Gender Quotas and Political Effectiveness

Women’s Experiences in Mexican State Legislatures

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Abstract
Scholars have suggested that women entering parliament through gender quotas are more likely than other women representatives to suffer from male tactics to keep women out of power. If this is so, they will have fewer opportunities to be effective in performing their job, and utterly, to substantively represent women. This analysis tests the hypothesis empirically, looking at women legislators in two Mexican states, one having adopted gender quotas whereas the other has not done so. The preliminary findings of the analysis indicate that “quota women” do not confront more obstacles, thus they do not tend to be less politically effective than other women legislators. Two reasons for this are suggested; firstly, an expected dependency on particular leaders is not isolated to “quota women” but is part of the overall political system. Secondly, women confront most obstacles to political advancement within political parties, prior to take office. This is due to the fact that future assignments appear to be less dependent on legislative performance and ideological commitment and more on the support and networking with dominant groups and leaders.
Ever since Argentina in 1991 was the first country to introduce quotas to candidate lists into its electoral code, about 50 other countries have chosen to adopt such measures, most of these being Latin American, African or Asian countries with a relatively poor democratic record (QuotaProject 2006). A growing body of literature has paid attention to this reform, being the perhaps most radical reform in the area of gender equality in the last 50 years (Htun and Jones 2002). Hitherto emphasis in empirical analyses has been on the causes of the adoption of gender quotas and on their impact on the numerical representation of women (see e.g. Baldez 2003; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Htun and Jones 2002; Jones 2004; Krook 2006; Schmidt and Saunders 2004). Less attention has, however, been paid to the work performed by ”quota women” once taking office, and to male reaction to these women legislators (see however Ghosh 2003; Kudva 2003). This paper wants to address these issues.

More specifically, the paper aims at testing the hypothesis that women entering parliament through legal gender quotas are less likely to be politically effective than women not entering through such policy measures. This unintended consequence of gender quota legislation has been suggested by scholars on women’s political representation and gender quotas (see e.g. Dahlerup 2006b; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005), at least for two reasons: ”quota women” are dependent on their husbands and families and/or their political party or a powerful leader before and after their election and will therefore not be able to use their elected position as they want (Dahlerup 2006b), and a rapid increase of women representatives as a consequence of gender quotas poses a threat to male dominance in politics (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; see also Kathlene 1994; Lovenduski 2005). The hypothesis will be tested analyzing women representatives’ parliamentary work in two Mexican state legislatures; Zacatecas and Michoacán de Ocampo (hereafter Michoacán), the former having introduced gender quotas into its electoral code, whereas the latter have not done so.

Theoretically, the analysis moves focus away from the policy outcome perspective of women’s substantive representation, i.e. on women representatives’ possibilities to have influence on policy output, instead emphasizing the possible institutional constraints on ”quota women’s” possibilities to be effective in
performing their job, regardless of their political agenda (Childs and Krook 2006a; Dahlerup 2006c; see also Goetz 2003). This is especially important when analyzing the parliamentary work of "quota women", as these are entering parliament "from above", through legislation, and as the quota reform under certain circumstances generate a rapid increase in the number of women representatives, of which many tend to lack previous experiences of acting within this gendered institution (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). Moving directly to output when analyzing the impact of gender quotas on women’s substantive representation would therefore be to miss an important first step.

The very preliminary findings of the analysis do not give any general support to the hypothesis. A reason for this is that the assumptions of the hypothesis do not seem to be valid in the Mexican case. First of all, the suggested dependency on family, party or particular leaders is suggested to be part of an overall pattern of the party system in Mexico; thus not only "quota women" are struggling for their independency from party leaders, or from groups within the party having particular interests. Secondly, the main resistance facing women operating in a quota system appear to be concentrated to the political parties and not to the legislative arena, as gender quotas limit the possibilities for men to be elected, and the future political career is to a greater extent dependent on the support and networking with key actors of the political parties than on the efficiency of the legislative work carried out.

Three obstacles to political effectiveness
When looking beyond numerical representation, analyzing the work performed by women representatives (or representatives from other "minority groups") in legislative bodies, the dominating focus has hitherto been on the extent to which representatives enact laws and implement policies that are responsive to the needs and demands of the represented (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005). In most

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1 This paper is a part of my dissertation project on the impacts of gender quotas on women’s substantive and symbolic representation, with empirical focus on Latin America. The material used in the paper was collected in the fall of 2006. Therefore, I have hitherto not had the time to analyze the material as much into depth as I would have liked to. The results and the conclusions presented here are for this reason nothing but tentative.
analyses, attention has been on the ways women representatives express and channel women’s political interests in order to influence policy output. The for a long time popular theory of a ”critical mass”, for instance, which lately has been criticized (see e.g. Childs and Krook 2006a; Grey 2006), rests largely on the assumption that a single proportion of women representatives holds the key to ”women-friendly” policy outputs. Goetz (2003) criticises this over-emphasizing of women’s political actions, arguing that an amplified ”voice” of women ”does not easily and simply lead to better outcomes for women, because public institutions can have strong gender biases which undermine the impact of women’s voice and presence in public” (Goetz 2003: 35). Therefore, focus should be put also on the institutional contexts in which women representatives operate, and on the possible constraints their practices put on women entering legislative bodies.

Building on this insight, the issue of women representatives’ possibilities to be politically effective, that is, ”to perform their tasks as politicians the way they individually prefer” (Dahlerup 2006c: 519), deserves closer attention. This definition deliberately avoids linking the concept of political effectiveness to the pursuit a particular (feminist) agenda (cf. Goetz 2003). However, as the institutional context in part determines policy output, addressing the issue of political effectiveness could hopefully increase our understanding of the possibilities for ”quota women” who want to pursue a feminist agenda to be successful in their attempts (Dahlerup 2006c; Goetz 2003).

An emphasis on political effectiveness is particularly important in the discussion on the impact of gender quotas on women’s substantive representation, for several reasons: First of all, given that feminist theories predict resistance to changes in gender regimes (Lovenduski 2005) and acknowledging that gender quotas are controversial to their nature (see e.g. Bacchi 1996), it could be argued that women entering parliament ”from above”, through gender quotas, will have a harder time being accepted by their male colleagues than other women politicians. This could not least be the case as gender quotas are often parts of constitutional engineering in relatively poorly democratized countries (Araújo and García 2006; Htun and Jones 2002), in which fixed gender roles and discriminatory practices have kept women away from the public sphere (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005).
Furthermore, when properly designed and implemented, gender quotas could generate large increases in the number of women in legislative bodies - a "gender shock" (Dahlerup 2006a; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; see also Jones 2004; Reynoso and D'Angelo 2006; Schmidt and Saunders 2004). We lack empirical analyses on how such "jumps" in women’s representation affect the possibilities for women politicians to perform their job.

In the literature, there are at least two arguments to why women entering legislative bodies through gender quotas are less likely to be politically effective than other women politicians: "Quota women” tend to lack their own support base and thus be dependent on their family, political party or a particular leader, and gender quotas pose a threat to male hegemony in political decision-making. According to the argument, this have a number of consequences on these women politicians’ possibilities to perform their job as they prefer. Drawing on Goetz’s systemic, or macro, approach on political effectiveness, in which she distinguishes between three dimensions; access, presence, and influence (Goetz 2003), a micro-level theoretical framework is elaborated. As the hypothesis states that "quota women” are less likely to be politically effective, I formulate, in contrast to Goetz, three obstacles to political effectiveness. If scholars hypothesizing the negative effects of gender quotas on political effectiveness are gaining support, these obstacles will be more palpable among women entering parliament through gender quotas than among other women politicians.

