderna.*

MEXICO DF, 08/07: Seda y gasa estampada, dos materiales que siempre elige.Foto:Archivo

The author then speculates on the aging president's plastic surgery rumors. The article says, "it is evident that the fight against aging influences Cristina."[151] The author mentions that President Fernández de Kirchner may have undergone a facelift, used lip fillers, or used a botulinum toxin to treat dark under eye circles.

The article closes by quoting Argentina fashion designer Benito Fernandez's assessment of the President's typical look, which he describes as "cute, sexy, (…) and modern."[152] The author concludes that, "'the Mrs.' does not seem to be planning to change her sexy look, but rather, to grow it into her own personal brand."[153] "The Mrs." refers to the fact that President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner is the wife of the late President Nestór Kirchner, who was President of Argentina from 2003 to 2007 and passed away in 2010. Both presidents were members of the left wing Justialista Party. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner served in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and Senate before winning the 2007 presidential election.

[151] *es evidente que la lucha contra el tiempo ocupa a Cristina.*
[152] *mona, sexy (...) y moderna.*
[153] *'la señora' parece que no piensa cambiar su look sexy, sino cultivarlo como marca propia.*

Despite President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's political background and qualifications, she is often remembered as President Nestór Kirchner's wife. This article in La Nación offers several examples of sexist imagery, most notably, the discussion of a female President's personal brand as, "cute" and "sexy." Needless to say, these are not the descriptors that accompany male politicians in Argentina.

As discussed earlier, after the introduction of the quota law, female politicians in Argentina have often encountered challenges to their political authority due to association with male politicians. This *mujeres de* stereotype casts women as the puppets of more powerful male politicians. This perception has some basis in fact, of course, as some inexperienced and uneducated women are placed on Argentine ballots to fulfill quotas specifically because they will be easily manipulated by party leadership or another male politician if elected. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, however, has a law degree from the National University of La Plata, was active within the Peronist Youth as a young woman, and began her career in elected office eighteen years before assuming the presidency. Referring to her as "Mrs." in this article mischaracterizes her qualifications and authority as a leader. It implies that she is not a legitimate head of state--merely someone's wife.

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner is a highly controversial figure, with a presidency marked by allegations of corruption, a stalling economy, and a 2015 approval rating at 29.8%[154]. There was ample material for political critique and discussion of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's policies. Instead, much of her media attention could be characterized by objectifying analyses of her physical appearance or references to her husband

[154] Bronetein, Hugh. "Argentina's Fernandez Approval Rating Driven down by Nisman - Poll." *Reuters UK*, February 23, 2015.

Clarín:[155]

Two other articles in the major Argentine newspaper, Clarín, echo these themes. The first article is titled, "The style of president Cristina: more sober and discreet dress and makeup."[156] It describes the anticipation for the reveal of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's inauguration outfit, referring to her fashion choice as "almost a state secret." The author then describes at length nearly every aspect of the new President's inauguration look, including a "white straight sleeveless dress with a hemline below the knee, with a jacket a few centimeters shorter than the dress, (…) sexy and very feminine high heels, (…) loose hair with some waves, (…) and discreet makeup for an occasion that, as a woman after all, might prompt a few tears."[157] My search for fashion commentary on current Argentina President Mauricio Macri's inauguration look did not yield any results, nor was there speculation that the new president would tear up during the ceremony. This mention of the possibility that President Fernández de Kirchner may cry during her inauguration casts her as weak and fragile.

The article then explains that Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's look has evolved, just like her politics.[158] While the article does not provide any commentary on the President's political evolution, it does deliver a comprehensive breakdown of her fashion journey from the 1970s to 2007. The author describes President Fernández de Kirchner's use of woven shirts, wide belts, floral prints, and colorful suits. The article then compares President Fernández de Kirchner's

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[155] Rodríguez, Carla. "El Estilo Cristina Presidenta: Vestido Ms Sobrio Y Maquillaje Ms Discreto." *El Estilo Cristina Presidenta: Vestido Más Sobrio Y Maquillaje Más Discreto*. "Cristina Kirchner, En Un Ranking De Mujeres "mal Vestidas"" Clarín.

[156] *El estilo Cristina presidenta: vestido más sobrio y maquillaje más discreto*

[157] There is no evidence that President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner cried publicly during the 2007 inauguration, nor is she known as a person who commonly cries.
Estaba de blanco, con un vestido sin mangas recto hasta debajo de la rodilla y un tapado de guipure unos centímetros más corto. (...)zapatos altos al tono, sexies y muy femeninos
(...) el pelo suelto, con algunas ondas (...)y un maquillaje discreto para una ocasión que, mujer al fin, le iba a permitir seguir estando prolija aunque hubiera algunas lágrimas.

[158] "Como en la política, también en la moda Cristina Fernández de Kirchner ha recorrido un largo camino."

fashion to that of Michelle Bachelet, Hillary Clinton, and Ségolène Royal and concludes that President Fernández de Kirchner's look "prevails" over theirs.

A later Clarín article published in 2009 also compares President Fernández de Kirchner's fashion with other female world leaders. This article, called, "Cristina Kirchner, en un ranking de mujeres "mal vestidas," meaning, "Cristina Kirchner in a ranking of 'worst dressed' women," actually concludes that President Fernández de Kirchner is more poorly dressed than other female world leaders.

Translation: Cristina Fernández de Kirchner en el Palacio Real de Madrid.

The article criticizes the President's outfit choice during a visit to the Royal Palace of Madrid. It calls President Fernández de Kirchner's outfit, consisting of a "burgundy colored skirt with a white flower pattern and a champagne-colored shirt,"[159] "disheveled."[160] It also

[159] *una pollera en color borravino con un estampado de flores blancas y una camisa en color champagne.*
[160] *despeinada.*

claims that the fabrics she chose clashed with each other. The article later notes that Queen Sofia and Princess Letizia of Spain are also poorly dressed female leaders.

Both of these articles demonstrate the powerful physical scrutiny that female politicians experience in Argentina. When appearing publicly, a female politician can expect to have her weight, clothing, accessories, makeup, and hair closely critiqued by the media. This expectation of near constant feminine perfection is indicative of a wide disparity in gender equality for a number of reasons. First, this attention can detract from a female politician's political legitimacy. As we saw in these articles, it is common for a critique of a female politician's aesthetic beauty to contain little to no mention of her politics. This can distract the public from their political agenda and cast a female politician as unqualified or ineffective. Second, these frequent physical critiques of female politicians are objectifying. They place high value on a woman's feminine figure, weight, hairstyle, and outfit. This objectification reduces powerful female politicians' value down to the style of her jacket or the prominence of her cheekbones. Finally, this standard is almost exclusively applied to women. Male politicians in Argentina are not subject to this level of physical scrutiny or objectification. This disparity indicates significant gender inequality, and it tells us that this gender inequality has a profound effect on society's perception and value of female leaders.

Brazil

This section examines articles from four major Brazilian media publications, *Istoé Independente*, *Mulher, R7,* and *Agora.* These articles offer a sample of the seemingly countless public analyses of President Dilma Rousseff's physical appearance and evolving femininity.

Istoe Independente:[161]

Istoé Independente, a Brazilian magazine published weekly, released an article entitled, "How to Build a Candidate."[162] The article details the great lengths to which Brazilian president, Dilma Rousseff, went to in order to enhance her feminine appearance and win the 2010 election. The article explains that President Rousseff's "more serene face, more open eyes and well designed mouth"[163] were the result of plastic surgery. As the article shows, President Rousseff's extensive make over was part of a "well planned strategy with a single purpose: to give Rousseff a less stern and more sympathetic profile as part of the package that was needed to transform her (…) into a candidate."[164]

In 2007, when then-President Lula began suggesting that Dilma Rousseff should be his successor, a team was gathered to organize her transformation. This group consisted of John Santana, a political marketing expert; Laurez Cerqueira, a journalist; Tian, a prominent hairdresser; Franklin Martins, the Minister of Social Communication; Sergio Panizzon, a surgeon; and President Lula as an informal advisor. The team decided that Rousseff's physical image would need to become more soft and feminine in order for her to gain mass public support. According to *Istoé Independente*, she began to diet and take Pilates in 2008 and lost twelve kilograms. Santana then transitioned her out of her wardrobe, known for dark suits, to lighter suits with flower accents. Rousseff also stopped wearing glasses in favor of contact lenses. Panizzon's team later performed plastic surgery on Rousseff, which included lifting her

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161 Lago, Rudolfo, and Sérgio Pardellas. "Como Construir Uma Candidata." *ISTO Independente*, January 21, 2009.
[162] The Portugues word for candidate is *um candidato*, which is masculine. The title of this article changes the spelling of candidate to be feminine (*uma candidata*), which is spelling change indicating that the particular candidate being discussed in the article is a woman.
como construir uma candidate.
[163] *O rosto mais sereno, de olhos mais abertos e boca bem desenhada.*
[164] *uma estratégia bem planejada com um único propósito: o de conferir a Dilma um perfil menos sisudo e mais simpático e ser a embalagem que faltava para transformar a (...)candidata do governo.*

eyelids, thinning her nose, and reducing wrinkle lines between her nose and lips. Finally, her hairdresser, Tian, lightened her hair color and decided on a new haircut that would reduce the apparent size of Rousseff's forehead. The *Istoé Independente* article shows a photo timeline of Rousseff's evolving look.

