

## Helpdesk Research Report: Evaluations of interventions impacting women's political participation

9/01/2012

**Query:** Please provide a sense of the size and quality of the evaluation literature on interventions which impact on the political participation of women. Please also provide links to as many evaluations as possible, including but not limited to RCTs. We are interested in a range of methods, qualitative and quantitative.

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### 1. Introduction

Systematic evaluations of interventions that aim to increase women's political participation are not common. Part of the reason for this is that while there are many programmes which aim to improve democracy and political participation, not many of these specifically aim to improve women's political participation. The main exception to this is the introduction of quotas and reservations, on which studies abound. Other initiatives, such as leadership training, or support for women's cross-party caucuses are less common. Some initiatives (such as civic education programmes) target whole populations, which of course include women (although evaluations of these often show that more effort needs to be made to actually target women), or focus on specific circumstances (such as elections in post-conflict countries).

There are also few rigorous evaluations of the impact of interventions, which have either directly or indirectly addressed women's political participation. While this report makes an effort to identify 'traditional' evaluations, including randomised controlled trials, it largely identifies interventions more commonly found in comparative and single case studies, lessons learned documents, and technical guidance documents. Accordingly, it provides links to, and brief summaries of, what can broadly be termed as evaluations of the following types of interventions:

- Quotas
- Political party programmes
- Political empowerment/democratic governance
- Support for women parliamentarians
- Gender caucuses
- Voter education
- Cross-cutting interventions.

## 2. Breadth and scope of evaluation literature

By far, the bulk of evaluations of interventions aiming to improve women's political participation examine the introduction of quotas. The relative ease with which it is possible to measure progress has increased the popularity of quotas as a transformative mechanism (Tadros 2011). By 2006, around 40 countries had introduced quotas for women in elections to national parliaments, either by means of constitutional amendment or changing electoral laws (Tadros 2011). However, Tadros argues that a policy shift is required from the current focus, which is almost exclusively on getting women into legislatures, to providing women opportunities for political apprenticeship, and ultimately women's leadership.

Further, much of the evaluation available, particularly on the impact of political quotas, is based on research in India. This is largely because of the design of its reservation (quota) system, which provides a natural experiment<sup>1</sup> (Pande and Ford 2011).

Latin America is also a popular region of study, largely because of the perceived progress made in women's rights and political participation. In these cases, the starting point is not to evaluate particular interventions but rather to examine what it is about countries in the region that has aided progress (see, for example, Buvinic and Roza 2004). In Africa, the most studied country is Rwanda, which achieved the highest representation of elected women parliamentarians in the world, largely through quotas (Powley 2005).

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<sup>1</sup> A constitutional amendment in 1992 made it mandatory for Indian states to decentralise a significant amount of policy influence to a three-tier system of local governance and required that at least a third of the total number of seats in village governments (*panchayats*) and one-third of leader positions be reserved for women, which had to be rotated between elections. While different states chose different ways of implementing reservation, in most cases the process was, in effect, random. This implies that the difference in average outcomes between reserved and unreserved local governments reflects the causal impact of female leadership (Pande and Ford 2011; Ban and Rao 2006).

Beyond quotas, few studies evaluate specific interventions. Part of the reason for this is that there may be few interventions to study. Gender experts argue that although commitments have been made at international policy level (such as UN Resolution 1325, which calls for increased representation of women at all decision-making levels), these have not translated into practical interventions and programmes (Goetz 2008). Tadros also argues that concepts and support for women's political empowerment need to be better tailored to women's ongoing networks of support and influence and less on pre-election moments or international 'blueprints' (Tadros 2011).

However, women's political participation is becoming an increasingly important aspect of democratisation from the multitude of programmes, such as leadership training (see UNDP 2011) and grants to promote women's participation (UNDEF 2010). However, this has yet to be borne out in terms of substantial evaluations. More common are country case studies; comparative (often regional) analyses that combine discussions about the status of women and women's empowerment (including social and economic, as well as political); and studies that look at the effects of political participation on policy decision-making, for instance on children's well-being, reducing corruption, or on passing gender-sensitive laws (Beaman et al 2010).

Also, while there are numerous studies on programmes that aim to deepen democracy, for instance, voter education, generally these are not specific to women, and evaluations actually tend to point to women's lack of involvement in as limitations of such programmes (see, for example, USAID 2002). Conversely, programmes which do target women, such as interventions to promote women's empowerment, tend to focus on social and economic factors, rather than political ones. The main exception to this is assistance provided is interventions to support women's participation in statebuilding and democratisation in fragile and post-conflict states (see, for instance, Castillejo 2010; Ellis 2004).