The first obstacle, related to both arguments, refers to the problem of *tokenism*, or "externally controlled women". This deals with the issue of access to legislative bodies as well as with the room to manoeuvre once acceding to political office, and has its point of departure in the mechanisms of candidate selection (Childs and Krook 2006a; Goetz 2003). Scholars have emphasized that nomination procedures and practices for party discipline are key for understanding under what conditions an individual woman might be nominated to public office, and what kinds of women are usually elected (Childs and Krook 2006a). Although similar practices could be noticed elsewhere, it is hypothesized that "quota women” to a larger extent than others will be “political beginners” lacking former experience from legislative work as well as party work, as party leaderships will choose
women that they could control (see e.g. Dahlerup 2006b; Kudva 2003). Thus, these women are so-called tokens (or proxy women), being accepted to membership in elite institutions however expected to accept the agenda of the dominant groups in the party leadership (Hawkesworth 2003; see also Nanivadekar 2006).²

The second and third obstacle relates to the latter argument, emphasizing male resistance within parliament and their attempts to withhold women from being effective in their parliamentary work. The first of these two obstacles refers to the risk of marginalization of women representatives, thus to male tactics to keep women outside positions of power (Childs and Krook 2006a). The logic behind this argument is that traditionally dominant groups are accustomed to controlling scarce political resources for its own use, such as legislative leadership positions. If a traditionally underrepresented group, such as women, gains increased access to parliament, members of this group "will not be fully incorporated into the legislative process but will be kept on the sidelines" (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005: 420). Appointments to important positions within the parliamentary structure therefore tends to be given to men, and increasingly so as the number of women increases (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005).

The final obstacle, on the other hand, deals with the question to what extent women representatives are listened to by their male colleagues. Thus, regardless of policy agenda, have they had the possibility to have influence on agenda setting and policy output? Scholars have put forward that representatives of dominant groups use several strategies to obstruct new actors from playing a key role in decision-making processes. Hawkesworth (2003) highlights two of them in her analysis on black congresswomen; "topic extinctions", referring to the total silence that greets substantive suggestions advanced by black women, and "pendejo game", in which actors pretend that they do not understand the argument or suggestion. The common denominator of these strategies is that they both aim at

² It should be emphasized, however, that these practices are not necessarily restricted to women politicians. In clientilist systems, also men are dependent on the political leadership or specific
“invisibilization” of actors of the minority group. Their opinions, proposals and policy agendas are not to be taken into account, hence they are excluded from decision-making.\textsuperscript{3} Thereby, status quo could be remained despite a numerical advancement of the traditionally underrepresented group.

As gender quota legislation to its very nature challenges male dominance in political decision-making, and political parties frequently have shown their opposition to the law complying with it in a minimal way (see e.g. Schmidt and Saunders 2004), it could be hypothesized that male legislators operating within a quota system will respond to this challenge by trying to marginalize women to certain committees\textsuperscript{4} and by attempting to invisibilize women in decision-making. Another, and indirect, way through which women entering parliament through gender quotas are more likely to suffer from marginalization as well as invisibilization is through the rapid increase of women’s representation in parliament, which gender quotas when properly designed and implemented have shown to generate (see e.g. Araújo and García 2006; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Htun and Jones 2002; Jones 2004).

**Selecting the Mexican case**

The empirical focus of the analysis is on state legislatures in Mexico. The reasons for this are several: As gender quotas mainly have been adopted as parts of democratization and “modernization” packages (Dahlerup 2006a; Htun and Jones 2002; see also Krook 2006), it is important to look beyond the developed democracies of Western Europe and the United States where the study of women’s substantive representation most often is centered (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005). The Latin American countries are at the core of quota legislation, and it is the region with the highest share of countries leaders for their (re)nomination (see e.g. Dahlerup 2006b).

\textsuperscript{3} It should be added that strategies of invisibilization are not the only strategies that could be used by dominant groups in order to achieve its aims. Also more hostile methods, such as to denigrate or harass opponents, could be used. However, what matters here is that they are all strategies for the same purpose, that is, to keep representatives of the underrepresented group out of decision-making.

\textsuperscript{4} This is likely to be most evident in cases where party leaderships control assignments to powerful positions in parliament (see e.g. Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005).
practicing gender quotas (QuotaProject 2006). Hitherto, however, the vast majority of empirical analyses on gender quotas focusing on the region have addressed the issue of numerical representation and effective implementation of the reform (see e.g. Jones 2004; Reynoso and D'Angelo 2006; Schmidt and Saunders 2004). Those few, and not always systematic, analyses focusing on "quota women" entering political office, have mainly been concentrated to the Panchayati Raj system (local parliaments) in India (Banerjee 1998; Ghosh 2003; see however Kudva 2003; Rai et al. 2006). Therefore, it is important to extend this reasearch to the Latin American political context.

Presenting the Mexican case, the election of Vicente Fox as president in 2000 could be suggested to have completed Mexico’s democratic transition (see however Hiskey and Bowler 2005), closing the 70 years of one-party dominance of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Six years earlier, in 1994, the state of Chihuahua carried through a reform of its electoral code, including the introduction of gender quotas. Since then, another 16 states (of 31), as well as the Federal District of Mexico City, have introduced gender quotas into their electoral code. Also in the federal electoral code (COFIPE), gender quotas have been adopted, in 2002 (Baldez 2003; Reynoso and D'Angelo 2006).

Whereas most work on the impact of gender quotas on women’s representation has concentrated on national level (Araújo and García 2006; Baldez 2003; Htun and Jones 2002; see however Jones 1998; Reynoso and D'Angelo 2006; Schmidt and Saunders 2004), focusing on state legislatures we are advantaged to compare different cases sharing key aspects such as party system. Also political culture and other cultural or historical factors are likely to differ to a smaller extent than in cross-national studies (Hecock 2006; Jones 1998), facilitating a comparative

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5 The Federal District of Mexico City does not have the status of a state (similarly to Washington DC), but has its own legislature.

6 Those states having recommendations in their electoral codes not to have more than a certain percentage of the same sex on their candidate lists are not included in this group, as these do not enforce the political parties to change their proceedings for candidate selection.

7 Prior to this reform, in 1996, there was a recommendation to the political parties to introduce gender quotas into their party rules. As mentioned above, these are not considered as legal gender quotas in this study.
approach. Each state has a legislature of between 20 and 75 seats (Hecock 2006), employing a mixed electoral system, using both a "first past the post" system of single member districts and proportional representation. As quota rules in some cases are restricted to the latter, there are possibilities to do within-parliament comparison. However, as it has been claimed that disadvantages to women representatives, as a consequence of quota legislation, are not restricted only to "quota women" but to all women in parliament (Tripp, Kanoté, and Lowe-Morna 2006), it is important not to restrict the analysis to one single legislature. Another reason for extending the analysis to more than one state is the small sizes of state legislatures in Mexico, and thus the very small number of women in each of the legislatures. We do not circumvent this problem in this analysis either, in which two rather small state legislatures are analyzed. Thus, the conclusions from this first analysis should be seen as tentative. Another limitation with choosing the Mexican case is the no-reelection principle, dating back to the Mexican revolution in the early twentieth century. Therefore, there were no possibilities to talk to legislators having had been in the legislature both when introducing gender quotas and the first term following the adoption of the law.

