Women, Politics, and Gender Quotas

Valentine M. Moghadam

The argument for gender quotas – made by women's rights activists across the globe – has come about in response to women's continued collective marginalization from political power. According to data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2005), the global average for women's parliamentary representation is 18 percent, with high rates in the Nordic countries, Rwanda, and Argentina, and low rates in the Arab region and Iran. In the vast majority of countries, political power – legislative, juridicial, and executive – rests in the hands of men. In recent decades, therefore, the worldwide growth of a population of educated, employed, mobile, and politically aware women, combined with the diffusion of the UN-sponsored global women's rights agenda, has increased calls for women's political participation and representation. One of the mechanisms to realize this objective is the gender quota. Feminist groups around the world favor the implementation of the gender quota – which may come in the form of a constitutional quota, an electoral quota, or a political party quota – but it remains both controversial and elusive, especially in the Middle East.

This article examines the case for gender quotas, provides a conceptual and comparative context for the discussion of its appropriate use in the Arab world, and draws attention to the wider implications and ramifications of women's political representation.

Conceptual Background

Political scientists have developed a prodigious body of work arguing that in order for historically marginalized groups to be effectively represented in institutions, members of those groups must be present in deliberative, or decision-making, bodies (Weldon, 2002). These would include political parties, parliaments, and national and local governments. And yet, across history, culture, and societies, women as a group have been marginalized from key decision-making arenas in the government sector (national and local government) and the leadership of political parties, as well as in other domains.[1] This is indicative of the gendered nature of politics.

Gender refers to a structural relationship between women and men, which historically has manifested itself as a relationship of asymmetry, domination and subordination, or unequal power relations, between men as a group and women as a group. Here we distinguish the structural/collective from the individual. Across recorded history, individual women may have been more powerful than individual men, but in no society were women as a group more powerful than men as a group. It stands to reason, therefore, that the involvement of larger numbers and proportions of women in

1. These other domains include civil society (including professional associations and trade unions), the judiciary, academia, the media, and corporate boards.

decision-making both reflects and reinforces changes in gender relations as a structural shift, one characterized by the empowerment of women as a group.

Women's participation in formal politics has been increasing, though in variable ways. In the early 1990s, for example, a precipitous decline occurred in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union following the collapse of communism and the emergence of liberal democracies. In a number of regions, however, gender quotas have been installed to ensure equitable representation by women. Women have been elected heads of government or state, and women's presence as senior officials in government agencies also has increased. Today, feminist social scientists argue that a polity is not fully democratic when there is no adequate representation of women (Phillips, 1991, 1995; Eschle, 2000; Moghadam, 2004). The Beijing Platform for Action (para. 181) states that: "Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making ... is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning".

The global women's rights agenda is a key factor in the progress that has been made, and is found in a number of international instruments sponsored by the United Nations. The key ones are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (adopted in 1979, in force in 1981); the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (September 1995), which calls for women's empowerment and human rights in the family, economy, and polity; and Security Council Resolution 1325, on women, peace, and security (October 2000). Goal 3 of the eight Millennium Development Goals, adopted by the international community in the year 2000, pertains to ending gender inequalities in literacy, employment, and decision-making. Governments have signed onto these documents, which hold strong moral legitimacy, especially for feminists and other advocates of women's participation and rights. Broad, long-term structural change is certainly a major determinant of women's political participation, but policy also matters. This is why some developing countries have higher rates of women's political participation in formal political structures than do some of the most developed countries. For example, the application of the gender quota explains why Argentina has a 35 percent female share of parliament, while the United States, which does not have a gender quota, reports a mere 16 percent female share (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2008). The UN now recommends a benchmark of at least 30 percent female representation for reasons of both equity and impact. Research shows that women need to be at least a large minority to have an impact, and women's issues receive more support when women attain a "critical mass" (Paxton & Hughes, 2007).

Research and advocacy have focused on a number of factors enabling women to advance within political parties, parliaments, or governments: the nature of legislative structures and electoral systems; the strength of civil society organizations; the adoption of women-friendly work policies; social capital and women's networking; and gender quotas.