The following sections provide links to studies and evaluations of various types of interventions impacting on women's political participation. Many have been undertaken by staff from, or under the auspices of major agencies involved in supporting democratic reform, such as the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), the National Democratic Institute (NDI) the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the International Federation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the World Bank. A range of methodologies have been used in the studies, including qualitative and quantitative studies, and a few participatory methods and RCTs.

### **3. Quotas and reservations**

**Deininger, K., Jin, S., Nagarajan, H.K., Fang, X., 2011, 'Does Female Reservation Affect Long-Term Political Outcomes? Evidence from Rural India' World Bank Working Paper 5708, World Bank, Washington, DC**

[http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2011/06/28/000158349\\_20110628093513/Rendered/PDF/WPS5708.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2011/06/28/000158349_20110628093513/Rendered/PDF/WPS5708.pdf)

This paper uses nationwide data from India spanning a 15-year period to explore how reservations affect leader qualifications, service delivery, political participation, local

accountability, and individuals' willingness to contribute to public goods. Although the study found that reservation prompted a decline in perceived leader quality and the quality of services provided, gender quotas are shown to increase the level and quality of women's political participation, the ability to hold leaders to account, and the willingness to contribute to public goods.

**Pande, R. and Ford, D., 2011, 'Gender Quotas and Female Leadership: A Review', Background Paper for the World Development Report on Gender**

<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/rpande/papers/Gender%20Quotas%20-%20April%202011.pdf>

This paper reviews the evidence on the equity and efficiency impacts of gender quotas for political positions (in India) and corporate board membership (in Norway). The Indian evidence demonstrates that quotas increase female leadership and influence policy outcomes. In addition, rather than create a backlash against women, quotas can reduce gender discrimination in the long-term.

**Pande, R. and Cirone, A., 2009, 'Women in politics: quotas, voter attitudes and female leadership', Dubai School of Government Policy Brief No 10**

<http://www.dsg.ae/LinkClick.aspx?link=Policy+Brief+10+English.pdf&tabid=308&mid=826&language=en-US> see also:

**Beaman, L. et al, n.d., 'Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?', Poverty Action Lab**

<http://www.povertyactionlab.org/sites/default/files/publications/310%20Female%20Quotas%20Nov%202009.pdf> and

**Poverty Action Lab: Perceptions of Female Leaders in India**

<http://www.povertyactionlab.org/evaluation/perceptions-female-leaders-india?pid=102>

A study in West Bengal, India, determined the causal effect of affirmative action policies on voter attitudes and electoral outcomes. The results suggest that repeated exposure to women leaders reduces voter bias against them, and that repeated reservation significantly improves electoral outcomes for women.

**Ban, R. and Rao, V., 2006, 'Tokenism or agency? The impact of women's reservations on panchayats in South India', World Bank, Washington, DC**

[http://www.cultureandpublicaction.org/bijupdf/reservations\\_0310.pdf](http://www.cultureandpublicaction.org/bijupdf/reservations_0310.pdf)

Using evidence from Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, this paper evaluates the effects of reservations for women on the process by which women are selected in reserved constituencies and on how their performance compares with leaders in unreserved ones.

**Schwindt-Bayer, L., 2011, 'Gender Quotas and Women's Political Participation in Latin America', Papers from the Americas Barometer, Small Grants and Data Award Recipients 2011**

[http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/pdfs/Schwindt-Bayer\\_SmallGrant\\_Publish.pdf](http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/pdfs/Schwindt-Bayer_SmallGrant_Publish.pdf)

This paper finds that quotas have had little effect on gender gaps in mass participation in Latin America. While they do increase women's representation in elected office, their benefits for women, however, do not extend to the masses.

**Zetterberg, P., 2009, 'Do Gender Quotas Foster Women's Political Engagement? Lessons from Latin America', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 715-730**

<http://prq.sagepub.com/content/62/4/715.abstract>

Some scholars claim that gender quotas foster women's overall political engagement. Contrasting this view, the author shows that there is no general proof of attitudinal or behavioral effects.