The two states selected are Zacatecas and Michoacán, located in the highlands of central Mexico, both being among the least developed states of the country (UNDP 2006) and both having high rates of emigration to the United States, especially among the male population. Their modern political history is similar, concluding PRI hegemony by voting a governor from the leftist Democratic Revolution Party (PRD) to power; Zacatecas in 1998 (and again in 2004) and Michoacán in 2001. Therefore, having the same ruling party their political culture are likely to be similar – in the legislature as well as in society at large (Hiskey and Bowler 2005).

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8 This principle inhibits parliamentarians from being elected to two consecutive terms. However, various state-level politicians spend more than one term in the state legislature throughout a political career.

9 A limitation with the case selection is that we will not know whether the findings would be similar if we chose to analyze states governed by either of the two other major parties in Mexico; PRI or the National Action Party (PAN). Due to time restraints, however, I have had to limit the analysis to two states.
Whereas Zacatecas in 2003 adopted gender quotas, when reforming its electoral code and after two months of permanent protests outside the legislature, the state of Michoacán has not introduced these rules. In the 2004 elections in Zacatecas, there was an immediate numerical effect of the quota law, stating that candidate lists having more than 70 per cent of the same sex will not be accepted for registration. The rate of women representatives in the state legislature doubled from one election to another, from the previous record of four women (of 30) to an all time high record of eight, or 26.7 per cent. Thus, the quota law of Zacatecas has had the expected effect on women’s representation, causing a dramatic increase in the number of women elected to the state legislature. In Michoacán, on the other hand, women’s representation has developed incrementally during the last decade, having small increases in every election to the present level of 17.5 per cent (seven women of 40) (see Table A in Appendix). The major political parties in the state - PRD, PRI, and the National Action Party (PAN) – have had the opportunities to decide themselves whether they want to employ gender quotas or not. Two of them have adopted quotas in their party rules; PRD (30 per cent) and PRI (50 per cent), but in the election to the state legislature in 2004 only PRD complied with their rules, and to the proportional representation only. Taken together, striving for similar cases in order to single out the possible impact of gender quotas on women’s political effectiveness, the two states are suitable for comparison, following similar paths of socio-economic and political development however differing in quota legislation and therefore in pace of the numerical advancement of women in the state legislature.

Measuring obstacles to political effectiveness

Empirically investigating the hypothesis that “quota women” are likely to be less politically effective than other women representatives, the analytic framework is

10 Its electoral code includes but a recommendation to the political parties not to nominate more than 70 per cent of candidates of the same sex.
11 In April 2007, another three women (substitutes) entered the legislature, thus currently some 36.7 per cent are women in the Zacatecas state legislature.
summarized in Table 1, in which one or more indicators are tied to each of the obstacles. To each indicator there is an "alternative hypothesis", which is the result to expect in case a woman representative is most likely to be perfectly politically effective (Bergström and Boreus 2005). For tokenism, four indicators are used, all of them aiming at highlighting the woman representative’s lack of independence, or control. The first indicator refers to a dependency towards family members, that the woman has been nominated and elected due to being a relative to an important male politician in the party leadership, and in order to represent his interest in the legislature. Several analyses of Asian legislatures have emphasized the high rate of such "proxy women" as a consequence of quota legislation (Ghosh 2003; Kudva 2003; Rai et al. 2006). The second and third indicator highlight the question of power base, within the political party or elsewhere. A woman representative not having had any, or very few, previous party assignments – either within the party organization or as an elected representative – could be an indication of a woman lacking her own power base and therefore having a limited room for manoeuvre (Dahlerup 2006b; Goetz 2003). It might also be an indication of a limited knowledge about the rules of the game. The same argument could be used for those lacking experiences from other organizations, as an alternative could be to develop leadership potentials, and have experiences of visibility in the public sphere, through participation in an organization outside a party organization (Dahlerup 2006d). The final indicator of tokenism refers to the way through which the woman have been selected as candidate. It is likely that women having been appointed by party leadership to a greater extent will be under an obligation to those who appointed her, and thereby have greater difficulties to have her own political agenda, than those who won their candidacy in competition with others in primary elections at constituency level (see e.g. Norris 1996).

The second obstacle, marginalization, is measured looking at committee appointments. These are the perhaps most important, and by far most frequently analyzed, leadership positions in the legislature. In contrast to other analyses in the field, the focus of the indicator is not to look at the extent to which women have been put in particular committees, such as women’s issues and social issues (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005). Rather, marginalization is
measured departing from the preferences of woman representative, and if the committees she was assigned radically differed from those she solicited (see also De Barbieri 2003). However, assuming that preferences are context-specific, and what is thinkable for members of an underrepresented group to desire differs from what is thinkable for a person of the dominant group to want (Jackson 1996), we should also take into consideration the committees the women preferred, and why they have solicited a certain committee. There is a possibility that a woman solicits a certain committee of less prestige for strategic reasons, perceiving that she will have no chance of having her first preference. This might also be a kind of marginalization.

The final obstacle, invisibilization, refers as mentioned above to practices of exclusion that male politicians may use to inhibit their female colleagues from having a say in decision-making. Theoretically straightforward, it is however difficult to measure properly. Ideally, we would perhaps need participatory techniques, that is, observation of committee meetings following the process of particular issues. In addition, comparing the number of bills that have passed could also give an indication of women’s possibilities to have a say in the legislature. However, in this analysis we are restricted to ask the women representatives about possible experiences of these practices, that is, to their ”perceptions of reality” (Bergström and Boreus 2005). Male politicians are also interviewed, in order to look for similarities and differences in attitudes about legislative work and gender relations in parliament (Childs and Krook 2006b). This does not solve the problem associated with self-reported claims, that is, that they ”do not permit careful examination of the actual veracity of these claims (Childs and Krook 2006b: 23). Nevertheless, if actors with different interests have similar reports, we are somewhat more confident in our conclusions. The various indicators of ”tokenism”, not only asking about perceived pressure from actors outside the legislature, and the focus of committee assignments on the

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12 Of course, we cannot expect everyone to have their first preference. Therefore, it is important to compare ”quota women’s” perceptions with those of other women’s, as well as with their male colleagues’ perceptions.

13 I would have to wait until the term is over, before carrying out such an analysis.
marginalization issue, are also attempts to address the problem of self-reported claims.