Translation: METAMORPHASIS the various faces of Dilma Rousseff, from the guerilla era, through the South Rio Grande government, to the Federal Ministry.

As the article explains, the Presidential Palace then commissioned a focus group in an attempt to assess the potential effects that Rousseff's make over would have on the upcoming election. A heterogeneous group was gathered, including members of various social classes, to discuss the candidate's transformation. The members of the focus group described Rousseff's new look as "smooth."[165]

Istoé Independente's report reflects the very strict standards of femininity to which female politicians are held in Brazil. Rousseff was perceived to be to aesthetically "hard," and in order to appeal to the public in a way that would allow her to win an election, a team of experts including a sitting president determined that she would require a complete physical transformation to feminize her look.

Some male politicians in Brazil have also received coaching on their physical appearances, including wardrobe updates or minor aesthetic upgrades like teeth whitening or hair plugs.[166] Brazil is the world's second largest[167] provider of plastic surgery, with 2,058,505 plastic surgeries performed in 2014.[168] There are a few reports of some male politicians also undergoing plastic surgery. The level of physical scrutiny that Dilma Rousseff has encountered, however, is unparalleled among major Brazilian leaders. There are countless articles examining her wardrobe, hair, and figure, as I will display later in this section.

Drastically altering Dilma Rousseff's appearance to fit within a more feminine standard was integral to her ability to win the 2010 election. Dilma Rousseff is known for her toughness, including imprisonment and torture for opposing Brazil's right wing dictatorship. While for

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[165] *suavidade*
[166] Lima, Luciana. "Para Fazer Bonito, Presidenciáveis Fazem De Implante Capilar a Cirurgia Plástica - Política." *Último Segundo*, December 8, 2014.
[167] The United States provides the most plastic surgeries annually compared to other nations. In 2014, 4,064,571 plastic surgeries were performed in the United States.
[168] Lewin, Michael L. "ISAPS International Survey on Aesthetic/Cosmetic Procedures Performed in 2014." 2014.

some male politicians, this toughness may have been an asset, Rousseff was coached to downplay this characteristic because she needed to come across as more soft and feminine.

Mulher[169]

A 2011 article in the Brazilian publication, *Mulher*, analyzes Dilma Rousseff's fashion. *Mulher*, is a large Brazilian women's interest magazine that discusses issues such as health, career, and style. The article, titled, "Dilma Rousseff's Style"[170] discusses the president's fashion. The article begins opens with, "besides, of course, political issues, another theme promises to be important to the president: style. Which clothes, makeup, and hair styles are preferred by Brazil's highest authority?"[171]

The article later describes President Rousseff's outfit for the inauguration ceremony, which is described as a "classic look"[172] with white embroidery and pearls. It is noted that her hair and makeup were discreet. The author points out that President Rousseff has opted for a number of aesthetic changes since running for president. The author speculates that President Rousseff's decision to cut and color her hair was inspired by Venezuelan designer, Carolina Herrera. She later explains that Rousseff's image consultant, Alexandre Herchovitch, worked on her wardrobe during her campaign, and make-up artist/personal advisor, Rose Pearce, was responsible for styling Rousseff's hair on a daily basis.

Articles describing Brazilian male politician's inauguration outfits and campaign trail beauty regimens are virtually non-existent. In contrast, there are several articles that provide

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169 Crespo, Camila. "Estilo Dilma Rousseff." Mulher. January 03, 2011.
170 *Estilo Dilma Rousseff.*
171 *além, é claro, de assuntos politicos, outra temática promente ser recorrente ao se flar na presidenta: estilo. Que roupas, maquiagem, e cabelos são os preferidos da autoridade maxima brasileira?"*
172 *um look classic.*

detailed analysis of President Rousseff's physical appearance during her inauguration, like this one. Though the author does briefly allude to the fact that President Rousseff does participate in politics by mentioning the phrase "political issues"[173] and noting that she is "Brazil's highest authority,"[174] she does not go on to explain her political background or agenda at any length. This heavy emphasis on physical appearance without discussion of her political role is incredibly uncommon to find among articles concerning Brazilian male politicians.

Additionally, this article underscores the pressure that female politicians face to adhere to a feminine beauty expectation. As a candidate, Rousseff used a team of consultants to style her. Though some male politicians also receive similar assistance, Rousseff relied on an image team to do her hair, make up, and strategically choose her wardrobe on a daily basis. The expectation of beauty that President Rousseff faced was unparalleled by her male counterparts.

R7[175]

A 2015 article published in *R7,* entitled, "President Dilma Rousseff's diet becomes fashionable in Espanada,"[176] discusses how other politicians in Brazil have adopted President Rousseff's pre-inauguration weight loss program. *R7* is the online publication of Grupo Record, which is the third largest media company in Brazil. This article was published under their news section.

The article explains that President Dilma Rousseff adopted a weight loss strategy designed by Argentine doctor, Maximo Ravenna, before her inauguration. The diet eliminates refined carbohydrates and sugars. According to the article, several other prominent Brazilian

[173] *assuntos politicos.*
[174] *autoridade máxima brasileira.*
[175] http://noticias.r7.com/brasil/dieta-da-presidente-dilma-rousseff-vira-moda-na-esplanada-24012015
[176] *Dieta da presidente Dilma Rousseff vira moda na Esplanada.*

politicians adopted the Ravenna diet after President Rousseff's inauguration. *R7* reports that the Minister of Policy Secretariat for Women, Eleonora Menicucci lost seventeen kilograms in six months, Congresswoman Erika Kokay lost twenty-four kilograms, and Chief Justice José Eduardo Cardozo lost seven point five kilograms. The article features a before and after photo of Chief Justice José Eduardo Cardozo and a photo of all politicians mentioned in the article.

The article concludes by noting that the popularity of the Ravenna diet has risen by 30% in Brasilia since the President's weight loss.

This article is notable because it was one of very few Brazilian publications to mention a male politician's weight loss strategies. Like the female politicians mentioned in this article, the author did not include any description of Chief Justice José Eduardo Cardozo's political background. Despite the extreme rarity of this occurrence, the *R7* article still does point to some inequality between male and female politicians. Firstly, three female politicians' weight loss is

discussed in this article compared to one man's weight loss. Secondly, the women mentioned in this article reportedly lost significantly more weight than Chief Justice José Eduardo Cardozo. Finally, the article mentions several times that President Dilma Rousseff inspired this diet among politicians and among citizens of Brasilia. There are numerous Brazilian news sources[177] that discuss the influence of President Rousseff's diet, and though presidents tend to be very influential people, President Rousseff is the only Brazilian president to have gained this much attention and scrutiny over her figure.