These macro- and meso-level factors appear to work in tandem: the broad structural changes have resulted in a growing population of educated and employed women with the capacity to enter the political process or to organize and mobilize around specific grievances or goals; and women's movements and organizations lobby governments

and advocate publicly for women-friendly policies, more rights, and equitable representation. At least two transnational feminist networks, along with numerous nationally-based women's groups, have launched campaigns for gender parity in the political process globally. The Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) joined forces with another U.S.-based international network, the Women's Learning Partnership for Development, Rights, and Peace (WLP) to launch the 50/50 campaign, whose objective is to increase the percentage of women in local and national politics worldwide to 50 percent. Since its inception in June 2000, the campaign has been adopted by 154 organizations in 45 countries (Paxton & Hughes, 2007).[2] The confluence of the global women's rights agenda and women's movements has created a global opportunity structure conducive to the adoption of policies, programs, and resources in support of women's participation in decision-making.

Yet, formidable obstacles remain, operating at economic, political, and cultural levels. Underdevelopment, poverty, and conflict are barriers to women's political participation, and prevent the creation of an adequate supply of women political actors or leaders. Gender-based gaps in educational attainment, employment, and income impede women's access to economic resources, creating obstacles to funding political campaigns. Authoritarian regimes are more likely to be shaped by patriarchal norms and less likely to involve women in political participation. In such countries, discriminatory laws may prevent women from attaining leadership positions in governance. Social and cultural views about women in society – or traditional gender ideology – continue to exert a strong influence on women's access to leadership and decision-making. The persistence of the sexual division of labor – as both ideology and a form of social organization – is remarkable, given women's increasing educational attainment and social participation. Family responsibilities are consistently cited as major stumbling blocks for women's career advancement in politics and other domains, especially in the absence of adequate institutional policies. This is why feminists argue that institutional changes and reforms, in addition to gender quotas, are needed to expand women's public presence. Childcare centers, paid maternity leaves, and paternity leaves could level the playing field, allow women to catch up to men, and compensate for past marginalization and exclusion (Phillips, 1995; Lister, 1997).

Last but not least, risks associated with public and leadership roles should be noted. In many countries, ascension to positions of power or public visibility carries with it various risks, from harassment and loss of privacy to physical attacks, kidnapping, or assassinations. In the most conservative societies, women who dare to enter the public domain without conforming to certain patriarchal norms may face substantial risks.

Comparative Data

A growing literature examines women's roles in formal politics, especially in national parliaments, while women's political participation and representation are measured in a number of international datasets, including those of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the UNDP's Human Development Report, and the UN's statistical database, The World's Women: Trends and Statistics.[3] These datasets, with their comparative statistics, provide general support for the hypothesis linking women's political participation to high human development or to the application of quotas, at least since the early 1990s. Thus, the Nordic countries have consistently ranked highest in terms of both human

2. For more informion see: http://www.wedo. org and http://www. learningpartnership.org

3. For more information see: http://www.ipu. org/wmn-e/world.htm; http://hdr.undp.org/en/; http://unstats.un.org/ unsd/demographic/ products/indwm/ wwpub2005.htm

development and women's political participation – and most of them also have adopted quotas to ensure women's participation in political parties, parliamentary elections, and cabinets. In contrast to the United States' 16-17 percent female parliamentary participation, the Nordic countries have had a roughly 41 percent female share for at least a decade and up to December 2008. Research on Latin America shows that the wave of national quota legislation since the 1990s improved women's political situation in some countries. In 2007, Argentina, the first country in the world to adopt a national quota law, led the region with 36 percent women in its lower house.

At the opposite end of the spectrum lie the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, with historically low levels of female participation in formal politics. The average 10 percent female representation is evidence of the masculine nature of the region's political processes and institutions. Yet even there, differentiation should be noted. According to IPU data for 2008, Tunisia had the highest female proportion in the region, with a 23 percent female share of parliamentary seats. Comparing Tunisia to other countries, Tunisia's share was higher than that of Uruguay and Chile (12 percent), Mexico (16 percent), the Philippines (18 percent), and Israel (13 percent), though lower than Argentina's (36 percent) or South Africa's (30 percent). Enabling factors in Tunisia included a relatively high rate of female labor force participation, the existence of strong women's organizations and networks, and a government that, while authoritarian, presents itself as a champion of women's rights (Moghadam, 2003). Other intra-regional variations should be noted too. In 2002, some Moroccan parties introduced a quota, raising women's political representation to 11 percent. In recent years, Iraq introduced a 25 percent quota, which Iraqi women activists welcomed (though they had asked for 30 percent), but the continuing conflict and lack of security prevent women from fully participating in the political process.