**Franceschet, S. and Piscopo, J. M., 2008, 'Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina', *Politics and Gender*, vol. 4, pp. 393-425.**

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=2183572>

In Argentina, a law mandating a 30 percent gender quota was adopted in 1991. This paper disaggregates women's substantive representation into two distinct concepts: substantive representation as process, where women change the legislative agenda, and substantive representation as outcome, where female legislators succeed in passing women's rights laws in the Argentine Congress. The paper shows that institutions and norms simultaneously facilitate and obstruct women's substantive representation.

**Lubertino, M.J., 2006, 'The Argentinean Women's Experience: From the First Quota Law in the World to the Feminist Power', *Women's Environment and Development Organisation***

<http://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/maria-jose-lubertino-argentinian-womens-experience.doc>

This paper describes the experience of Argentina with gender quotas. It discusses the factors that led to its implementation, focusing particularly on the role of women in ensuring the adoption of quota laws. It also examines the strategies for and resistance to the adoption of gender quotas as well as presents an evaluation of the impact of quotas on Argentinean politics.

**Panday, P.K., 2008, 'Representation without Participation: Quotas for Women in Bangladesh', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 489-512**

<http://ips.sagepub.com/content/29/4/489.short>

<http://ips.sagepub.com/content/29/4/489.full.pdf+html>

This article explores the state of women's participation in the political process in Bangladesh. Although quotas have increased the total number of women in political arenas, their representation in the decision-making process has not yet been ensured. They still face several social, cultural, and religious challenges which hinder their participation and they are still neglected by their male counterparts.

**Siregar, W.Z.B, 2006, 'Political parties , Electoral System and Women's Representation in the 2004-2009 Indonesian Parliaments', *CDI Political Paper 2006/2, Centre for Democratic Institutions, Canberra***

<http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/research/2006->

[07/D\\_P/2006\\_11\\_PPS\\_2\\_Siregar/2006\\_11\\_PPS2\\_WS.pdf](http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/research/2006-07/D_P/2006_11_PPS_2_Siregar/2006_11_PPS2_WS.pdf)

Despite the adoption of a non-compulsory quota system in Indonesia in 2004, only a small proportion of women were elected to the Indonesian national parliament. This paper argues that the greatest obstacles to women's election are found in the institutional design of electoral system and the structure of political parties.

**Ballington, J. et al, 2003, 'The Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences', International IDEA, Stockholm**

[http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas\\_asian/upload/Full%20report.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas_asian/upload/Full%20report.pdf)

This report is the first in a series of reports on regional experiences with quota implementation. It provides information about the use of gender quotas as an instrument to increase women's political representation in Asia, and shows that they can and are being applied successfully. The report includes case studies from India, East Timor, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia.

**Araújo, C., et al, 2003, 'The Implementation of Quotas: Latin American Experiences', Quota Report Series, International IDEA, Stockholm**

[http://www.idea.int/publications/upload/Quotas\\_LA\\_Report.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/upload/Quotas_LA_Report.pdf)

The second in the series of reports on regional experiences with quota implementation, examines quotas used in Latin America, with case studies from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico and Peru. Evidence shows that while quota laws may be enacted in legislation, a real challenge lies in ensuring that quotas are implemented in practice.

**Ballington, J., 2004, 'The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences', International IDEA, Stockholm**

[http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas\\_africa/upload/IDEA\\_no3.qxd.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas_africa/upload/IDEA_no3.qxd.pdf)

This report illustrates the different quota types that are being implemented in different political contexts in Africa, and includes 17 regional and country case studies, including Egypt, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda.

**International IDEA, 2007, 'The Arab Quota Report: Selected Case Studies', Quota Report Series, International IDEA, Stockholm**

[http://www.iknowpolitics.org/files/IDEA\\_The%20Arab%20Quota%20Report\\_0.pdf](http://www.iknowpolitics.org/files/IDEA_The%20Arab%20Quota%20Report_0.pdf)

This paper first summarises the socio-political and economic situation in the Arab region. It then moves on to a discussion of the political status of Arab women, highlighting their representation in legislatures. The third section looks at the key challenges that confront Arab women who wish to enter the political domain, and the final section focuses on some of the opportunities on offer and the mechanisms that have been employed successfully to enhance women's political participation.

**Haider, H., 2011, 'Helpdesk Research Report: Effects of Political Quotas for Women', GSDRC Helpdesk Report 757, GSDRC, Birmingham**

<http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HDQ757.pdf>

This GSDRC Helpdesk Research Reports considers the effects of political quotas for women on political processes, service delivery and social processes. It references a number of evaluations, some of which are included in this report.