Agora[178]

In 2013, major news outlet, Agora, published an article called "Dilma's hairstyle and makeup cost R$ 3,125."[179] The first lines of the article read, "vanity has its price. And higher and higher, as shown by the costs to fix Dilma Rousseff's hair and makeup for her appearances on national television."[180] The article references budget reports obtained using the Brazilian Access to Information Act. In the early budgets, the president is allotted R$ 400[181] for visual costs before national television appearances. Later reports, however, showed that the president's visual cost budget increased dramatically. When questioned, President Rousseff's staff released a letter explaining that the "production of a 'female authority' is different [from a male authority]

[177] Carmo, Marcia. "'Dilma é Linda', Diz Argentino Criador De Dieta Da Presidente." *BBC Brasil*, September 10, 2015.
"Ravenna: Emagrecimento De Dilma Inspira as Pessoas." Brasil 247. May 17, 2015.
Mendonça, Heloísa. "O Médico Argentino Que Colocou Dilma (e a Esplanada) De Dieta." *EL PAÍS*, January 19, 2015.
[178] "Penteado E Maquiagem De Dilma Custam R$ 3.125." Agora. June 26, 2013.
[179] R$ 3.125 = $830 USD.
Penteado e maquiagem de Dilma custam R$ 3.125.
[180] *a vaidade tem seu preço. E cada vez mais alto, como mostra a evolução dos gastos para arrumar o cabelo e maquiar a presidente Dilma Rousseff para suas aparições em rede nacional de TV.*
[181] R$ 400 = $106 USD.

and they authorized the cost increase because a woman needs a specific [makeup] professional and not a standard makeup artist, as was the case of ex-President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva."[182]

The Rousseff administration, like many Brazilian political administrations, has been marked by corruption scandals. We must recall this context while analyzing the *Agora* article, and understand that President Rousseff has faced public scrutiny for a number of government spending controversies, not just this relatively minor increase in visual cost spending.

Still, this article certainly underscores differences in the expectations of male and female politicians. As President Rousseff's staff explains, the production of a female authority is much different from the production of a male authority. The production of a female authority requires a great deal of time and money invested into the creation of a thin, attractive, and well-groomed body. To be a legitimate female authority, this feminine standard is expected at all times. While there is leeway for a male politician's aesthetic appearance in Brazil, for prominent female politicians, this feminine standard is paramount. Like in Argentina, this difference is indicative of important disparities in gender equality in Brazil.

Conclusions

The detailed attention that female politicians receive concerning their aesthetic femininity can distract the public from their political legitimacy. The expectation of femininity also limits the number of women who have the potential to become prominent leaders. Those who do not

[182] *a produção de "uma autoridade do sexo feminino" é diferente e autorizou o ajuste nos custos porque uma mulher precisa de um profissional específico e não um maquiador padrão, como era o caso do ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.*

naturally fit the feminine norm, or do not have the resources to surgically alter themselves to fit that norm, will have trouble being viewed as viable political candidates.

Overall, the lofty expectations of feminine beauty indicate a political realm that is dominated by misogyny. A culture where objectifying female world leaders with trivial and demeaning discussions of their sexiness, thinness, and softness in major news outlets is a culture that is not well equipped to promote female political empowerment. This misogynistic political culture is also relevant to Bolivia, where high-ranking female leaders are not afforded hardly any media discussion—positive or negative.

On the contrary the highest-ranking female politicians in France, Slovenia, and Belgium were not subject to the level of physical scrutiny of President Rousseff and President Fernández de Kirchner. The articles about President of the Senate Defraigne, Prime Minister Cresson, and Prime Minister Bratušek—though certainly not always positive—were not ridden with objectifying analyses of each woman's figure, nor the expectation that each woman should undergo plastic surgery in order to be viewed as a female authority. In short, these female politicians were not subject to the same level of feminine critique as politicians in Argentina and Brazil. In contrast to Bolivia, the high-ranking female politicians in France, Belgium, and Slovenia also had a vast record of media attention, indicating general public interest and respect for their political office.

This difference provides important insight into our understanding of quota success. I argue that quota success is contingent on a pre-existing high level of gender equality. Quotas will not facilitate pro-woman political reform if female politicians are not regarded with the respect and authority afforded to their male counterparts. With this relationship in mind, it is not surprising that media searches for high-ranking women in quota success countries did not yield a

large supply of objectifying articles like the searches for Argentina and Brazil did. After learning that even the most powerful women in Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia face daily affronts to their political legitimacy due to misogynistic beauty standards or media bias, it makes sense that lower ranking female legislators in those countries would also encounter formidable barriers to enacting pro-woman reform in Congress.

CONCLUSION

Quotas as a Catalyst

Review of the Study

Quota success is contingent upon a high level of gender equality. Though quotas can increase critical mass if well enforced, female politicians must be afforded the legitimacy necessary to have real political power. This legitimacy is severely undermined in nations with high gender inequality, as is very apparent in the studies included in this paper.

Media attention on the highest-ranking female leaders in Brazil and Argentina was rife with examples of misogyny and objectification. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Dilma Rousseff are both highly educated and experienced leaders, yet much of the publicity devoted to them undercuts their legitimacy by objectifying them and harshly critiquing their femininity. From speculating about womanly tears during the inauguration, classifying a president's personal brand as "cute and sexy," and offering detailed critiques of each woman's weight, these media portrayals indicate a gendered double standard. Though there are hundreds of available articles about Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Dilma Rousseff's physical appearance, there are extremely few about male politicians in Argentina and Brazil. On the other end of the spectrum, and perhaps even more telling, is the utter lack of media attention on leading female politicians in Bolivia. While their male counterparts and subordinates are featured in the press, Gabriela Montaña Viaña and Betty Asunta Tejada Soruco are rarely afforded any media attention. In comparison, the highest-ranking female politicians in Slovenia, France, and Belgium are featured very frequently in the press, and they do not face anywhere near the level of objectification and physical media scrutiny as women in Argentina and Brazil.

This distinction matters. It not only indicates a much higher level of gender inequality in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, it tells us *how* this gender inequality has affected female political power. The highest-ranking female politicians in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil are either belittled or ignored in the media, which limits their authority and political capital. Under this system, male politicians have an inherent advantage over female politicians. With this relationship in mind, it makes sense that quota laws would flounder in countries with high gender inequality. As we've seen in quota failure countries with high gender inequality, gender bill passage is minimal, puppet politicians are included in the place of qualified leaders, harassment and intimidation tactics dissuade some women from running for office, and loopholes are used to cripple advancements in critical mass. Pro-woman reform is limited in countries where female politicians lack real political power.

The difference between critical mass and real political power is crucial to our understanding of the relationship between gender inequality and quota success. Increasing female critical mass through gender quotas does not necessarily lead to real political power, which I define as substantial and meaningful political influence measured by the resources, legitimacy, and political capital allocated to politicians. This trend was somewhat evident in this study's comparison of female party leadership. The quota success case studies generally had higher rates of female party leadership than the quota failure case studies. Still, one would expect quota countries that have been deemed successful by various scholars to have much higher female real political power than was evidenced by their female party leadership rates. Though still generally higher than this study's quota failure female party leadership rates, the lower than expected female party leadership rates in Belgium, France, and Slovenia lead me to

question their female politicians' real political power, and in turn, the degree of their quota success.

Broader Discussion of Critical Mass

Even beyond quota success, this study disaggregates the relationship between high female critical mass and gender inequality. Quota laws, of course, are inextricably linked to the discussion critical mass because they were implemented for the purpose of augmenting female political representation. High critical mass, however, is not necessarily an indicator of gender equality—in countries with and without gender quotas. I think that we could actually remove the remove the variable of quota success or failure from this study, replace it with critical mass in general, and receive roughly the same results: an increase in critical mass will not catalyze pro-woman reform in countries with high gender inequality.

If increased critical mass does not necessarily stimulate pro-woman reform, what is the utility of a quota law? Have quota mandates proved to be a fool's errand? Despite some of my reservations about quota efficacy, I conclude that quotas *can* equalize representation and drive pro-woman legislative reform in some cases. With increased female critical mass, Slovenia, France, and Belgium have engaged in some gender mainstreaming initiatives and have passed several pro-woman bills. Quotas acted as the catalyst that spurred that increase in critical mass and consequent gender mainstreaming. I've come to believe, however, that the right conditions must be in place for quotas to catalyze that feminist development.

The first of these conditions is, of course, a high degree of gender equality. Female politicians cannot truly be effective representatives if they are not afforded adequate respect and

legitimacy. Without real female political power, a high proportion of female representation is virtually meaningless.

