Does Women's Political Presence Matter?

Examining the Effects of Descriptive Representation on Symbolic Representation in Uruguay

Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary 1

Introduction 2

A. Women's Representation in Uruguay, Pre-2014 Elections 3

B. Women's Descriptive Representation in Parliament, Post-2014 Elections 4

Theoretical background 5

A. The Nature of Representation 5

B. Effects of Gender Quotas on Representation 7

Research Design 9

A. Research Methodology 9

B. Hypotheses 11

Research Results 13

A. Results from the Panel Survey 13

B. Results of the Content Analyses 22

Conclusion 25

References 28

Appendix A: Survey Questions 34

MESSAGE FROM THE DRG CENTER ACTING DIRECTOR

USAID's Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance is pleased to share "*Does Women's Political Presence Matter? Examining the Effects of Descriptive Representation on Symbolic Representation in Uruguay*." This publication was produced by USAID in partnership with Arizona State University and the Institute of International Education as part of the Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series.

The *Strategy on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance*[1] reaffirmed USAID's commitment to "generate, analyze, and disseminate rigorous, systematic, and publicly accessible evidence in all aspects of DRG policy, strategy and program development, implementation, and evaluation." This paper, along with the others contained in the series, make a valuable contribution to advancing this commitment to learning and evidence-based programming.

This series is part of USAID's Learning Agenda for the DRG Sector, a dynamic collection of research questions that serve to guide the DRG Center's and USAID field missions' analytical efforts. USAID seeks to inform strategic planning and project design efforts with the very best theory, evidence, and practical guidance. Through these efforts, the Learning Agenda is contributing to USAID's objective to support the establishment and consolidation of inclusive and accountable democracies to advance freedom, dignity, and development.

The research presented in this paper provides useful insights into how increasing women's descriptive representation within a legislature affects citizens' interest and engagement in the political process, or their symbolic representation. Uruguay's first quota law was implemented in the 2014 elections, resulting in significant increases in the number of women serving in both houses of Uruguay's Parliament. Surveying citizens before and after the elections, the research team found strong evidence that increases in women's descriptive representation had a positive effect on citizens' symbolic representation, and that this effect was stronger for women than for men. Before election day, women were significantly less likely than men to say they were interested in politics, less likely to state that they understood political issues in Uruguay, and less likely to report having trust in elections; after election day, these differences disappeared and women were as likely as men to be interested in politics, understand current political issues, and trust the electoral process.

I hope you find this research enlightening and helpful. As the DRG Center's Learning Agenda progresses, we will continue our effort to bring forward the latest in relevant social science research to important constituencies for our work, particularly our DRG cadre and implementing partners, but also others. I invite you to stay involved as this enriching, timely, and important work proceeds.

Madeline Williams, Acting Director
Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance
US Agency for International Development

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[1] https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/USAID%20DRG_%20final%20final%206-24%203%20(1).pdf

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In Uruguay, the push to adopt gender quotas began in the late 1980s, but it was not until 2009—long after most neighboring countries had adopted quotas—that a gender quota law was passed; it was not implemented until the 2014 elections. The law stipulates that women must be represented in every third spot throughout the entire candidate list or in the first 15 positions on the list. The law's placement mandate and sanctions for non-compliance, within a closed list proportional representation system, guaranteed that the 2014 elections would lead to an increase in the number of women in Parliament. And, with the election, women's presence in the Chamber of Senators doubled from 13.3% to 26.7% and increased from 15.2% to 18.2% in the Chamber of Representatives. Women's presence in both Chambers grew further after the election, due to substitutions: by February 2016, women occupied 33.3% of the seats in the Chamber of Senators and 20.2% in the Chamber of Representatives.

The lag time between the passage of the law in 2009 and its implementation in 2014, combined with the guarantee that the law would increase women's descriptive representation, or the number of women in legislative office, provided an ideal setting for a natural experiment on how an increase in women's descriptive representation affected all citizens' interest and engagement in the political process, or their symbolic representation. Through a Research and Innovation Grant funded by USAID's Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance, an Arizona State University (ASU) research team capitalized on this opportunity, conducting panel surveys just before and right after the 2014 elections and analyzing newspapers to study the immediate effects of women's increased descriptive representation on citizens' symbolic representation. Due to financial constraints, both survey waves were conducted solely in Montevideo, the first wave face-to-face and the second wave over the telephone.

The team found strong evidence that increases in women's descriptive representation had a positive effect on citizens' symbolic representation—even controlling for age, education, political ideology, overall level of political knowledge, tendency to engage in political discussion, and level of attention to the news—and that this effect was stronger for women than for men:

- Before election day, women were less likely than men to state they were interested in politics; after election day, this gender gap disappeared.
- Before election day, women were less likely than men to state they understood political issues in Uruguay; after election day, this gender gap disappeared.
- Before election day, women were less likely than men to report having trust in elections; after election day, this gender gap disappeared.
- Before election day, women were 10% more likely than men to think women's representation in Parliament was too low and less likely to think the level of representation was just right; after election day, the gender gap disappeared.
- Before election day, only 10% of respondents could identify the quota law; after election day, this number increased to 15%. In addition, before election day, men were more likely than women to be able to identify the law; after election day, the gender gap disappeared.