Elsewhere in the so-called Muslim world, variations in women's parliamentary representation suggest differences in political histories, social structures, and state policies. These factors explain the disparate rates, as of 2008, of Azerbaijan (11.4 percent), Indonesia (11.6 percent), Tajikistan (17.5 percent lower house; 23.5 percent upper house), Pakistan (22.5 percent), and Nigeria (7.0 percent). Interestingly, Muslim women do better in the parliaments of the European democracies. Research by Melanie Hughes (2008) shows that while minority women's political representation is generally low across the globe, women of Muslim and especially North African extraction are over-represented in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Sweden. Among other factors, quotas help minority women, argues Hughes.

The election of women as heads of state or government does not seem to follow any particular pattern. Of course, the Nordic countries have had strong representation of women at the highest levels of government, including president, prime minister, and cabinet members. But when one considers other women leaders – e.g., Indira Gandhi of India, Golda Meir of Israel, Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua, Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom, Tansu Ciller of Turkey, or Gloria Arroyo of the Philippines – there appears to be no correlation with economic/human development or the strength of the women's movement. Instead, such women leaders come up the ranks through dynastic family connections (Gandhi, Bhutto, Chamorro) or through exceptional pathways in a political party (Meir, Thatcher, Ciller, Arroyo). In contrast, the

election of women presidents in Finland, Ireland, Chile, Sierra Leone, and Argentina is at least partially explained by the strength of women's mobilizations in those countries, along with the prominence of the individual women elected as leaders. Increasingly, one observes prominent women in political party leadership, from Segolène Royale, who was the French Socialist Party's presidential candidate in 2006, to Louisa Hanoun, who leads the Socialist Workers' Party in Algeria and has been her party's presidential candidate. In the United States, Hillary Clinton's attempt to be the Democratic Party's presidential candidate in 2008 reflected a number of influences: family ties (her husband was former president Bill Clinton), white women's mobilizations, and her own record as senator from New York.

No woman has attained the position of head of state or government in the Arab region or in Iran. Moreover, cabinet positions remain overwhelmingly male-dominated.

Local Governance

The arena of local governance and of women's roles within it is less researched than that of national politics and governance. However, participation of women in local governance is important because decisions are made regarding everything from taxation and social spending to quality of life, including local schools, street lighting, housing, sanitation, zoning, transport, and policing. These are decisions that directly affect women, children, men, and families; as such, it is important that women be well represented. Data collected by the United Cities and Local Governments, a network created at a meeting in the Republic of Korea in 2004, suggest that women are largely excluded from mayoralties, though they do better as local councilors.[4] However, the data are sometimes inconsistent, and thus should be used with care. Other sources of data for participation in local governance come from the United Nations' regional commissions, agency reports (e.g., UNICEF, 2007) and from the country reports submitted to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women.[5] Unlike the Inter-Parliamentary Union's database, there is no single source of information and data on women in local politics.

Some countries show a large disparity between women's representation in local and national governance. In South Korea, women's participation in local governance is almost negligible; the 2002 local elections resulted in a 3.1 percent female share in the regional councils and a 1.9 percent female share in the city/county/district councils. In contrast, at the national level, women were 13.7 percent of those elected to the 2004-2008 National Assembly.[6]

Available data for Sub-Saharan Africa shows high levels of women's representation in local governance in South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda, which are consistent with their national level representation and appear to be related to the presence of quotas. In Tanzania, for example, women constituted 35.5 percent of councilors at the local level in 2004. At the federal level, their share was 30.4 percent. In both cases, high representation was the result of "special seats" reserved for women.[7]

Among the Arab countries, while a growing number of women are running for local (as well as national) office, only Tunisia and Yemen appear to have registered a significant female presence in local governance. In Yemen's first-ever local elections held in

4. For more information see: http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/uclg/index

5. The UN regional commissions are: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), and Economic and Social Commission for West Asia (ESCWA). CEDAW reports are submitted periodically to the committee charged with monitoring compliance, and may be obtained through the UN website.