In addition to gender inequality, I also hypothesize that a certain cultural acceptance of affirmative action programs must be present for a quota to be publicly accepted. For example, I doubt that a gender quota would be successful in the United States. Though the United States has a comparable level of gender equality to Slovenia, France, and Belgium, affirmative action policies are highly controversial among Americans, particularly the use of specific quotas within affirmative action decision-making.[183] The Democratic Party actually did implement some quotas in 1972. Their party quotas mandated that the makeup of each state's Democratic delegation reflect "in reasonable relationship" the proportion of of that state's women and minorities, but this rule was abandoned after the 1972 convention after the concept quickly lost popularity.[184] I would assume that if the United States did implement a legislated quota law today, female politicians would lose a great deal of their legitimacy because Americans would resent such heavy handed government ballot regulation and doubt female politicians' qualifications compared to their male counterparts.

Finally, quotas must fit within a broader framework of gender mainstreaming in order to catalyze pro-woman reform. When combined with a broad political and societal push toward gender equality, quota induced critical mass increases can augment real female political power. Some scholars have conceptualized Slovenia, Belgium, and France's quota laws components of broader gender mainstreaming initiatives. Perhaps as their gender mainstreaming movements

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[183] Bouie, Jamelle. "Where Do Americans Stand on Affirmative Action?" The American Prospect. June 13, 2013. Feldman, Stanley, and Leonie Huddy. "Racial Resentment and White Opposition to Race-Conscious Programs: Principles or Prejudice?"

[184] Broder, David S. "The Democrats' Dilemma." The Atlantic. March 1974.

gain strength we'll see further growth in those countries' real female political power, exemplified by much higher female party leadership and other indicators.

Quotas, under the right conditions, are a catalyst for gender equality, not a quick fix. Quotas will fail when they are used as a vehicle to increase critical mass without seeking to fundamentally revolutionize the socio-political system that oppresses women. When a quota is introduced in a country with high gender equality as part of a broad gender mainstreaming initiative, however, it *can* catalyze pro-woman reform and real political power.

APPENDIX ONE

Enright Index Dataset

This appendix contains the complete dataset used in the creation of the Enright Index. The data is derived from the 2014 United Nations Human Development Report.[185] Refer to pages 45-56 for a full explanation in the Enright Index calculation.

Any blank cells or cells filled with ellipses represent gaps in the United Nations Human Development Report data. The case study countries are all highlighted in yellow. The first section of this dataset displays the raw data taken from the United Nations Human Development Report. The second section of this dataset shows the z-scores taken calculated from the raw data, the final Enright Index score for each country, each country's 2014 percentage of female legislative seats, and each country's 2014 GDP per capita. The Enright Index measures inequality, where a negative score indicates below average gender inequality while a positive score indicates above average gender inequality.

Recall the following definitions:

Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR): the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births in one year.

Adolescent Birth Rate (ABR): the annual number of live births to adolescent women per 1,000 adolescent women.

Educational Difference (ED): the number of men who have attained some secondary school education minus the number of women who have attained some secondary school education.

Labor Force Participation Difference (LFRD): the number of men in the labor force minus the number of women in the labor force.

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[185] "Technical Notes."

Country	MMR	ABR	Educated women	Educated Men	ED	Female LFPR	Male LFPR	LDPRD
Norway	4	7.8	97.4	96.7	-0.614	61.2	68.7	7.500
Australia	6	12.1	94.3	94.6	0.344	58.8	71.8	13.000
Switzerland	6	1.9	95.0	96.6	1.565	61.8	74.9	13.100
Denmark	5	5.1	95.5	96.6	1.015	58.7	66.4	7.700
Netherlands	6	6.2	87.7	90.5	2.784	58.5	70.6	12.100
Germany	7	3.8	96.3	97.0	0.743	53.6	66.4	12.800
Ireland	9	8.2	80.5	78.6	-1.958	53.1	68.1	15.000
United States	28	31.0	95.1	94.8	-0.331	56.3	68.9	12.600
Canada	11	14.5	100.0	100.0	0.000	61.6	71.0	9.400
New Zealand	8	25.3	95.0	95.3	0.361	62.0	73.8	11.800
Singapore	6	6.0	74.1	81.0	6.906	58.8	77.2	18.400
Hong Kong	..	3.3	72.2	79.2	6.961	51.3	67.8	16.500
Liechtenstein	..	..	..	..		..	..	
Sweden	4	6.5	86.5	87.3	0.722	60.3	67.9	7.600
UK	8	25.8	99.8	99.9	0.078	55.7	68.7	13.000
Iceland	4	11.5	91.0	91.6	0.580	70.5	77.4	6.900
Korea	27	2.2	77.0	89.1	12.064	50.1	72.1	22.000
Israel	2	7.8	84.4	87.3	2.889	57.9	69.1	11.200
Luxembourg	11	8.3	100.0	100.0	0.000	50.7	64.6	13.900
Japan	6	5.4	87.0	85.8	-1.118	48.8	70.4	21.600
Belgium	6	6.7	77.5	82.9	5.378	47.5	59.3	11.800
France	12	5.7	78.0	83.2	5.195	50.7	61.6	10.900
Austria	4	4.1	100.0	100.0	0.000	54.6	67.7	13.100
Finland	4	9.2	100.0	100.0	0.000	55.7	64.0	8.300
Slovenia	7	0.6	95.8	98.0	2.250	52.3	63.2	10.900
Spain	4	10.6	66.8	73.1	6.361	52.5	65.8	13.300
Italy	4	4.0	71.2	80.5	9.292	39.6	59.5	19.900
Czech Republic	5	4.9	99.9	99.7	-0.127	51.1	68.3	17.200
Greece	5	11.9	59.5	67.0	7.489	44.2	62.5	18.300
Estonia	11	16.8	100.0	100.0	0.000	56.2	68.9	12.700
Brunei Darussalam	27	23.0	63.9	67.8	3.910	52.6	75.3	22.700
Cyprus	10	5.5	76.0	81.7	5.691	56.0	71.1	15.100
Qatar	6	9.5	66.7	59.0	-7.634	50.8	95.5	44.700
Andorra	..	..	49.5	49.3	-0.145	..	..	
Slovakia	7	15.9	99.1	99.5	0.436	51.1	68.6	17.500
Poland	3	12.2	79.4	85.5	6.097	48.9	64.9	16.000
Lithuania	11	10.6	89.1	94.3	5.224	55.8	67.3	11.500
Malta	9	18.2	68.6	78.2	9.660	37.9	66.3	28.400
Saudi Arabia	16	10.2	60.5	70.3	9.816	20.2	78.3	58.100
Argentina	69	54.4	56.3	57.6	1.280	47.5	75.0	27.500
United Arab Emirates	8	27.6	73.1	61.2	-11.870	46.5	92.0	45.500
Chile	22	55.3	73.3	76.4	3.097	49.2	74.8	25.600
Portugal	8	12.6	47.7	48.2	0.520	54.9	66.2	11.300