All together, about 50 interviews were carried out in a field trip to the two states in October to December 2006. By that time, the legislators had served about two thirds of their three-year term.\textsuperscript{14} Having the ambition to interview all women in the two legislatures, and a selection of male parliamentarians, in Zacatecas, seven of eight women representatives were interviewed, and in Michoacán interviews were done with all seven women parliamentarians (for information about women legislators, see Table B in Appendix). Male legislators were selected with the ambition to interview coordinators of the party group by the time of entering parliament, in order to know more about the process of committee assignments, as well as to have variation in political party, committee, and age (see also De Barbieri 2003). In Zacatecas, six men were interviewed; three from the biggest party PRD (occupying half the seats in the legislature), and one from PRI (20 per cent), PAN (13.3 per cent), and the Workers’ Party (PT) (13.3 per cent), respectively. Ten interviews were carried out with male legislators in Michoacán; four from PRD (having 42.5 per cent of the seats), four from PRI (37.5 per cent), and two from PAN (15 per cent). In addition, interviews were carried out with the three Zacatecan women of the previous term (2001-04) that completed their term of office, in order to compare the perceptions of women working in the legislature prior to the application of quotas.\textsuperscript{15} Interviews were also carried out with other women ex-legislators, party presidents/vice presidents, feminist activists, presidents of women’s wing of the parties, and the director-general of the women’s agency of each state, in order to have a fuller picture of the political and party structure of the states.

The questions to legislators concerned issues such as their political as well as family background, experiences of party activities or activism in other organizations, the nomination process and focus of their campaigns, emphasis of

\textsuperscript{14} In Zacatecas, legislators took office in September 2004, and in Michoacán their term started in January 2005.

\textsuperscript{15} At first, there were four women legislators in the 2001-04 legislature. However, one of them dropped out after approximately one year and a half, to work for the state government.
their parliamentary work and committee assignments, and relations to their fellow-legislators. To the interviewees in mainly Zacatecas, and to some extent in Michoacán, the issue of gender quotas was also discussed, mainly by the end of the interview. By bringing up the issue towards the end, the interviewee had the possibility to reflect upon and talk as freely as possible throughout the interview, not having necessarily to put his/her answer in relation to the issue of gender quotas.

Tokenism
Starting the analysis, looking at the issue of tokenism, main emphasis is on the political background of women in parliament; in their families, political party, or other organizations, and on the nomination processes. Departing from family and educational background, a striking feature is the generally advanced level of education (see also Rodríguez 2003). All women representatives but one had completed their university studies, having at least a bachelor’s degree. Also in other aspects (occupation, etc.), the women seem to be parts of rather prosperous segments of the population (middle or upper class). In contrast to reports from other parts of the world, however, the engagement in politics and in the legislature does not seem to be a result of pressure from family members, neither for “quota women” nor for the other women representatives interviewed (cf. Kudva 2003). Some of them are from families of “natural leaders”, as a PAN and PT representative in Zacatecas put it, refering to political as well as business leaders. Many of them report that they discussed politics in their families when they were young, making them politically conscious. But as far as can be judged from the interviews, with perhaps one exception none of the women seem to have been selected thanks to their family ties.16

This does not necessarily indicate that the elected women are free from the problem of external control, however. Taking a closer look at the nomination procedures and the ways in which the women were selected as candidates, there are various indications of such problems. Most important, various ”quota
women”, but also “non-quota women”, seem to basically have been handpicked by dominant leaders in their parties, being nominated by appointment. This is most obvious for PRD representatives of single member districts in Zacatecas. In order to comply with quota rules, political parties had to register a woman candidate in five of the districts. As the electoral code does not state how candidates are to be nominated, and party regulations for Mexican parties in general are mainly *de jure* rules (Norris 1996), the party could nominate all five women candidates, of which four won their districts, through appointment. In at least three of the cases, a key actor when selecting these women seems to have been the at that time governor in office, two of them being close friends to his family (Z #1 and Z #4; see Table B in Appendix), and one of them being his sister-in-law (Z #2):

To get to this position was not very complicated. To me it was not very difficult. I was in a privileged situation. I had a number of privileged relations, especially with the former governor. (Z #2, my translation)

The then party president, later state legislator and as the former governor ex-*priista*, claims that the governor’s strong impact on candidate selection is a legacy from the PRI hegemony, in which the candidate selection system was highly centralized and the executive had an enormous power (see also Norris 1996). Thus, he claims that this practice of appointment is not a new phenomenon, emerging as a consequence of quota rules. This argument is supported by the fact that also in Michoacán, not having legal gender quotas, at least two women representatives seem to owe their candidacy to the governor. As one of them describes it:

[The governor] told us that he needed people he trusts in the state legislature. [Therefore] he was going to ask some of us to run for office as there were bills he wanted to introduce and things were going to be much more difficult without him having staunch supporters [in the legislature]. […] It was as good as a safe way to get to the legislature. (M #3, my translation)

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16 One of the “quota women” in Zacatecas is the sister-in-law of the former governor, who seems to have had a major impact when selecting women candidates to the state legislature (see below).
Also a second group of women representatives, again both in Zacatecas and Michoacán, seems to have been asked by their male party colleagues to run for office. However, in contrast to the former, these women were nominated in competition with other candidates, the risk of suffering from external control therefore being slightly minor, although still patent. For instance, a PAN representative in Zacatecas was asked by the party president to candidate, the quota law obliging the political parties to put a woman in the second position of the list of proportional representation. Competing with another woman, she had the support from the president’s fraction thereby winning the election. In Michoacán, another woman of PAN was approached by male party colleagues to run for a single member district that never had been won by the party.

The rest of the women representatives in the two legislatures appear to have been nominated after registering to run for the candidacy. For both ”quota women” and others, however, there are also in this case certain gate-keepers, especially for candidates to proportional lists. Not unique to but perhaps most visible in PRD, having authorized ”groups of opinion” (corrientes de opinión), practically anyone affiliated to such a group needs the support of the group in order to register. This is due to a system of redistribution of votes to the party congress according to the strength of each group. This gives a preliminary idea about how many candidacies each group will have. The strategies of a relatively small group in Michoacán gives an indication of these practices:

The co-ordinators of the group decided to make a list of four persons and later restrict it to two persons. […] It is also a matter of log-rolling at the [congress] identifying how many votes do each group have and for whom will they vote. Therefore they decided not to register too many people. […] [We made] an alliance with another group. […] There are occasions on which you almost show your vote to those of the other group to show that you kept your promise. [Another time] the group give all its votes to the other group’s candidates. […] At that moment [I did not consider running for a single member district] first and foremost because we were working with the leader of the group at state level […] who were running for mayor. If main leaders of the group were campaigning for the state legislature we would put focus from our main objective [to have him elected as mayor]. (M #4, my translation)

A final group of women representatives, having been nominated without support of particular leaders or groups, won their primary elections with male competitors, in which those in the constituency affiliated to the party had the right to vote. Thus,
a decentralized and transparent system was used (Norris 1996). This group is
basically restricted to two women not entering via gender quotas; a PAN
representative in Zacatecas (the only one in Zacatecas not having entered due to
gender quotas; Z #6) and a PRD representative in Michoacán (M #2).
Interestingly, both are young, confident women with relatively limited experience
of party work, and both emphasize that such factors were to their advantage in the
electoral competition (see also Rodríguez 2003). The latter is important as party
leaderships commonly have used the same argument against women and young
people’s increased representation.