6. For more information on the CEDAW Report for Korea (March 2007) see: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/39sess.htm

7. For more information see the CEDAW Report for Tanzania (April 2007, p. 17) http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,CEDAW,,TZA,,47440a962,0.html

February 2001, some 120 women ran as candidates with 35 winning seats, representing a surprising 29 percent female share in this conservative and low-income country.[8] In 2004, Tunisia's female share of municipal seats was about 20 percent.[9]

Elsewhere in the Middle East, Iran appears to be one case whereby women are more active at the municipal than at the national level. While women comprise only 8 out of 286 parliamentary seats, or a mere 2.8 percent share, the municipal elections of December 2007 brought more than 5,000 women to local governance in about 3,300 councils across the country. Women did exceptionally well, and better than male candidates, in the cities of Shiraz, Arak, Hamedan, Zanjan, and Ardebil; and they won a large number of seats in Urumiyeh and Qazvin (Ghammari, 2008).

India represents a striking example of high female representation in local governance, due to a 33 percent "reservation" (quota) that was established for women's participation across Indian states. While efforts to achieve reserved seats at India's state and national levels have stalled, two constitutional amendments passed in 1992 require that one-third of all seats in both rural and urban councils must be filled by women. The seventy third amendment also granted more powers over governmental services and projects to the three tiers of rural councils, or *panchayats*, at the village, block, and district level (Nanivadekar, 2005). While most Indian states have at least 33 percent women as a direct consequence of reservation, some states have even exceeded the quota.[10] In Kerala and West Bengal, for example, 35-36 percent of elected women representatives at the local bodies were women.[11] In contrast, the female share of parliamentary seats at the federal level was just 9.1 percent in 2008.

In Europe, data for the period 2000-2005 from the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) show that only in Moldova is women's participation at the local governance level very high – at 57 percent, perhaps the highest in the world. In Latvia, Finland, Norway, and France, women represent 30-42 percent of municipal councils and local governing bodies. Everywhere else, for which there are data, the figures are below 30 percent.

Given the data inadequacies, it is difficult to draw conclusions about women's participation in local governance. The world average for women's parliamentary representation is 21 percent (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2008) and for women councilors it is similarly 21 percent (UCLG, 2003-04). Regionally, women are less represented at the local than at the national level in the Middle East and North Africa (2.1 percent versus 9.7 percent female shares), and in the Nordic countries (Finland has the highest percentage of women councilors, but at 34 percent it is less than the Nordic parliamentary average of 41 percent female share). For other regions there appears to be more symmetry, although it may be the case that in sub-Saharan Africa, women are actually better represented at the local level than at the national (Fallon, 2008), at least as far as councilors are concerned. This is clearly an area that requires further investigation.

Engendering Democracy

Can the "democracy deficit" in the Arab region and Iran be linked to the absence of women from political power? Conversely, could the adoption of gender quotas and a substantial increase in women's political participation lead the way toward democratization and a rights-based development in the Arab region?

8. For more information visit http://www.accessdemocracy.org

9. For more information visit http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/uclg/index

10. CEDAW Report for India, C/IND/2-3, 19 October 2005, pp. 52-55 accessible online on http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/572/16/PDF/N0557216.pdf?OpenElement.

11. CEDAW Report for India. See also statistical profile of women and men on Government of India website: http://www.mospi.gov.in

A lively debate has ensued among political scientists of the Middle East regarding the relations between Islam, attitudes toward women and gender equality, and the democracy deficit in the region. The World Values Survey's fourth wave included a number of Muslim-majority countries, and among its principal findings were high support for democracy and for Islam, but low support for gender equality (El-Braizat 2002; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Jamal, 2005; Tessler, 2007).[12] For example, the Muslim Brothers of Egypt call for "the freedom of forming political parties" and "independence of the judiciary system", but they also call for "conformity to Islamic Sharia Law", which is not conducive to gender equality or the equality of Muslim and non-Muslim citizens in all domains (Brown, Hamzawy, & Ottaway, 2006). A more optimistic assessment was offered by the Arab Human Development Report 2005, which focused on women's status and empowerment. It reported public support for women's leadership in politics and the judiciary, but the survey on which the findings were based has been called methodologically flawed (Mark Tessler, personal communication, October 26, 2008).