Hungary	14	12.1	97.9	98.7	0.831	44.8	60.0	15.200
Bahrain	22	13.8	56.7	51.4	-5.290	39.2	86.9	47.700
Latvia	13	13.5	98.9	99.0	0.041	54.9	67.6	12.700
Croatia	13	12.7	85.0	93.6	8.625	44.7	58.4	13.700
Kuwait	14	14.5	55.6	56.3	0.644	43.6	83.1	39.500
Montenegro	7	15.2	84.2	94.7	10.504	43.0	57.3	14.300
Belarus	1	20.6	87.0	92.2	5.213	50.1	63.1	13.000
Russian Federation	24	25.7	89.6	92.5	2.922	57.1	71.7	14.600
Oman	11	10.6	47.2	57.1	9.944	29.0	82.6	53.600
Romania	33	31.0	86.1	92.0	5.987	48.7	64.9	16.200
Uruguay	14	58.3	54.4	50.3	-4.104	55.6	76.8	21.200
Bahamas	37	28.5	91.2	87.6	-3.582	69.3	79.3	10.000
Kazakhstan	26	29.9	95.3	98.8	3.500	67.7	77.9	10.200
Barbados	52	48.4	89.5	87.7	-1.820	65.9	76.6	10.700
Antigua and Barbuda	..	49.3	..	..		..	..	
Bulgaria	5	35.9	93.0	95.7	2.711	47.9	59.0	11.100
Palau	..	..	..	..		..	..	
Panama	85	78.5	54.0	49.9	-4.136	49.0	81.8	32.800
Malaysia	29	5.7	65.1	71.3	6.211	44.4	75.5	31.100
Mauritius	73	30.9	49.4	58.0	8.609	43.6	74.2	30.600
Seychelles	..	56.3	66.9	66.6	-0.308	..	..	
Trinidad and Tobago	84	34.8	59.7	60.9	1.160	53.0	75.5	22.500
Serbia	16	16.9	58.4	73.6	15.136	44.5	60.9	16.400
Cuba	80	43.1	74.3	78.8	4.460	43.4	70.0	26.600
Lebanon	16	12.0	53.0	55.4	2.364	23.3	70.9	47.600
Costa Rica	38	60.8	50.7	50.5	-0.278	46.6	79.0	32.400
Iran	23	31.6	62.2	67.6	5.454	16.6	73.6	57.000
Venezuela	110	83.2	56.6	50.8	-5.710	51.1	79.2	28.100
Turkey	20	30.9	39.0	60.0	21.030	29.4	70.8	41.400
Sri Lanka	29	16.9	72.7	76.4	3.650	35.1	76.3	41.200
Mexico	49	63.4	55.7	60.6	4.986	45.1	79.9	34.800
Brazil	69	70.8	54.6	52.4	-2.216	59.4	80.8	21.400
Georgia	41	46.8	89.7	92.7	3.002	56.5	75.1	18.600
Saint Kitts and Nevis	..	..	..	..		..	..	
Azerbaijan	26	40.0	93.7	97.4	3.675	62.9	69.6	6.700
Grenada	23	35.4	..	..		..	..	
Jordan	50	26.5	69.5	78.5	9.018	15.6	66.6	51.000
Macedonia	7	18.3	40.2	55.6	15.441	43.1	67.5	24.400
Ukraine	23	25.7	91.7	95.9	4.170	53.2	66.9	13.700
Algeria	89	10.0	26.7	31.0	4.360	15.2	72.2	57.000
Peru	89	50.7	56.3	66.1	9.775	68.2	84.4	16.200
Albania	21	15.3	81.8	87.9	6.088	44.9	65.5	20.600
Armenia	29	27.1	94.0	95.0	0.970	54.2	72.6	18.400
Bosnia and Herzegovina	8	15.1	44.9	69.8	24.912	34.1	57.3	23.200
Ecuador	87	77.0	40.1	39.4	-0.731	54.7	82.7	28.000
Saint Lucia	34	56.3	..	..		62.7	76.2	13.500
China	32	8.6	58.7	71.9	13.209	63.9	78.3	14.400

Fiji	59	42.8	64.2	64.5	0.290	37.5	72.0	34.500
Mongolia	68	18.7	85.3	84.1	-1.192	56.6	69.3	12.700
Thailand	26	41.0	35.7	40.8	5.109	64.3	80.7	16.400
Dominica	..	..	29.7	23.2	-6.506	..	..	
Libya	15	2.5	55.5	41.9	-13.590	30.0	76.4	46.400
Tunisia	46	4.6	32.8	46.1	13.280	25.1	70.9	45.800
Colombia	83	68.5	56.9	55.6	-1.305	55.8	79.7	23.900
t Vincent and the Grenadines	45	54.5	..	..		55.7	78.0	22.300
Jamaica	80	70.1	74.0	70.2	-3.750	56.1	70.9	14.800
Tonga	120	18.1	87.5	88.3	0.767	53.5	74.6	21.100
Belize	45	71.4	76.4	75.8	-0.619	49.2	82.3	33.100
Dominican Republic	100	99.6	55.6	53.1	-2.468	51.3	78.6	27.300
Suriname	130	35.2	44.6	47.1	2.526	40.5	68.8	28.300
Maldives	31	4.2	27.3	32.7	5.310	56.2	77.5	21.300
Samoa	58	28.3	64.3	60.0	-4.356	23.5	58.4	34.900
Botswana	170	44.2	73.6	77.9	4.230	71.9	81.6	9.700
Moldova	21	29.3	93.6	96.6	2.980	37.6	44.2	6.600
Egypt	45	43.0	43.9	60.6	16.750	23.7	74.8	51.100
Turkmenistan	61	18.0	..	..		46.9	76.9	30.000
Gabon	240	103.0	53.9	36.1	-17.770	56.2	65.4	9.200
Indonesia	190	48.3	39.9	49.2	9.355	51.4	84.2	32.800
Paraguay	110	67.0	36.8	43.0	6.150	55.7	84.8	29.100
Palestine, State of	..	45.8	53.9	59.4	5.463	15.4	66.4	51.000
Uzbekistan	36	38.8	..	..		48.1	75.6	27.500
Philippines	120	46.8	65.9	63.7	-2.190	51.1	79.7	28.600
El Salvador	69	76.0	36.8	43.6	6.754	47.8	79.0	31.200
South Africa	140	50.9	72.7	75.9	3.200	44.5	60.5	16.000
Viet Nam	49	29.0	59.4	71.2	11.779	73.0	82.2	9.200
Bolivia	200	71.9	47.6	59.1	11.502	64.2	80.9	16.700
Kyrgyzstan	75	29.3	94.5	96.8	2.327	56.0	79.5	23.500
Iraq	67	68.7	27.8	50.2	22.470	14.9	69.8	54.900
Cabo Verde	53	70.6	..	..		51.5	83.7	32.200
Micronesia	96	18.6	..	..		..	..	
Guyana	250	88.5	60.3	47.8	-12.530	42.6	80.5	37.900
Nicaragua	100	100.8	39.4	38.3	-1.140	47.4	80.3	32.900
Morocco	120	35.8	20.7	30.2	9.540	26.5	75.8	49.300
Namibia	130	54.9	33.3	34.4	1.170	54.7	63.7	9.000
Guatemala	140	97.2	21.9	23.2	1.320	49.3	88.2	38.900
Tajikistan	44	42.8	95.1	91.2	-3.850	58.9	77.1	18.200
India	190	32.8	27.0	56.6	29.580	27.0	79.9	52.900
Honduras	120	84.0	28.0	25.8	-2.121	42.8	82.9	40.100
Bhutan	120	40.9	34.0	34.5	0.551	66.7	77.2	10.500
Timor-Leste	270	52.2	..	..		24.6	50.8	26.200
Syrian Arab Republic	49	41.6	29.5	40.5	10.980	13.5	72.7	59.200
Vanuatu	86	44.8	..	..		61.5	80.0	18.500

Congo	410	126.7	39.7	47.0	7.270	68.5	73.0	4.500
Kiribati	130	16.6	..	..		..	..	
Equatorial Guinea	290	112.6	..	..		80.7	92.2	11.500
Zambia	280	125.4	25.8	44.0	18.140	73.1	85.6	12.500
Ghana	380	58.4	45.2	64.7	19.464	67.3	71.4	4.100
Laos	..	65.0	22.9	37.0	14.140	76.3	79.1	2.800
Bangladesh	170	80.6	34.1	41.3	7.250	57.4	84.1	26.700
Cambodia	170	44.3	9.9	22.9	13.080	78.8	86.5	7.700
Sao Tome and Principe	210	65.1	..	..		45.3	77.8	32.500
Kenya	400	93.6	25.3	31.4	6.098	62.2	72.4	10.200
Nepal	190	73.7	17.7	38.2	20.540	79.9	87.1	7.200
Pakistan	170	27.3	19.3	46.1	26.783	24.6	82.9	58.300
Myanmar	200	12.1	22.9	15.3	-7.670	75.2	82.3	7.100
Angola	460	170.2	..	..		63.3	76.9	13.600
Swaziland	310	72.0	21.9	26.0	4.140	43.9	71.6	27.700
Tanzania	410	122.7	5.6	9.5	3.940	88.1	90.2	2.100
Nigeria	560	119.6	..	..		48.2	63.7	15.500
Cameroon	590	115.8	21.3	34.9	13.510	63.8	76.8	13.000
Madagascar	440	122.8	..	..		86.6	90.5	3.900
Zimbabwe	470	60.3	48.7	62.0	13.300	83.2	89.7	6.500
Mauritania	320	73.3	8.3	20.9	12.610	28.7	79.1	50.400
Solomon Islands	130	64.9	..	..		53.4	79.0	25.600
Papua New Guinea	220	62.1	7.6	14.5	6.950	70.5	74.0	3.500
Comoros	350	51.1	..	..		35.2	80.1	44.900
Yemen	270	47.0	8.6	26.7	18.110	25.4	72.2	46.800
Lesotho	490	89.4	21.9	19.0	-2.930	59.0	73.5	14.500
Togo	450	91.5	16.1	40.3	24.170	80.6	81.3	0.700
Haiti	380	42.0	22.4	35.2	12.780	60.9	71.0	10.100
Rwanda	320	33.6	8.0	8.8	0.830	86.4	85.3	-1.100
Uganda	360	126.6	22.9	33.5	10.639	75.8	79.2	3.400
Benin	340	90.2	11.3	27.0	15.770	67.6	78.3	10.700
Sudan	360	84.0	12.1	18.2	6.140	31.3	76.0	44.700
Djibouti	230	18.6	..	..		36.3	67.7	31.400
South Sudan	730	75.3	..	..		..	..	
Senegal	320	94.4	7.2	15.4	8.248	66.0	88.0	22.000
Afghanistan	400	86.8	5.9	29.8	23.910	15.8	79.5	63.700
Côte d'Ivoire	720	130.3	14.0	30.1	16.090	52.4	81.4	29.000