I think it is the new generations that have given me their support. It was a different
campaign, a campaign of young people. I also think that these days a woman is
more trustworthy than is a man…on any issue. (M #2, my translation)

I think that [voters] have appreciated my youth and that I am a new politician.
People are fed up with having the same candidates as always […] and even more
when [the candidates] have done a bad job. (Z #6, my translation)

This outline of how women representatives in the two legislatures entered
congress shows the diversity in risk of suffering from tokenism, that is, of being
elected however expected to accept the agenda of the dominant groups in the party
leadership (Hawkesworth 2003). The less control of party leaderships and the
more transparent, the less likely a woman is to suffer from these problems. As the
outline shows, from a candidate selection perspective, most of the women
operating in a quota system run quite a high risk of become tokens, as
appointments were frequently – but not always - used by party leaderships, mainly
for single member districts. For proportional representation seats, the main risk of
external control of women representatives seems to be caused by the importance
of party fractions, and the leaders of these fractions. On rare occasions, when
using primary elections at constituency level, the risk seems to be minor.\textsuperscript{17}
Importantly, appointments and other procedures increasing the risk of tokenism
do not seem to be restricted to political systems using gender quotas. Rather, they
appear to be embedded in the political system, with emphasis on a centralized
candidate selection system and flexible party rules.

\textsuperscript{17} Quite ironically, relatively proportional lists, running for single member districts is rare among
Mexican women. Low self esteem, very expensive campaigns, and discriminatory attitudes among
the constituency are some of the reasons for not doing so (see e.g. Rodriguez 2003).
Candidate selection procedures unfavourable to political effectiveness are, however, not by necessity a problem. The extent to which they really pose a problem for a woman representative depends ultimately on the power base of the selected woman. The problem could be claimed to be relatively big in cases where the woman lacks her own power base, either within the party or another organisation, and relatively small if an appointment is due to the strong popular support, or visibility, of the candidate.

Looking closer at the cases of appointment, we analyze if party leaderships in quota systems to a larger extent than others choose women lacking their own power base. Starting in Zacatecas, two of the women being candidates by appointment seem to have quite a strong power base within the party, and among the electorate. One of them (Z #4) continued her work in the constituency after losing a close race in the former election. The other woman participated in the primary elections to mayor in her municipality, losing closely to a male competitor: “Being the runner-up of the primary elections [they saw] that I had strong support in the municipality. [Therefore] they asked me to run for the state legislature” (Z #1, my translation). Thus, in these cases, although the governor seems to have played a key role for their appointments, they do appear to have a power base within the party. One of the other women appointed to become candidate (Z #2), also with support from the governor, was visible in society and mainly in media, doing her political career mainly in the state executive. She was first appointed director-general of the Women’s agency in Zacatecas, later being the director of the Secretariat of justice. Therefore, although lacking leadership experiences in the party and to some extent also in civil organisations, these qualifications give her a certain standing in the party. A similar story goes for the two women nominated through appointment in Michoacán. One of them, quoted above (M #3), used to be district attorney prior to entering the legislature, thereby having a position of great status. The other (M #1) was director of the

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18 To give an example, one of her male colleagues gives her credit: ”There are some very qualified [women], for instance [Z #2], She was director of the secretariat of justice in the [former government]. She is a university teacher. Therefore, she excels the rest of the women”. (Male legislator of PRD, my translation).
Secretariat of Agricultural issues before starting her campaign to the legislature. Thus, in these cases, we can on the one hand not rule out the possibility that they are tightly controlled by the executive. On the other hand, they are qualified women with previous experiences of state politics, visible in the public sphere (cf. Dahlerup 2006d), thereby perhaps less likely of being mere tokens.

The greatest risk of being a "puppet [parliamentarian] who [is] politically loyal to [the party leadership]" (Abou-Zeid 2006: 188) is most evident for one of the women entering parliament through gender quotas, being appointed by the party presidents of the municipalities of her district. She had been working for candidates in their campaigns and carried out social work, but never having had any position at all within the party, lacking also leadership experiences from other kinds of organisations. Therefore, she is suggested to lack her own power base, making her vulnerable to pressure from the party leadership in the constituency. Not surprisingly, she is also the only one of those winning their candidacy through appointment to express that she has had problems in her relations to those who appointed her:

In the municipalities [the party leadership] first gives you its confidence, its support. But later you grow and you win the sympathy of the people…and they start to destroy you. It is a terrible jealousy. They start to disqualify you. […] I think the leaders have the intentions to participate and run for office. So they […] feel the competition and they start to attack you through the media. They bring you into ridicule. […] It’s when you get into a position […] that gives you the possibility to continue having high appointments [that they] start to have their doubts. And they start the dirty war. At first they say "more women!". Then they don’t. (Z #3, my translation)

Her story pinpoints the dynamics behind the problem with tokenism, and of male reactions to an empowered woman legislator struggling not to fall into this trap. The problem is not unique to her but shared by other women having had support from male party leaders in order to enter parliament through gender quotas. As a PAN representative depicts it, sharing political background – the party’s executive committee at state level – with a majority of the other women occupying a seat of proportional representation (“quota women” as well as “non-quota women”):

[The president of the party] wanted me to consider [his opinion] on any issue. He wanted to tell me always how to vote. […] But there were occasions in which that was not possible due to my way of thinking. [So] the president at state level broke
with me. It’s like he wanted to say […] “I put you here. Do what I tell you to do”. To me that was not fair because I was [thinking] for the best of the people of Zacatecas and not for [the best of] one single person. But on occasions certain men…some of them…are threatened by a woman…it’s as if they were saying “Jesus, I invited you to be sweet [and] tender”. When they see other characteristics they are surprised. […] So he made a scene and got furious […] and put the blame for [his political defeats] on me. (Z #7, my translation)

Taken together, this analysis do not give any general support to the hypothesis that women entering parliament through gender quotas are more likely than other women legislators to be controlled by particular leaders or party leaderships. The still largely centralized candidate selection procedures being perhaps the most critical problem, personal ties as well as formal and informal networks seem in general to play a key role in Mexico, be it quota or non-quota systems. This is most evident in the case of the governor, having an important role in the appointment of women both in Zacatecas and in Michoacán. However, knowing very well the old habits of the clientelist political system of the PRI era, in which basically all legislators were tokens (clients) approving the bills introduced by the executive (patron), quota legislation without strict and transparent rules on how to select women might give political actors new incentives to try to control women representatives. Thus, although this single analysis suggests no general effect of gender quotas on tokenism, further attention on the issue is needed, looking closer at the importance of candidate selection procedures.

**Marginalization**

Looking at committee assignments, the system of committee assignments is similar in the two legislatures. It is a fairly decentralized system, in which each legislator is given the right to solicit one to three committees (cf. Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005). After a discussion within each party group, party coordinators negotiate the assignments.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^{19}\) Co-ordinators could be appointed either by party leadership, being therefore a somewhat more centralized system (e.g. PAN and PRD in Zacatecas, PRI in Michoacán), or in election within the party group (e.g. PRD in Michoacán). For all parties, in both states, co-ordinators were men.
Table 2 summarizes the picture of committees solicited and committee assignments among women legislators in the two states. Being able to comment mainly on six women in each of the states (see table and table notes), a general conclusion is that committee assignments correspond fairly well to those solicited by women legislators. This is most obvious in Michoacán, in which almost all not only is a member but also chairs the committee they solicited. In Zacatecas this is not the general picture, two of them chairing the committee of their first preference. However, if we widen the perspective, looking not only at chairmanships, also in this case there is, with one exception, a rather good correspondence. Thus, in general there are few tendencies of marginalization, looking at leadership appointments, neither for "quota women" nor for other women representatives.