**Tadros, M., 2011, 'Women Engaging Politically: Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways', Pathways of Women's Empowerment Policy Paper, IDS, Brighton**

[http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/Women\\_and\\_Politics\\_Policy\\_Paper.pdf](http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/Women_and_Politics_Policy_Paper.pdf) and

**Tadros, M., 2010, 'Quotas: Add Women and Stir?', IDS Bulletin Special Issue, vol. 41, no. 5**

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/idsb.2010.41.issue-5/issuetoc>

Through a multi-country case study, the paper and IDS Bulletin explore the possibilities and limitations of quotas to strengthening women's access to political power. They also seek to broaden the debate by practically engaging with the question of how support women's political leadership can be supported in ways that speak to women's realities. Country case studies include:

**Araújo, C., 2010, 'The Limits of Women's Quotas in Brazil', IDS Bulletin, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 17-24**

Araújo's study of affirmative action in Brazil shows how the quota system improved women's representation when it was first applied, but then reached a plateau. In 2006, the numbers of women candidates and women elected remained about the same as they were in 2002.

**Sagot, M., 2010, 'Does the Political Participation of Women Matter? Democratic Representation, Affirmative Action and Quotas in Costa Rica', IDS Bulletin, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 25-34**

Sagot's research findings give an account of the struggle of having an 'actionable' quota in Costa Rica. Political parties grudgingly accepted the designation of a 40 per cent quota of their lists to women, but they then sought counter-strategies to avoid its implementation.

**Abbas, S., 2010, 'The Sudanese Women's Movement and the Mobilisation for the 2008 Legislative Quota and its Aftermath', IDS Bulletin, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 62-71**

Abbas's research suggests that in Sudan a highly undemocratic regime instituted the quota to undermine the power base of the opposition as well as to make a statement about its modern credentials.

**Abdullah, H., 2010, 'Forging Ahead without an Affirmative Action Policy: Female Politicians in Sierra Leone's Post-war Election Process', IDS Bulletin, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 62-71**

In Sierra Leone, the 50/50 campaign, the women's parliamentary caucus and the feminist movement pushed for the institutionalisation of affirmative action and used their considerable bargaining power to put forward the terms of the quota they deemed appropriate from their historical and political experience. Women's coalitions have provided opportunities for political empowerment where conventional pathways, such as political parties, have been inhibitive.

**Nazneen, S. and Tasneem, S., 2010, 'A Silver Lining? Women in Reserved Seats in Local Government in Bangladesh', IDS Bulletin, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 35-42**

Local Government reforms in Bangladesh in 1997 introduced direct elections to reserved seats for women. Research found that the change allowed women a direct link with their constituency, helping to increase their legitimacy as representatives. Reforms have partially contributed to giving women 'a foot in the door'.

#### ***Effects of quotas on policy decisions***

**Raabe, K. Sekher, M. and Birner, R., 2009, 'The Effects of Political Reservations for Women on Local Governance and Rural Service Provision Survey Evidence from Karnataka', IFPRI Discussion Paper, International Food Policy Research Institute**

<http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp00878.pdf>

This paper aims to qualify and quantify the role of political reservation policies for women as a determinant of rural service provision and local governance. It finds that local governance and service delivery outcomes are predominantly determined by social, economic, and institutional factors that are unrelated to women's reservation requirements. These results suggest that women's reservation policies *per se* are insufficient means for making rural service provision and local governance more inclusive and gender equitable.

**Lori Beaman, L., Duflo, E., Pande, R., and Topalova, P., 2006, 'Women Politicians, Gender Bias, and Policy-making in Rural India', State of the World's Children Background Paper, UNICEF**

[http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/beaman\\_duflo\\_pande\\_topalova.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/beaman_duflo_pande_topalova.pdf)

This paper uses data on the practice of mandated political representation for women in village governments in India to examine the implications of increased female representation for policy activism and children's well-being. It also examines how such representation affects political participation by women and the extent of gender discrimination, and finds that benefits may depend on the extent of gender bias.