Malawi	510	144.8	11.1	21.6	10.480	84.6	81.5	-3.100
Ethiopia	420	78.4	7.8	18.2	10.447	78.2	89.3	11.100
Gambia	430	115.8	17.4	31.5	14.100	72.2	82.9	10.700
Dem. Rep. Congo	730	135.3	12.8	32.4	19.640	70.7	73.2	2.500
Liberia	640	117.4	15.4	39.3	23.940	58.2	64.8	6.600
Guinea-Bissau	560	99.3	..	..		68.2	78.5	10.300
Mali	550	175.6	7.7	15.1	7.365	50.8	81.4	30.600
Mozambique	480	137.8	1.4	6.2	4.800	85.5	82.8	-2.700
Sierra Leone	1,100	100.7	10.0	21.7	11.790	65.7	69.0	3.300
Guinea	650	131.0	..	..		65.6	78.3	12.700
Burkina Faso	400	115.4	0.9	3.2	2.322	77.1	90.0	12.900
Burundi	740	30.3	5.3	8.3	3.050	83.3	82.0	-1.300
Chad	980	152.0	1.7	9.9	8.197	64.0	79.2	15.200
Eritrea	380	65.3	..	..		80.0	89.8	9.800
Central African Republic	880	98.3	10.1	26.7	16.610	72.6	85.1	12.500
Niger	630	204.8	2.4	7.8	5.330	40.0	89.7	49.700

Country	MMR Z-Score	ABR Z-Score	ED Z-Score	LFPRD Z-Score	Enright Index	% Female Parliament Seats	2014 GDP Per Capita
Norway	-0.736709817	-1.011396111	-0.739050851	-0.950527282	-0.859421015	39.6	97,226
Australia	-0.727424984	-0.908774073	-0.617833982	-0.585703378	-0.709934104	30.5	51,296
Switzerland	-0.727424984	-1.15552846	-0.463308447	-0.579070332	-0.731333055	28.5	85,374
Denmark	-0.7320674	-1.077778603	-0.532974201	-0.937260672	-0.820020219	38.0	61,294
Netherlands	-0.727424984	-1.051934852	-0.309032201	-0.645402109	-0.683448536	36.9	52,129
Germany	-0.722782567	-1.10950035	-0.567366076	-0.598969743	-0.749654684	36.9	47,966
Ireland	-0.713497733	-1.001631837	-0.909180412	-0.453040587	-0.769337642	19.9	53,648
United States	-0.625291814	-0.448687294	-0.703213855	-0.612236094	-0.597357264	19.4	54,306
Canada	-0.7042129	-0.849508328	-0.661391371	-0.824497027	-0.759902406	28.2	50,169
New Zealand	-0.71814015	-0.586941647	-0.615761207	-0.665301261	-0.646536066	31.4	44,189
Singapore	-0.727424984	-1.054849561	0.2125315	-0.227513555	-0.44931415	25.3	55,910
Hong Kong, China (SAR)		-1.121839284	0.219464794	-0.353543041	-0.313979383	..	40,252
Liechtenstein						20.0	157,040
Sweden	-0.736709817	-1.043117858	-0.57005132	-0.943893719	-0.823443178	43.6	58,856
United Kingdom	-0.71814015	-0.576035778	-0.651531135	-0.585703896	-0.63285274	23.5	46,461
Iceland	-0.736709817	-0.922643229	-0.58796812	-0.990325839	-0.809411751	41.3	52,048
Korea (Republic of)	-0.629934231	-1.14722154	0.865192553	0.011280087	-0.225170783	16.3	28,166
Israel	-0.745994651	-1.01176045	-0.295760364	-0.705100581	-0.689654011	22.5	38,500
Luxembourg	-0.7042129	-0.998887153	-0.661391371	-0.526005417	-0.72262421	28.3	116,560
Japan	-0.727424984	-1.07022465	-0.802845008	-0.01525237	-0.653936753	11.6	36,298
Belgium	-0.727424984	-1.038721506	0.019095237	-0.66530152	-0.603088193	42.4	47,348
France	-0.699570483	-1.062354936	-0.003958379	-0.724999992	-0.622720947	25.7	42,802
Austria	-0.736709817	-1.101460612	-0.66138884	-0.579070591	-0.769657465	30.3	51,296
Finland	-0.736709817	-0.977949828	-0.661390106	-0.897461857	-0.818377902	42.5	49,678
Slovenia	-0.722782567	-1.186691554	-0.376621384	-0.724999733	-0.75277381	27.7	23,954
Spain	-0.736709817	-0.943629132	0.143545281	-0.565803974	-0.52564941	38.0	29,861
Italy	-0.736709817	-1.105565494	0.514443011	-0.128016016	-0.363962079	30.1	35,812
Czech Republic	-0.7320674	-1.082515005	-0.677478791	-0.307110927	-0.699793031	18.9	19,470
Greece	-0.7320674	-0.913631921	0.286336478	-0.234146608	-0.398377363	21.0	21,414
Estonia	-0.7042129	-0.794128862	-0.661390106	-0.605603048	-0.691333729	19.8	20,122
Brunei Darussalam	-0.629934231	-0.643268394	-0.166606714	0.057712459	-0.34552422	..	40,979
Cyprus	-0.708855316	-1.068743006	0.058729791	-0.446407534	-0.541319016	12.5	26,147
Qatar	-0.727424984	-0.970395874	-1.627469231	1.517005754	-0.452071084	0.0	97,519
Andorra			-0.679742647			50.0	45,033
Slovakia	-0.722782567	-0.816159202	-0.606233779	-0.287211775	-0.608096831	18.7	18,486
Poland	-0.741352234	-0.906418017	0.110149301	-0.386709062	-0.481082503	22.1	14,111
Lithuania	-0.7042129	-0.943920603	-0.000270914	-0.685200666	-0.583401271	23.4	16,591
Malta	-0.713497733	-0.759783877	0.56105768	0.435801952	-0.119105494	13.0	25,222
Saudi Arabia	-0.681000816	-0.953417696	0.580765497	2.405848287	0.338048818	19.9	24,362
Argentina	-0.434952725	0.118539321	-0.49941498	0.376103474	-0.109931228	36.8	12,645
United Arab Emirates	-0.71814015	-0.530687768	-2.16345631	1.570070921	-0.460553327	17.5	43,963