This conclusion deviates from more systematic analyses in this field, looking exclusively on committee assignments, leaving preferences out (see e.g. Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005). Taking also the committees solicited by women into account, a general picture of this minor study is that women legislators rarely ask for committees on economic issues. More emphasis is put on social issues (e.g. education, health, and human rights) (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005) and issues related to law-making and elections (e.g. justice, constitutional issues, and electoral issues). Thus, a reason for women being concentrated to certain committees could be due to priorities of women themselves, and not necessarily to male tactics in order to keep women from positions of power.

We should, however, look closer at the reasons for choosing certain committees, having in mind that a motive for not soliciting a committee might be because the woman legislator perceives that it is pointless, that her chances for some reason are close to zero. As far as can be judged from the interviews, however, there seems to be no such motives. Rather, looking at the motives for soliciting certain committees, most striking is the strong emphasis on professional background and university career. This is highlighted by women in general (both "quota women" and others), and also by men:
Due to my professional background…[as accountant]…I have ever since I was elected wanted to be part of one of the committees on Finance. (Z #8, my translation)

[I solicited the committee on] Justice. It was rather obvious. I am a lawyer and I am interested in those issues. (M #2, my translation)

I [only] solicited Health because I have always worked with those issues. (M #6, my translation)

You emphasize those who are related to your profession. Being a lawyer I solicited the committee on Justice. (Male PRI representative, Michoacán, my translation)

The close attention paid to professional background seems to be a key feature also when appointing committee chairmanships. This is emphasized by the co-ordinator of the PRD party group in Zacatecas, being a key person in the negotiations related to committee assignments:

[Some] are teachers…[these are put in the committee on] Education. Others are lawyers…[they go to] legislative committees. Others are engineers…[they are appointed to committees related to] the productive sector. In this manner we were working [with the appointments]. (PRD legislator, Zacatecas, my translation)

Putting these lenses on, we are able to understand the vast majority of the committee assignments of the women legislators: The teachers soliciting Education were put in this committee, the nurse chairs the committee on Health, the accountant is president of one of the committees on Finance, and the former district attorney runs the committee on Interior, being among other things the judge whenever there is a dispute in a municipality, or between two municipalities. Profession is also able to account for the strong focus on legislative issues, more than half of the women legislators having a university degree in law and having worked as lawyers. Thus, at least in part, self-selection rather than marginalization seems to account for a focus on certain issues.20

In some cases, however, there might perhaps be reason to suspect tendencies of marginalization. The most likely of these refers to the committee on gender equality, which interestingly enough are solicited by quite a limited number of

20 There might be the case that professional background is a more important criteria when appointing female legislators to certain committees. In this analysis, I have not had the possibility
women. Mainly in the state not practicing gender quotas, both men and women suggest that the biggest merit for being appointed to this committee is being a woman. For instance, asking one of the men who emphasized support to single mothers in his campaign if he never considered the committee on gender equality, he answered: ”actually I did not…because both in this term and in former ones…although being a committee on gender equality it is always occupied by women” (Male PRI legislator, Michoacán, my translation). His female colleague claimed that they simply put her there: ”As you are the only woman…to the committee on gender equality!” (M #6, my translation). Another possible case of marginalization is the chairmanship of a relatively high-status committee, Eduaction in Zacatecas, which was solicited by highly qualified teachers (Z #5 and Z #7). However, the committee is chaired by a man. This might be an indication of women gaining from strict criteria and transparency, being losers in negotiations. Despite this, in contrast to the committee of gender equality I would argue that there are few reasons to argue that this is an example of marginalization. Most telling is the fact that one of the women was appointed one of the most prestigious committees in the legislature; the committee on Interior.

Summing up, this analysis gives no general support to the hypothesis that the adoption of gender quotas is likely to increase the marginalization of women legislators. Although not always chairing the committee being their first choice,

to look more into detail at the professional background of male legislators and its relation to their respective committee assignments.

21 This is especially interesting in the case of Zacatecas, practicing quotas, as one of the main arguments of the women’s movement struggling for its introduction was to have more focus on issues of interests to women.

22 A number of male and female legislators mentioned that some committees are much more prestigious and therefore much more heavily negotiated than others. Committees being brought up by various interviewees are: Vigilance, Interior, Finance, Budget, and Justice, and to a slightly minor extent, Education and Constitutional issues. Interestingly, one of the ”quota women” not soliciting a particular committee, a lawyer, was appointed to chair the committee on Constitutional issues (Z #3). This is another indication of few practices of marginalization.

23 No attention has been paid to the only woman in Zacatecas not entering office through gender quotas. She is the only woman not succeeding in having any of the committees she solicited. Being a lawyer, this might on the one hand be another indication of the importance of professional background, as none of the committees solicited were related to her academic career. On the other hand, it might also be an example of marginalization. From this analysis, it is difficult to have a closer idea.
whenever soliciting in accordance to their professional background they have had good opportunities to be a member of the committee. Perhaps most evident in the case *not* practicing quotas, I have put forward that this is very much the case also among ”quota women”. It should be mentioned, however, that we do not know if this conclusion would hold in case a large number of women legislators were business women or economists, challenging the male domination in committees on economic issues. Too few of the women in this study has this background. Interestingly, one exception from the general conclusion seems to be the committee on gender equality, in which an ascriptive character (sex) appears to have been a key determinant for appointment.

**Invisibilization**

Finishing the analysis, looking at a problem of exclusion not in appointments but in the decision-making processes, the women interviewed generally express that they are listened to, both by their male and female colleagues. A majority say that they have had a relationship of mutual respect to their predominantly male colleagues. Various emphasize the committee work, stating that they have focused on issues where they are able to find an agreement, leaving other things out. Thus, these bodies are less described as battle fields and more as negotiation tables. Some women also use expressions such as ”team” when they talk about their relations to their colleagues in the committees. Interestingly, this picture is slightly more valid for Zacatecas than for Michoacán. This is not to say that there are no stories of invisibilization, or disqualification. Certainly there are. One of the younger women in the legislature (Z #6), the only not entering through gender quotas, retold a story from the early days of her parliamentary work, when a male colleague publicly offended her (later to publicly apologize), claiming she was not qualified for the job. Another woman says that she in general has had the opportunity to affect politics, but that on occasions there has been certain comments of disqualification, that women are less intelligent than men (Z #1). These stories are telling for the, despite all, rather few stories of exclusion. They are isolated events, not affecting their overall job, however indicating that there are negative attitudes towards women’s capacity among certain men representatives.
In Michoacán there is a more of a mixed picture. Whereas some women perceive that their opinions have been taken into account and that they have “excellent relations” to their male colleagues, “feeling very comfortable to work with them” (M #1, my translation), others have largely negative experiences. Interestingly, negative experiences are almost exclusively concentrated to those being the only woman in the party group. The story of a young PAN representative, having five male colleagues in the party group, is a story of invisibilization and exclusion:

You enter [parliament] to [break with old] paradigms, change practices, and change habits. […] You [come] with so much energy, with such a will…and you confront people that just won’t let you [do your job]. […] In the beginning there is by instinct a resistance to women. […] They ignore your work and they ignore you as a person. […] The first thing they do is to wait for you to make a mistake. They wait for you not to meet the expectations just to be able to say ”look what the woman is doing! I told you!” And to a certain extent I feel that they get bothered when you have a good proposal or when you show them that you are qualified. […] They could make any kind of mistake but […] they do not accept [a mistake from a woman]. So they try to ignore you, they do not pay attention to you, they try to minimize your proposals and…they forget about you. (M #7, my translation)

A PRI representative also reporting about acts of exclusion has a slightly different story. She perceives that her party group of 14 men listens to her and supports her when she comes up with a proposal. However, in her everyday relations with her colleagues she expresses a sense of exclusion and of being a burden, as if her male colleagues were uncomfortable with having her around. She also perceives that she is not part of the discussion.