**Chattopadhyay, R. and Duflo, E., 2004, 'Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India', *Econometrica*, vol. 72, no. 5, pp. 1409-1443**

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0262.2004.00539.x/pdf>

also:

**Chattopadhyay, R. and Duflo, E., 2001, 'Women's Leadership and Policy Decisions: Evidence from a Nationwide Randomized Experiment in India', Yale University, Connecticut**

<http://aida.wss.yale.edu/seminars/develop/tdw01/duflo-011015.pdf>

These papers use political reservations for women in India to study the impact of women's leadership on policy decisions. They show that the reservation of a council seat affects the types of public goods provided. Specifically, leaders invest more in infrastructure that is directly relevant to the needs of their own genders (e.g. women invest in water, fuel and roads, while men invest more in education).

**Powley, E., 'Rwanda: Women Hold Up Half the Parliament', in J. Ballington and A. Karam (eds.), 2005, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers. A Revised Edition*, International IDEA, Stockholm**

<http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/Rwanda.pdf>

In October 2003, women won 48.8 percent of seats in Rwanda's lower house of Parliament. The dramatic gains for women are a result of specific mechanisms used to increase women's political participation, among them a constitutional guarantee, a quota system, and innovative electoral structures. This case study describes those mechanisms and attempts to explain their origins, focusing in particular on the relationship between women's political representation and the organised women's movement, significant changes in gender roles in post-genocide Rwanda, and the commitment of Rwanda's ruling party, the RPF, to gender issues.

#### 4. Political Party Programmes

**McCollom, S., Haffert, K. and Kozma, A., 'Assessing Women's Political Party Programs: Best Practices and Recommendations', National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC**

<http://www.ndi.org/files/Assessing-Womens-Political-Party-Programs-ENG.pdf>

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) embarked on this assessment in an effort to better understand effective approaches to women's political party programs across a number of regions and to measure the impact of such programs. The assessment is designed to identify the specific elements and approaches which were most effective in encouraging women's participation and leadership in political parties.

**Llanos, B. and Sample, K., 2008, 'From words to action: best practices for women's participation in Latin American political parties', International IDEA, Stockholm**

[http://www.idea.int/publications/from\\_rhetoric\\_to\\_practice/upload/Inlay-From-Words-To-Action.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/from_rhetoric_to_practice/upload/Inlay-From-Words-To-Action.pdf)

International IDEA's work in the field of political parties and gender frames this research. It identifies 95 best practices in 18 Latin American countries within the following areas: the declaration of principles; internal organisation; recruiting; leadership advancement; training; electoral system reform; financing; government plans; inter-party agreements; and relationships with civil society and the media.

**iKNOW Politics, 2009, 'Consolidated Response on Best Practices Used by Political Parties to Promote Women in Politics'**

<http://www.iknowpolitics.org/files/CR%20Best%20Practices%20Used%20by%20Political%20Parties%20to%20promote%20women%20in%20politics%20EN.pdf>

This consolidated response highlights best practice strategies and policies that may be used in addition to gender quotas by political parties to increase the numbers of women in politics. Strategies include establishing women's sections in political parties, providing women candidates with training and financial assistance to hold effective campaigns, creating a forum for women to lobby and discuss policy, and offering political parties incentives for promoting women in politics.

## **5. Political empowerment/democratic governance**

**Waterhouse, R. and Neville, S., 2005, 'Evaluation of DFID Development Assistance: Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment', Phase II Thematic Evaluation: Voice and Accountability, DFID Working Paper 7, London**

<http://www.amarc.org/documents/books/wp7.pdf>

This evaluation makes a preliminary assessment of DFID's work since 1995 on issues of gender, voice and accountability, highlights specific outcomes and raises questions around evidence for impact. It concludes with some suggested hypotheses and methods for a more systematic evaluation of this aspect of DFID's work on gender equality and women's empowerment.

## 6. Support for women parliamentarians

**Abdela, L. and Boman, A., 2010, 'Review of Inter Parliamentary Union's gender programme "Gender Equality in Politics"' InDevelop IMP**

<http://www.indevelop.se/files/14/IPU%20Gender%20Review%20Report.pdf>

The Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) Gender Programme produces comparative information about women in politics, supports women in accessing and transforming parliament, enhances gender mainstreaming in parliaments, supports parliaments in addressing key gender concerns, and promotes dialogue between men and women. This Joint Gender Review of its programme evaluates its success in achieving its objectives and provides recommendations.