Chile	-0.653146315	0.141152603	-0.269548233	0.250073729	-0.132867054	15.8	14,528
Portugal	-0.71814015	-0.896289404	-0.595582649	-0.698467534	-0.727119934	31.3	22,122
Hungary	-0.690285649	-0.907122405	-0.55619865	-0.439774229	-0.648345233	10.1	13,989
Bahrain	-0.653146315	-0.866850846	-1.33080293	1.716000322	-0.283699942	15.0	24,854
Latvia	-0.694928066	-0.873238916	-0.656199309	-0.605603293	-0.707492396	18.0	15,726
Croatia	-0.694928066	-0.892330258	0.430105853	-0.539271523	-0.424105999	25.8	13,425
Kuwait	-0.690285649	-0.85009127	-0.579869797	1.172081772	-0.237041236	1.5	43,600
Montenegro	-0.722782567	-0.832481571	0.667796757	-0.499472708	-0.346735022	17.3	7,337
Belarus	-0.750637068	-0.701343966	-0.001741345	-0.585703637	-0.509856504	30.1	8,014
Russian Federation	-0.643861481	-0.576788745	-0.291689474	-0.479573303	-0.497978251	14.5	12,898
Oman	-0.7042129	-0.943847735	0.5969048	2.107356173	0.264050085	9.6	19,310
Romania	-0.60207973	-0.449804599	0.096252341	-0.373442711	-0.332268675	12.0	10,129
Uruguay	-0.690285649	0.21472471	-1.180691217	-0.041784828	-0.424509246	11.5	16,807
Bahamas	-0.583510063	-0.510333385	-1.114673699	-0.784698212	-0.748303839	16.7	22,217
Kazakhstan	-0.634576647	-0.474312442	-0.218489371	-0.771431601	-0.524702516	20.1	12,436
Barbados	-0.513873811	-0.026394573	-0.891698488	-0.738266343	-0.542558303	19.6	15,360
Antigua and Barbuda		-0.005117199				25.7	13,731
Bulgaria	-0.7320674	-0.330738746	-0.318302746	-0.711733634	-0.523210632	20.4	7,876
Palau						10.3	11,068
Panama	-0.360674056	0.70578027	-1.184754515	0.727660761	-0.027996885	19.3	12,712
Malaysia	-0.620649397	-1.06381229	0.124572679	0.614896864	-0.236248036	14.2	10,933
Mauritius	-0.416383058	-0.451189086	0.428048263	0.581731095	0.035551803	11.6	9,945
Seychelles		0.164713166	-0.700337531			43.8	15,759
Trinidad and Tobago	-0.365316473	-0.356291027	-0.514600148	0.044445849	-0.29794045	24.7	20,723
Serbia	-0.681000816	-0.791869962	1.253912607	-0.360176353	-0.144783631	34.0	6,155
Cuba	-0.38388614	-0.155176122	-0.097008027	0.316405002	-0.079916322	48.9	7,274
Lebanon	-0.681000816	-0.910741502	-0.3622714	1.709367276	-0.06116161	3.1	8,844
Costa Rica	-0.578867646	0.274962025	-0.696565282	0.701128045	-0.074835715	33.3	10,415
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	-0.648503898	-0.43379799	0.028732757	2.332883331	0.31982855	3.1	5,443
Venezuela	-0.244613636	0.819721093	-1.383951018	0.415902282	-0.09823532	17.0	16,615
Turkey	-0.662431148	-0.450581855	1.999782753	1.298111902	0.546220413	14.4	10,299
Sri Lanka	-0.620649397	-0.791238442	-0.199507911	1.28484567	-0.08163752	5.8	3,635
Mexico	-0.527801061	0.338016891	-0.030422331	0.860323804	0.160029326	37.1	10,326
Brazil	-0.434952725	0.517854422	-0.941870283	-0.028518722	-0.221871827	9.6	11,387
Georgia	-0.564940395	-0.064965885	-0.281473652	-0.214247197	-0.281406782	11.3	4,097
Saint Kitts and Nevis						6.7	15,510
Azerbaijan	-0.634576647	-0.230108426	-0.196353193	-1.003592443	-0.516157677	15.6	7,808
Grenada	-0.648503898	-0.342859077				25.0	8,313
Jordan	-0.523158644	-0.558668972	0.479829685	1.934894182	0.333224063	11.6	4,831
Macedonia	-0.722782567	-0.758253655	1.292555064	0.170475846	-0.004501328	33.3	5,453
Ukraine	-0.648503898	-0.578148942	-0.133705517	-0.539271523	-0.47490747	11.8	2,929
Algeria	-0.342104389	-0.957984073	-0.109662334	2.332883265	0.230783117	25.7	5,484
Peru	-0.342104389	0.030952322	0.575603806	-0.373442452	-0.027247678	22.3	6,516
Albania	-0.657788731	-0.830125515	0.109020536	-0.081584147	-0.365119464	20.7	4,642

Armenia	-0.620649397	-0.543002412	-0.538643331	-0.227513555	-0.482452174	10.7	3,622
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-0.71814015	-0.834716181	2.491029266	0.090877963	0.257262724	19.3	4,844
Ecuador	-0.351389222	0.669370699	-0.753880433	0.409268977	-0.006657495	41.6	6,346
Saint Lucia	-0.597437313	0.166024784		-0.552538133		20.7	7,655
China	-0.606722147	-0.993980726	1.010131185	-0.492839396	-0.270852771	23.6	7,617
Fiji	-0.481376893	-0.160956961	-0.624692616	0.840424148	-0.106650581	14.0	5,112
Mongolia	-0.439595142	-0.747323497	-0.812212991	-0.605602789	-0.651183605	14.9	4,147
Thailand	-0.634576647	-0.205722029	-0.014937256	-0.360176864	-0.303853199	6.1	5,977
Dominica			-1.484734978			21.9	7,361
Libya	-0.685643232	-1.140396263	-2.381110385	1.629769393	-0.644345122	16.0	6,602
Tunisia	-0.541728311	-1.089898934	1.019124601	1.589970452	0.244366952	31.3	4,261
Colombia	-0.36995889	0.463033608	-0.826551586	0.137309832	-0.149041759	20.9	7,904
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	-0.546370728	0.122279864		0.031179491		13.0	6,669
Jamaica	-0.38388614	0.499953252	-1.135926607	-0.466306693	-0.371541547	16.7	5,004
Tonga	-0.198189468	-0.761799884	-0.564353086	-0.048418385	-0.393190206	0.0	4,122
Belize	-0.546370728	0.532452255	-0.73976582	0.747560166	-0.001531032	13.3	4,831
Dominican Republic	-0.291037804	1.21723879	-0.973679413	0.362837122	0.078839674	19.1	6,147
Suriname	-0.1517653	-0.346745355	-0.341781547	0.429168899	-0.102780826	11.8	9,680
Maldives	-0.611364563	-1.100221861	0.01055358	-0.035152034	-0.43404622	5.9	8,484
Samoa	-0.48601931	-0.515482704	-1.212663588	0.866956857	-0.336802186	6.1	4,294
Botswana	0.033931372	-0.127486388	-0.126112933	-0.804597868	-0.256066454	9.5	7,123
Moldova (Republic of)	-0.657788731	-0.490780547	-0.284277846	-1.010225243	-0.610768092	20.8	1,951
Egypt	-0.546370728	-0.15809083	1.458206266	1.941527613	0.67381808	2.2	3,151
Turkmenistan	-0.472092059	-0.7644717		0.541932286		25.8	9,032
Gabon	0.358900549	1.29999223	-2.910060405	-0.837763385	-0.522232753	16.2	10,317
Indonesia	0.126779708	-0.027827638	0.522482292	0.72766025	0.337273653	17.1	3,492
Paraguay	-0.244613636	0.424802344	0.116849756	0.482234066	0.194818133	16.8	4,729
Palestine, State of		-0.088356423	0.029883033	1.934894434		..	2,811
Uzbekistan	-0.588152479	-0.260372819		0.376103474		16.4	2,139
Philippines	-0.198189468	-0.065305935	-0.938519422	0.449068045	-0.188236695	27.1	2,871
El Salvador	-0.434952725	0.64379413	0.193279238	0.621530169	0.255912703	27.4	4,120
South Africa	-0.105341132	0.033721296	-0.256396613	-0.386709062	-0.178681378	40.7	6,482
Viet Nam	-0.527801061	-0.496294204	0.829183458	-0.837763637	-0.258168861	24.3	2,015
Bolivia	0.173203876	0.544208247	0.794060164	-0.34027669	0.292798899	51.8	3,124
Kyrgyzstan	-0.407098224	-0.490877704	-0.366928185	0.110777374	-0.288531685	23.3	1,267
Iraq	-0.444237559	0.466191209	2.182032609	2.193587487	1.099393437	26.5	6,391
Cabo Verde	-0.509231394	0.513045152		0.687861435		20.8	3,609
Micronesia	-0.309607471	-0.750966883				0.0	2,960
Guyana	0.405324717	0.947531073	-2.246974735	1.065951432	0.042958122	31.3	4,040
Nicaragua	-0.291037804	1.246580192	-0.805649202	0.734293814	0.22104675	39.1	1,963
Morocco	-0.198189468	-0.331661737	0.545830753	1.822130921	0.459527617	11.0	3,243
Namibia	-0.1517653	0.132092717	-0.513334717	-0.851029736	-0.346009259	37.7	5,589
Guatemala	-0.105341132	1.159819028	-0.494301375	1.132282705	0.423114806	13.3	3,673
Tajikistan	-0.551013145	-0.161807084	-1.148580913	-0.240779907	-0.525545262	15.2	1,114
India	0.126779708	-0.405015241	3.081753814	2.060924305	1.216110647	12.2	1,586