[It feels like] they are discussing only with each other [and] when I am around I become the mediator. […] [I become the mediator] when they are getting upset. […] How do you think I feel [about that]? […] So I keep to myself and [my committee work]. (M #6, my translation)

These results contradict the hypothesis, as most problems with invisibilization and exclusion appear to be present in Michoacán, having a slow rate in the increase of women representatives and not having forced through a strict law of gender quotas. Why is it so? Or to put it the other way around: Why do not a controversial reform such as gender quota legislation, and its rapid increase in political representation, seem to have generated relatively big problems of invisibilization for women legislators in Zacatecas? An explanation close at hand might be that the current governor is a woman. Indeed, the election in 2004 of the
former women’s rights activist Amalia García appears to have had positive consequences for women legislators. This is mainly highlighted in the interviews by her colleagues in PRD, and, perhaps not surprisingly, to a lesser extent by women legislators of the opposition.

However, I would argue that there is another more plausible explanation to why the argument seems to be wrong in a political system such as the Mexican. Simply put it, it is because we look at the wrong body. Certainly, quota legislation poses a threat to male dominance in Zacatecan politics, and indeed “quota women” express that they repeatedly have been disqualified and invisibililized. But this is not mainly in the legislature, but within the political parties. A number of women bringing up the same issue, one woman depicts the mechanisms pretty much into detail:

Actually, in the congress…in the legislative work…I think we are equals. […] There is jealousy, also among women. When they see that you stand out they turn you into their enemy. But it’s an enemy at political level…which is very different from what you do in your legislative work debating a law [proposal] […] trying to convince others why it should pass. I think the debate is between equals. The problem […] is outside [the legislature]. If you stand out because they interview you in the media or because they ask for your opinion there are people…both men and women…being bothered…especially those in your own party. Because you are no rival to a priista or a panista. Because you don’t take his or her position. But in your own party you do. […] It is very common within the political parties to speak ill of somebody behind his or her back. When a person wants to run for candidacy […]…a man for example…he uses any strategy to be nominated…[such as] a dirty campaign with vote buying…running his competitors down…lying, smearing. (M #3, my translation, my italics)

This picture is shared also by male legislators, commenting that the harshest political battles are fought prior to enter parliament. Once entering parliament, it is an atmosphere of equals, none being better than another. The dynamic within the political parties is different. The greater presence of women in the party activities, the greater the competition for positions of power. And the more likely are male practices of invizibilizing women’s work:

24 Importantly, such practices have not been changed despite Amalia Garcia having formed and is the main leader of the most important fraction of the party. This is an argument downplaying her role on women’s political effectiveness in the Zacatecan legislature.
For example…last Sunday there was a meeting [about who to nominate for the executive committee of the party] and I made a proposal of a man. There were many proposals…and when they read the list of proposals the name of the man I proposed does not appear. […] It’s as if they were thinking ”we don’t put the name she suggested on the list because perhaps she won’t say anything”. (Z #7, my translation)

Having this in mind, it makes sense to suggest that, if anywhere, quota legislation is likely to increase practices of invisibilization and exclusion mainly within the political parties, and not in the legislature. Candidate gender quotas modify the rules of the game of the former and challenges male dominance in these bodies. *De facto* opening up possibilities for women, it is, as one woman of the PRD leadership in Zacatecas emphasizes, also likely that there will be practices of invisibilization and exclusion also among women, as several women are likely to fight for the same positions. The legislature, on the other hand, appears to be less hierarchical, and importantly, achievements in the legislature seem to be of less importance for your political career than ties and loyalty to a particular leader or a dominant group. For this reason, and given that the battle for future positions of power are superior to any other battles of a legislator (for certain agendas, policy output, etc.), there are few reasons to expect gender quotas to increase male legislators’ practices of invisibilization.

A word of caution is, however, needed. Looking closer at the political agendas of each of the women representatives in Zacatecas, none of these are challenging male privileges in politics as well as in society, as they are, when related to ”women’s interests”, more focused on supporting women than on changing structures of male dominance and of female subordination (cf. Molyneux 1985).25 Having in mind that resistance might be related to political agenda, it might be the case that strategies of invisibilization will be more a result of a rapidly increased number of women whenever women are more coordinated, more gender conscious and more focused on carrying through reforms in the area of gender equality than what have been the case in Zacatecas. Women representatives in its state legislature have had a much more heterogeneous political agenda. This is

25 Bills introduced by women in Zacatecas concern e.g. economic support for single mothers and a law regarding the Women’s Agency of Zacatecas (INMUZA).
suggested, on the one hand, to be due to their attempts to substantively represent women, as defined by Pitkin\textsuperscript{26} (see also Eulau and Karps 1977), in a different manner than to enact laws in accordance with "women’s interests" (regardless of whether and how such could be defined) (see e.g. Wängnerud 2000). By working effectively and showing that women are qualified to be politically responsible, not only on certain issues but in any kind of area, they could be political role models to women and thereby promote women’s political agency (Bacchi 2006; see also Eulau and Karps 1977; Nanivadekar 2006; Rai 1999). On the other hand, the lack of emphasis on gender issues might be for strategic reasons being related to their future political career (see also Abou-Zeid 2006; Childs 2001; Ghosh 2003), or, to put in bluntly, to the fact that they are not particularly interested in such issues. The analysis gives some support to both these interpretations.

Conclusion
Whereas most analyses focusing on impacts of gender quota legislation having emphasized their effects on numerical representation, this analysis has tried to take one step further, looking at institutional constraints to "quota women’s" political effectiveness. Elaborating a theoretical model of such constraints, the tentative results of this initial analysis gives no general support to the hypothesis that women entering parliament through gender quotas are less likely than others to be politically effective. This is due, firstly, to the fact that practices of designation of candidacies, increasing the risk of women legislators to be controlled by their party colleagues, are not restricted to political systems having adopted gender quotas. Secondly, professional background being a key determinant to committee assignments, there are rather few tendencies of marginalization of "quota women" to the sidelines. And practices of invisibilization and exclusion, finally, were shown to be present to a greater extent within the political parties, although to some extent also in the legislature (however mainly in the state legislature not having adopted gender quotas).