## 7. Gender caucuses

**Gonzales, K. and Sample, K., 2010, 'One Size Does Not Fit All: Lessons Learned from Legislative Gender Commissions and Caucuses', International IDEA/NDI**

<http://www.iknowpolitics.org/files/One%20Size%20Does%20Not%20Fit%20All%20Lessons%20Learned%20from%20Legislative%20Gender%20Commissions%20and%20Caucuses.PDF>

Women in legislatures worldwide have used diverse practices to make progress on priority issues and decrease the gender gaps in their countries. Drawn from Latin American experience, this guide demonstrates that women's collective efforts in the legislature are crucial not only because of their impact on public policies that effectively respond to citizens' demands and interests, but also because of their effect on the consolidation and progress of women's leadership.

## 8. Voter education

**Pang, X., Zeng, J. and Rozelle, S., 2011, 'Does Women's Knowledge of Voting Rights affect their Voting Behaviour in Village Elections? Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial In China', Stanford University Paper**

[http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/23330/229 - women's\\_voting\\_august2011.pdf](http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/23330/229 - women's_voting_august2011.pdf)

This paper tests whether women and village leaders' knowledge about women's voting rights affects women's voting behaviour, using a randomised controlled trial involving 700 women in China's Fujian and Liaoning Provinces, where villages were randomly assigned to either a control group or one of three intervention groups. One intervention provided voting training to women only, another provided training to both women and village leaders and the third provided training to village leaders only. The data show that after women received training, their scores on a test of voting knowledge increased and they more fully exercised their voting rights. When only village leaders were trained, test scores and voting behaviours were not statistically different from the control villages.

## 9. Cross-cutting interventions

**iKNOW Politics, 2011, 'Consolidated Response on Experiences in Implementing Parity Laws to Improve Women's Political Representation', iKNOW Politics**

<http://www.iknowpolitics.org/files/CR%20Parity%20Laws%20EN.pdf>

This consolidated response details how parity laws have been implemented, what aspects of their implementation have been most difficult, and how such potential stumbling blocks could be overcome. It focuses on current developments in the Arab states, where the recent revolutions have led to the revision of certain political and electoral systems.

**Khan, N., Hussein, A. and Awan, M. Z., 2011, 'Evaluation of the Effects of Factors Affecting Women Representation Using Ordinary Least Square (OLS) Regression', Asian Journal of Agricultural Sciences, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 342-351**

<http://www.maxwellsci.com/print/ajas/v3-342-351.pdf>

This study examines the determinants of women's representation in Pakistan. It tests seven explanatory variables, including interventions such as political rights, civil liberty, election system type and quotas, as well as female enrolment at college, female labour force participation rate, female life expectancy at birth in (years) and real GDP per capita in US dollars at current price using Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression. Quota, female life expectancy at birth and GDP per capita are the three significant predictors, which explain 84 percent variation in women representation.

**Cole, S., 2011, 'Increasing Women's Political Participation in Liberia: Challenges and Potential Lessons from India, Rwanda and South Africa', International Foundation for Electoral Success (IFES), Washington, DC**

[http://www.ifes.org/Content/Publications/White-Papers/2011/~media/Files/Publications/White%20PaperReport/2011/2011\\_Humphrey\\_Fellowship\\_Cole.pdf](http://www.ifes.org/Content/Publications/White-Papers/2011/~media/Files/Publications/White%20PaperReport/2011/2011_Humphrey_Fellowship_Cole.pdf)

This paper draws on the experiences of Rwanda, India and South Africa to suggest legal reforms and civic advocacy efforts to encourage greater women's political participation in Liberia. In order to achieve political gender equality, concrete practical measures (such as quota laws and the proportional representation (PR) electoral system like those adopted by Rwanda and South Africa) must be adopted by Liberia. In the short run, there is need for concerted efforts, through civic education and advocacy, to enable all political actors and institutions to use gender mainstreaming to create a future where men and women are equally represented in Liberia.

**Whitman, T. and Gomez, J., 2009, 'Strategies for Policymakers #1 March 2009: Bringing Women into Government', Institute for Inclusive Security**

[http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/1648\\_bringing\\_women\\_into\\_government\\_april\\_2010\\_final.pdf](http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/1648_bringing_women_into_government_april_2010_final.pdf)

This publication presents case studies of Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Rwanda and recommends four policies proven to increase women's participation in government:

- Demand women's inclusion in transitional institutions, especially constitution-drafting bodies.
- Support constitutional provisions, such as parliamentary and executive branch quotas, that guarantee women's participation in all branches and at all levels of government.