Honduras	-0.198189468	0.837743709	-0.929795543	1.21188084	0.230409884	25.8	2,449
Bhutan	-0.198189468	-0.207543722	-0.591662345	-0.751532449	-0.437231996	8.3	2,569
Timor-Leste	0.498173053	0.066341745		0.289872412		38.5	4,294
Syrian Arab Republic	-0.527801061	-0.191221353	0.728052769	2.478812606	0.62196074	12.4	1,821
Vanuatu	-0.356031639	-0.113252894		-0.22088025		0.0	3,138
Congo	1.148111405	1.876375889	0.258577991	-1.149521598	0.533385922	11.5	3,125
Kiribati	-0.1517653	-0.798306611				8.7	1,358
Equatorial Guinea	0.591021389	1.534261947		-0.685200924	0.360020603	19.7	20,382
Zambia	0.544597221	1.844241225	1.634101129	-0.618869399	0.851017544	12.7	1,715
Ghana	1.008838901	0.216716428	1.801684643	-1.176054314	0.462796414	10.9	1,388
Laos		0.37799698	1.127928861	-1.262285496		25.0	1,756
Bangladesh	0.033931372	0.755767525	0.25604713	0.323038055	0.34219602	20.0	1,088
Cambodia	0.033931372	-0.125008886	0.99379321	-0.937260924	-0.008636307	19.0	1,095
Sao Tome and Principe	0.219628044	0.3802073		0.707761357		18.2	1,811
Kenya	1.101687237	1.071989137	0.110317603	-0.77143186	0.378140529	20.8	1,358
Nepal	0.126779708	0.588050325	1.937804489	-0.97042668	0.420551961	29.5	692
Pakistan	0.033931372	-0.539504762	2.727763504	2.419114513	1.160326157	19.7	1,358
Myanmar	0.173203876	-0.908798363	-1.631975429	-0.977059222	-0.836157284	4.7	1,244
Angola	1.380232245	2.931281859		-0.545904569		36.8	6,054
Swaziland	0.683869725	0.546807196	-0.137501809	0.38936958	0.370636173	14.7	3,532
Tanzania	1.148111405	1.778830302	-0.162810422	-1.308717364	0.36385348	36.0	952
Nigeria	1.844473926	1.70316932		-0.419874825		6.6	3,203
Cameroon	1.98374643	1.611963225	1.048206729	-0.585703378	1.014553251	27.1	1,407
Madagascar	1.287383909	1.782060771		-1.189320414		20.5	453
Zimbabwe	1.426656413	0.261894414	1.021632685	-1.016858549	0.423331241	35.1	965
Mauritania	0.730293893	0.578796124	0.934317968	1.895095241	1.034625807	22.2	1,283
Solomon Islands	-0.1517653	0.373673495		0.250073477		2.0	1,927
Papua New Guinea	0.266052212	0.306853796	0.21808421	-1.215853123	-0.106215726	2.7	2,221
Comoros	0.869566397	0.040109366		1.530271854	0.609986904	3.0	841
Yemen	0.498173053	-0.059646542	1.630304837	1.656301725	0.931283268	0.7	1,418
Lesotho	1.519504749	0.970508693	-1.032161292	-0.48620635	0.24291145	26.8	986
Togo	1.333808077	1.021224626	2.397155822	-1.401581088	0.837651859	17.6	643
Haiti	1.008838901	-0.182428649	0.95583029	-0.778065159	0.251043846	3.5	813
Rwanda	0.730293893	-0.385170933	-0.55635936	-1.520978031	-0.433053608	57.5	697
Uganda	0.915990565	1.874505617	0.684848435	-1.222486687	0.563214483	35.0	727
Benin	0.823142229	0.989697193	1.33419406	-0.738265839	0.602191911	8.4	903
Sudan	0.915990565	0.837792287	0.115584325	1.517005754	0.846593233	23.8	2,081
Djibouti	0.31247638	-0.749363793		0.634796268		12.7	1,814
South Sudan	2.633684782	0.626961687				24.3	924
Senegal	0.730293893	1.091323372	0.382368746	0.011280087	0.553816524	42.7	1,067
Afghanistan	1.101687237	0.907696719	2.364254625	2.777304661	1.787735811	27.6	668
Côte d'Ivoire	2.587260614	1.962141194	1.374687841	0.475600761	1.599922603	9.2	1,546
Malawi	1.612353085	2.315768235	0.664781236	-1.653641088	0.734815367	16.7	343
Ethiopia	1.194535573	0.701869702	0.660626827	-0.711733123	0.461324745	25.5	553
Gambia	1.240959741	1.611647465	1.122867138	-0.738265839	0.809302126	9.4	441

Dem. Rep. Congo	2.633684782	2.084656119	1.823915729	-1.282184648	1.315017996	8.2	3,125
Liberia	2.21586727	1.650485959	2.368050917	-1.010225243	1.306044726	10.7	483
Guinea-Bissau	1.844473926	1.210656406		-0.764798548		13.7	672
Mali	1.798049758	3.063002406	0.270647669	0.581731353	1.428357796	9.5	701
Mozambique	1.473080581	2.144286203	-0.053983384	-1.627108372	0.484068757	39.6	628
Sierra Leone	4.351379	1.243884086	0.830552654	-1.229119222	1.299174129	12.4	755
Guinea	2.262291438	1.980066653	-0.661390106	-0.605602789	0.743841299	21.9	536
Burkina Faso	1.101687237	1.601494563	-0.367506487	-0.59233669	0.435834656	13.3	725
Burundi	2.68010895	-0.466782778	-0.275433752	-1.534244648	0.100911943	34.9	265
Chad	3.794288983	2.490650761	0.375925173	-0.439774488	1.555272608	14.9	941
Eritrea	1.008838901	0.383923554		-0.797964311		22.0	755
Central African Republic	3.330047303	1.186780084	1.440490236	-0.618869399	1.334612056	12.5	383
Niger	2.169443102	3.772491099	0.013084441	1.84866312	1.95092044	13.3	427

APPENDIX TWO

Bills Introduced by Bolivian Female Politicians Between 1997 and 2002

Table 8: Chamber of Deputies: Bills Introduced by Women Members of Congress, 1997–2002

1997-2002 Term	National Legislative Reforms	Regional Issues	Social Issues	Gender-specific Issues	Total Bills
1997-1998	2	4	2	4	12
1998-1999	3	8	1	1	11
1999-2000	3	7	1	2	13
2000-2001	5	11	4	1	21
2001-2002	6	4	2	-	12
Total Bills	19 (26%)	34 (48%)	10 (14%)	8 (11%)	71

Source: Zabala, based on data from the Chamber of Deputies.

Table 9: Bills Introduced by Women in the Senate

1997-2002 Term	National Legislative Reforms	Regional Issues	Social Issues	Gender-specific Issues	Total Bills
1997-1998	1	2	-	-	3
1998-1999	2	2	-	-	4
1999-2000	1	1	-	-	2
2000-2001	3	2	2	-	7
Total Bills	7 (44%)	7 (44%)	2 (12%)	-	16

Source: Zabala, based on data from the Senate

This dataset, included in Jimena Costa Benavides' article, "Women's Political Participation in Bolivia,"[186] displays the types of bills sponsored by Bolivian female politicians in the years immediately following quota implementation. Bills introduced by female politicians were coded by topic. As we can see, Gender-Specific Issues only accounted for 11% of the female-introduced legislation in the Congress, and there were no Gender-Specific Issues bills introduced by women between 1997 and 2002. This is fairly limited sample, but it does fit within the findings of this paper. An increase in critical mass does not necessitate pro-woman political reform. More recent analysis of bill introduction could shed further light on this phenomenon.

[186] "Women's Political Participation in Bolivia: Progress and Obstacles."

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