\textsuperscript{26} Pitkin defines substantive representation as "acting in the interests of the represented in a manner responsive to them" (Pitkin 1967: 209).
How should these results be explained? Some suggestions have been put forward in the analysis having at least one common denominator, namely a political system in which personal networks appear to be more important for political support than ideological commitment. This is of importance for procedures of candidate selection, in which loyalty to particular leaders and dominant groups are key features not only in quota systems but in general, as well as for where main political battles are fought. For these reasons, the assumptions of the hypothesis do not appear to be valid, at least not for Mexico. Firstly, any representative, not only ”quota women”, has to struggle for not being controlled. And secondly, as a future political career seems to be superior to any other (ideological) goal of representatives, and the career is mainly dependent on ties to dominant leaders and groups and less to legislative performance, gender quotas are mainly a threat to male party colleagues. Once in parliament, women do not take away a male colleague his position. However, in processes of candidate selection she might do.

Taken together, the results of the analysis suggest that women entering parliament through gender quotas do not have less opportunities to substantively represent women, the institutional constraints not differing for these women representatives than for others. Interestingly, few women entering through gender quotas have emphasized gender issues, and even less feminist issues. Thus, they have not challenged male legislators’ political agendas. Rather, they have commonly emphasized that they have tried to show other women that women indeed are qualified and able to be political leaders. On the one hand this puts focus on an alternative way to act in the interests of women, not emphasizing particular policy outputs but rather to be political role models (see e.g. Bacchi 2006; Eulau and Karps 1977; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005). On the other hand, we are still in doubt regarding the extent to which these results hold in cases where women legislators challenge their male colleagues more markedly than what have been the case in this analysis. Further analyses are needed to shed light on this question.

It should, finally, be asked if these results could be generalized beyond the cases of this analysis. Undoubtedly, we should be cautious not jumping too quickly to conclusions, as this is a first preliminary analysis, and much more are called for. Having intended to unravel the mechanisms through which gender quotas operate
in a partly clientelist political systems such as that in Mexico, it may, however, hopefully contribute to generate new hypotheses on the circumstances in which gender quotas may and may not affect women’s political effectiveness. The analysis therefore calls attention to the importance of contextually nuanced analyses on gender quotas and women’s substantive representation.
Appendix

Table A: Percentage of women in the state legislature of Zacatecas and Michoacán, 1992-2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of election</th>
<th>Zacatecas</th>
<th>Michoacán</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>26.67</td>
<td>17.50¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Reynoso & D’Angelo 2006. ¹ In the main source the percentage is wrongly put at 20.00 per cent.

Table B: Women representatives in Zacatecas and Michoacán, by political party, electoral procedure, and gender quota

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman legislator</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Electoral procedure</th>
<th>Entered via gender quota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zacatecas (Z)</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Majority vote</td>
<td>Yes, legal quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #2</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Majority vote</td>
<td>Yes, legal quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #3</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Majority vote</td>
<td>Yes, legal quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #4</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Majority vote</td>
<td>Yes, legal quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #5</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Proportional repr.</td>
<td>Yes, legal quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #6</td>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Majority vote</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #7</td>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Proportional repr.</td>
<td>Yes, legal quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #8</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>Proportional repr.</td>
<td>Yes, legal quota</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Michoacán (M)</th>
<th>PRD</th>
<th>Majority vote</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #2</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Majority vote</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #3</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Proportional repr.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #4</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Proportional repr.</td>
<td>Yes, party quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #5</td>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Proportional repr.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #6</td>
<td>PRI</td>
<td>Proportional repr.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #7</td>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Majority vote</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


### Tables

**Table 1: Analytic framework for analysis on obstacles to women’s political effectiveness**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstacle to political effectiveness</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>“Alternative hypothesis”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tokenism</strong></td>
<td>Woman representative has family ties with male in party leadership</td>
<td>Woman representative has no family ties with male top politician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State deputy is the first party assignment</td>
<td>Woman representative has had previous appointments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woman representative has experience from party activities only</td>
<td>Woman representative has leadership experience from civil organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woman representative nominated through appointment by party leadership</td>
<td>Woman representative nominated in competition with other pre-candidates in primary elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marginalization</strong></td>
<td>Woman representative sits on/chairs a committee that she had not solicited</td>
<td>Woman representative sits on/chairs a committee that she had solicited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Invisibilization</strong></td>
<td>Woman representative’s opinion have (sometimes) not been taken seriously</td>
<td>Woman representative’s opinion have always been taken into account</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Comparison of committees solicited by women legislators and committee assignments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislator/Party</th>
<th>Committee(s) solicited</th>
<th>Committee assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Z #1/PRD</td>
<td>Electoral issues,</td>
<td><strong>Electoral issues</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Municipal development,</td>
<td>(chair),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law and order</td>
<td>Agrobusiness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Industry, business,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #2/PRD</td>
<td>Electoral issues,</td>
<td><strong>Gender and equality</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Municipal development,</td>
<td>Legislative studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender and equality</td>
<td>(chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #3/PRD</td>
<td>(None in particular,</td>
<td>Constitutional issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accepted those she was</td>
<td>Editorial communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>offered)</td>
<td>and diffusion,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #4/PRD</td>
<td>(Not interviewed)</td>
<td>Municipal development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Culture,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecology and</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>environmental issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>Z #5/PRD</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Ecology and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>environmental issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(chair),</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #6/PAN</td>
<td>Vigilance,</td>
<td>Gender equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finance,</td>
<td>(chair),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>Electoral issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z #7/PAN</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Migration issues and</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>international treaties</td>
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<td>Z #8/PT</td>
<td>Finance,</td>
<td><strong>Finance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender equality,</td>
<td>(#2) (chair),</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Electoral issues</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Electoral issues</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>M #1/PRD</td>
<td>Rural development²,</td>
<td><strong>Rural development</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administration and</td>
<td><strong>Administration and</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>control</td>
<td><em>control</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #2/PRD</td>
<td>Justice,</td>
<td><strong>Indigenous culture</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>(chair),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Any committee on social issues”</td>
<td><strong>Justice</strong>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #3/PRD</td>
<td>Interior,</td>
<td><strong>Interior</strong> (chair),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Justice,</td>
<td><strong>Justice</strong>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human rights</td>
<td><strong>Human rights</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #4/PRD</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td><strong>Education</strong> (chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender equality/Vulnerable groups,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Societal communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>M #5/PRD</td>
<td>Gender equality/Vulnerable groups²,</td>
<td><strong>Gender equality/Vulnerable groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law and order,</td>
<td>(chair),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constitutional issues</td>
<td>Law and order,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #6/PRI</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td><strong>Constitutional issues</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Health (chair)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M #7/PAN</td>
<td>Human rights,</td>
<td><strong>Human rights</strong> (chair),</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gender equality/Vulnerable groups,</td>
<td>Gender equality/Vulnerable groups,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Internal rules and parliamentary practices</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Bolded letters = the legislator had the committee she solicited. ¹ The legislator introduced a bill to have such a committee. ² In discussions within the party group, the legislator withdrew her solicitation to chair a committee. Later, she was appointed to be co-ordinator of the party group within the legislature, chairing the board of the legislature. ³ We should take the information of M #5 with a grain of salt, as I am not sure that she understood the question correctly. There is a risk that she mentioned her committee assignments, and not those she solicited.