Commentators of the Middle East emphasize the need to establish "the core of democracy – getting citizens the ability to choose those who hold the main levers of political power and creating checks and balances through which state institutions share power" (Carothers & Ottaway, 2005, p. 258). Such commentators envisage a scenario in which political parties are allowed to form and compete with each other in elections, and they have focused on the participation (and transformation) of Islamist parties as key to the transition to democracy. However, there are two problems with such a view. One is that the democratic process is usually understood in the minimalist sense of power-sharing through regular elections rather than in a more expanded notion of strong institutions that defend citizen participation and rights. The second problem is that such commentators on the democratic deficit in the Middle East tend to overlook what are in fact a key constituency, a natural ally, and social base of a democratic politics – women and their feminist organizations.

In the Arab region and Iran, questions of democratization and questions of women's rights have emerged more or less in tandem. They are closely intertwined and mutually dependent, and the fate of one is closely bound to the fate of the other. There are at least three reasons why I make this claim.

One is that women in the Arab region and Iran – and especially the constituency of women's rights advocates – are the chief proponents of democratic development and of its correlates of civil liberties, participation, and inclusion. The region's feminists are among the most vocal advocates of democracy, and frequently refer to themselves as part of the "democratic" or "modernist" forces of society. For example, a Tunisian feminist lawyer has said: "We recognize that, in comparison with other Arab countries, our situation is better, but still we have common problems, such as an authoritarian state. Our work on behalf of women's empowerment is also aimed at political change and is part of the movement for democratization" (Member of the Tunisian organization Femmes Démocrates, personal communication, September 9, 2004). In 2008, a prominent Tunisian feminist organization, L'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFTURD), issued a statement declaring "that no development, no democracy can be built without women's true participation and the respect of fundamental liberties for all, men and women".[13]

12. The World Values Survey measures sociopolitical and cultural attitudes and change across the globe. For details on the different survey waves and country or regional results, see: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.com.

13. AFTURD, Declaration: Fighting Against Attempts at Regression, issued on the occasion of Tunisian Women's Day, 26 September 2008. Received by the author from the organization.

A second reason is that women have a stake in strong and sustainable democracies, but – as we have seen – they can be harmed by weak or exclusionary political processes. Women can pay a high price when a democratic process that is institutionally weak, or is not founded on principles of equality and the rights of all citizens, or is not protected by strong institutions, allows a political party bound by patriarchal norms to come to power and to immediately institute laws relegating women to second-class citizenship. This was the Algerian feminist nightmare, which is why so many educated Algerian women opposed the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) after its expansion in 1989. Here, a political grouping with patriarchal and theocratic tendencies almost came to power through an electoral process in 1991, which alarmed feminists as well as sections of Algeria's political elite. When the ruling party and the military annulled the results of the election, the FIS began an armed uprising, launching a horrific civil conflict and numerous terroristic actions during the 1990s (Moghadam, 2003). Many Arab feminists are aware that they can be harmed by an electoral politics that occurs in the absence of a strong institutional and legal framework for women's civil, political, and social rights of citizenship. Hence lies their insistence on egalitarian family laws, criminalization of domestic violence, and nationality rights for women – along with enhanced employment and political participation.

A third reason is that a democratic system without women's human rights and gender equality – a "male democracy" or "democratization with a male face", as Eastern European feminists called their own process in the early 1990s (Heinen, 1992) – is an incomplete and inferior form of democracy.

There is evidence that women, and more precisely employed women, have different political preferences to that of men, with a tendency to vote in a more leftward direction, in particular supporting public services (Huber & Stephens, 2000; Inglehart & Norris, 2003). A plausible connection also may be made between the sustained presence of a "critical mass" of women in political decision-making and the establishment of stable and peaceful societies. If the Nordic model of high rates of women's participation and rights correlates with peaceful, prosperous, and stable societies, could the expansion of women's participation and rights in the Arab region and Iran also lead the way to stability, security, and welfare in the region, not to mention effective democratic governance?

Among the social forces in the Arab region, it is arguably the "modernizing women" of the Arab region and Iran, and especially those in favor of women's rights, who are the principal agents of genuine democratization. An increase in their social participation, especially in political and juridical decision-making, may very well accelerate the democratic transition.

One of the surest ways to increase women's political participation and representation is the gender quota. In many countries around the world, quotas have been adopted by political parties to guarantee the election of women candidates. Countries without strong political parties have established constitutional quotas or electoral quotas. In those countries with large numbers of women parliamentarians, legislation has been adopted to punish domestic violence and sexual harassment, and to enhance children's welfare and environmental protection.