- Establish election mechanisms that advance women's representation, including quotas for political parties, indirect elections, and proportional representation systems with closed ("zippered") lists, which alternate the names of male and female candidates.
- Support electoral systems that require voters to select male and female candidates.

**Archenti, N. and Johnson, N., 2006, 'Engendering the Legislative Agenda With and Without the Quota: A Comparative Study of Argentina and Uruguay', *Sociologia, Problemas e Praticas*, no. 52, pp. 133-153**

<http://www.scielo.oces.mctes.pt/pdf/spp/n52/n52a07.pdf>

This paper explores, from a comparative perspective, both the direct and indirect effects of the application of systems of electoral gender quotas. The central hypothesis of the study is that quotas have a major influence in engendering the legislative agenda. However, the presence of a clear gender agenda in the Uruguayan case, despite the lack of quotas, signals the need to explore other relevant factors in this process. These other variables include levels of gender awareness among female deputies and inter-party networking around a gender legislative agenda.

**Ballington, J. and Karam, A., (eds.), 2005, 'Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers', A Revised Edition, International IDEA, Stockholm**

[http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/WiP\\_inlay.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/WiP_inlay.pdf)

This report looks at the impacts of a range of approaches aimed at improving women's political participation, with case studies from across the globe. This includes enhancing legislative recruitment and electoral systems, trends in gender quotas, and women in parliament. It also discusses the challenges and the need to continue to target all stages of women's political participation.

**Clulow, M., 2005, 'Women and Local Democracy - Lessons from Central America', OneWorld Action**

[http://www.iknowpolitics.org/files/women\\_democracy\\_OWA.pdf](http://www.iknowpolitics.org/files/women_democracy_OWA.pdf)

This publication draws together the experiences and lessons learnt by Central American women working on promoting gender equity in local government. Opportunities and obstacles for women presented by decentralisation are explored with reference to official mechanisms for citizens' participation, participation in elected office and the political system and culture.

**Jones, M.P., 1998, 'Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Lessons from the Argentine Provinces', *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 31 no. 1, pp. 3-21**

<http://cps.sagepub.com/content/31/1/3.full.pdf+html>

This study analyses the effect of gender quota laws on the election of women legislators. However, it also examines the extent to which other electoral rules can influence the effect of quotas on the election of women. Argentina's provinces employ a wide variety of electoral law arrangements for the election of their provincial legislatures, thereby providing a unique population with which to explore the effect of quotas. For instance, it finds that the type of party list used is found to have a potent influence on the efficacy of gender quota laws in increasing the percentage of women elected. It suggests that reformers must pay close attention to the institutional environment in which a quota law is being implemented.

## **Other resources**

### **Books**

**Dahlerup, D., 2006, 'Women, Quotas and Politics', Routledge, London**

[www.statsvet.su.se/quotas](http://www.statsvet.su.se/quotas)

This book includes research from all major regions in the world and analyses the adoption and effects of gender quotas. Using a comparative perspective, this book contains analyses of the discursive controversies around quotas, provides an overview over various types of quotas in use from candidate quotas to reserved seat systems, and discusses problems with implementation processes.

**Jaquette, J. (ed.), 2009, 'Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America', Duke University Press, Durham and London**

<http://www.amazon.com/Feminist-Agendas-Democracy-Latin-America/dp/0822344491>

The book is organised around three broad topics: women's access to political power at the national level; the use of legal strategies; and the international impact of Latin American feminists.

### **Journals**

**International Feminist Journal of Politics**

<http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/14616742.asp>

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## 9. Further information

### Selected websites visited

Eldis Gender Resource Guide: Governance and Political Participation

<http://www.eldis.org/go/topics/resource-guides/gender/governance-and-political-participation>

International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics

<http://www.iknowpolitics.org/>

International IDEA

<http://www.idea.int/resources/>

KIT Information Portal Gender, Citizenship and Governance

[http://portals.kit.nl/gender\\_citizenship\\_governance](http://portals.kit.nl/gender_citizenship_governance)

National Democratic Institute: Women's Political Participation

<http://www.ndi.org/content/womens-political-participation>

Quota Project: Global Database of Quotas for Women

<http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutProject.cfm>

Women in Politics Bibliographic Database  
<http://www.ipu.org/bdf-e/BDFsearch.asp>

**Experts consulted**

Jane Jaquette, Occidental University

Mariz Tadros, IDS

Fredline M'Cormack-Hale, Seton Hall University

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