Conclusions

Since at least the Beijing conference, women's under-representation in formal politics has been placed on the global agenda, and various mechanisms, such as gender-based quotas, have been proposed to ensure and enhance women's political participation and representation. Why women's political participation matters may be summarized as equity and impact? Social justice and equity require greater participation by marginalized or under-represented social groups, one of which is women. The demands of the global women's movement have included greater access to economic and political decision-making to achieve equality but also to make a difference in societies and in the world.

Political theorist Ann Phillips (1991) has explained that women have interests, experiences, values, and expertise that are different from those of men, due principally to their social positions. At the very least, therefore, women must be represented in formal politics. As political philosopher Nancy Fraser (2004) has noted, the contemporary emphasis on women's involvement in decision-making reflects the evolution of women's demands from redistribution to recognition and now to representation. In fact, these three demands are not separate or mutually exclusive. Today's call for gender quotas is a call for redistribution (of power and resources), for recognition, and for representation – all at once.

Valentine M. Moghadam is Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies and Director of Women's Studies at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, USA. Email: vmoghada@purdue.edu

....

REFERENCES

Brown, N., Hamzawy, A., & Ottaway, M. S. (2006, March). *Islamist movements and the democratic process in the Arab world: Exploring gray zones*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Paper No. 67. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_67_grayzones_final.pdf

Carothers, T., & Ottaway, M. S. (Eds.). (2005). *Uncharted journey: Promoting democracy in the Middle East*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

El-Braizat, F. (2002). Muslims and democracy: An empirical critique of Fukuyama's culturalist approach. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 43,* 269-299.

Eschle, C. (2000). *Global democracy, social movements and feminism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Fallon, K. (2008). *Democracy and the rise of women's movements in sub-saharan Africa.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Fraser, N., & Naples, N. A. (2004). To interpret the world and to change it: An interview with Nancy Fraser. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 29* (4), 1103-1124.

Ghammari, B. (2008). *Municipal elections and democratic change in Iran*. Unpublished paper.

Heinen, J. (1992). Polish democracy is a masculine democracy. *Women's Studies International Forum,15* (1), 129-138.

Huber, E., & Stephens. J.D. (2000). Partisan governance, women's employment, and the social democratic service state. *American Sociological Review, 65,* 323-342.

Hughes, M. (2008). Politics at the intersection: A cross-national analysis of minority women's legislative representation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University, USA.

Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2005). *Women in national parliaments*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from
        http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world-arc.htm
Jamal, A. (2005). *Reassessing support for Islam and democracy in the Arab world? Evidence from Egypt
        and Jordan*. Paper presented at the 2005 annual meetings of the American Political Science
        Association (APSA) (1-4 September).
Lister, R. (1997). *Citizenship: Feminist perspectives*. London: Macmillan.
Moghadam, V. M. (2003). *Modernizing women: Gender and social change in the Middle East*. Boulder,
        CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2nd ed.
Moghadam, V. M. (2004, July). The gender of democracy: Linking women's rights and democratization
        in the Middle East. *Arab Reform Bulletin, (2)* 7.
Nanivadekar, M. (2005). *Indian experience of women's quota in local government: Implications for
        future strategies.* UNDAW, Expert group on the equal participation of women and men in
        decision-making processes, with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership
        Retrieved March 20, 2009, from http://www.iknowpolitics.org/node/6884
Paxton, P. , & Hughes, M. (2007). *Women, politics, and power*. Pine Forge Press: Sage Publications.
Phillips, A. (1991). *Engendering democracy*. University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Phillips, A. (1995). *The politics of presence: The political representation of gender, ethnicity and race.*
        Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
Tessler, M. (2007). Do islamic orientations influence attitudes toward democracy in the Arab world?
        Evidence from the world values survey in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Algeria. In M. Moaddel
        (Ed.), *Values and perceptions of the islamic and middle eastern publics* (pp. 105-125). New York:
        Palgrave Macmillan.
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2005). *Arab human development report:
        Toward the rise of women in the Arab world*. New York: UNDP.
The United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2007). *State of the world's children.*
        Retrieved March 15, 2009, from http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/sowc07_chap4.pdf
Weldon, S. L. (2002). *Protest, policy and the problems of violence against women: A cross-national
        comparison.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.