INTRODUCTION

The push to adopt gender quotas in Uruguay began in the late 1980s, stemming from women's low levels of representation: women had never claimed more than 15% of seats in the Parliament. But it was only in 2009—long after most of its neighbors had adopted quotas—that Uruguayan feminists succeeded in securing passage of Law #18,476 (Johnson and Moreni 2009), which states that candidates of both sexes must be represented in every third place on electoral lists, either throughout the entire list or in the first 15 places. For the Chamber of Representatives, the law stipulates that where only two seats are contested, then one of the two titleholder candidates must be a woman.[2]

The law has clear mandates and enforceable standards: it prohibits the pooling of female candidates at the bottom of electoral lists and the placement of women as political alternates (for a discussion of this practice, see Hinojosa and Vijil-Gurdián 2012). The law also states that candidate lists failing to comply with the quota law will be rejected by the Electoral Court. However, the current quota law has an "expiration date." To be applied in subsequent elections, it must be readopted. This feature has also been found in other countries that have adopted gender quotas; for example, the original Mexican quota law, the United Kingdom quota passed in 2002 that required all-women shortlists, and the initial Bangladeshi quota that expired in 2001.

The placement mandate and sanctions for non-compliance within a closed list proportional representation system guaranteed that the law, once implemented, would lead to increased numbers of women in Parliament, a situation which presented propitious conditions for separating the effects of descriptive and substantive representation on symbolic representation. We knew that implementation of the quota law would increase women's descriptive representation; our research investigates whether that increase influences changes in citizens' interest and engagement in the political process (which we will refer to as symbolic representation) absent any changes in policymaking (substantive representation).

Law #18,476 was first applied in the 2014 parliamentary elections. The five-year lag between the passage of the gender quota in 2009 and its use for legislative elections was both fortuitous and unusual. Typically, the timeframe from passage of such a law and implementation is brief. For example, Mexico passed its gender quota legislation in April 2002 and applied it in the July 2003 elections. The five-year lag in Uruguay created the conditions for a natural experiment.[3] We surveyed citizens both before and after the law's implementation in order to assess the effects of these changes in descriptive representation on symbolic representation. Importantly, we completed the second survey before women were sworn into Parliament and so can separate the impact of descriptive representation from any effects caused by substantive representation.

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[2] https://parlamento.gub.uy/documentosyleyes/leyes?Ly_Nro=18476&Searchtext=&Ly_fechaDePromulgacion%5Bmin%5D%5Bdate%5D=10-03-2016&Ly_fechaDePromulgacion%5Bmax%5D%5Bdate%5D=26-09-2016&=Filtrar

[3] In a laboratory setting, we would increase women's descriptive representation (keeping all else constant) to see the effects of this change on symbolic and substantive representation. Such a setting would allow us to run experiments to see the changes associated with a 5% increase in women's descriptive representation versus 15% and 25% increases, *etc*. The natural experiment that we see here is a function of the gender quota law, which allowed us to foresee an increase in women's descriptive representation (though it did not allow us to know just how large an increase we would see).

A. Women's Representation in Uruguay, Pre-2014 Elections

Uruguay is a presidential system. Presidents serve five-year terms and cannot be immediately reelected. The first round of the presidential election is concurrent with the parliamentary elections, but the second round occurs approximately one month later. The Chamber of Senators is made up of 30 members that are elected from a single nation-wide district, using closed list proportional representation. The Chamber of Representatives is made up of 99 members elected from 19 subnational units (departments), also using closed list proportional representation.

Women's descriptive representation in Uruguay has historically been low, lagging behind other Latin American countries and leading to regular calls for a gender quota law. Efforts to pass such a law began in the late 1980s; the quota bill that was initially proposed failed, but a recommendation that parties increase gender equality did pass (Archenti and Johnson 2006, p141)—a pattern that follows other countries, such as Mexico, where quota laws were passed only after initial experiments with these types of recommendations proved futile.

Before the implementation of Uruguay's gender quota law in 2014, women's representation had risen only slowly since the country's return to democracy in 1984. In the initial elections, women were unable to obtain any seats in Parliament. In the following legislative period (1989 – 1994), women's representation increased to just 6.1% in the Chamber of Senators and 4.6% in the Chamber of Representatives. It was only in 1999 that women held more than one of every 10 seats in the lower Chamber. In that year, women constituted 12.1% of Representatives and 9.7% of Senators. Ten years later, 12.1% of Representatives and 12.9% of Senators were women (IPU); women's representation continued to increase slightly over that legislative period due to substitutions.

No woman has served as either president or vice-president of Uruguay. Women's presence among cabinet ministers also has been stymied. In the region, women held one of every four cabinet posts (26.1%) in 2014; in Uruguay, women held only 12.5% of cabinet positions (Htun and Piscopo 2014), though there has been a dramatic increase in 2015 and, by February 2016, there were eight male and five female cabinet members (*i.e.,* 38.5% women). Women occupy the following ministerial posts: tourism and sport; education and culture; social development; housing, territorial organization, and the environment; and energy and mining. However, these ministerial posts are the "soft" portfolios (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005)—social services, education, and tourism. The "hard" portfolios—foreign affairs, defense, and finance—routinely go to men. In sub-national executive positions, women's underrepresentation is more severe. Of the 19 intendants (similar to gubernatorial

positions) currently in power, 18 are men. The sole female intendant presides over the department of Lavalleja, a small department with only 59,000 inhabitants. Of the 112 mayoral positions in Uruguay, women presently occupy only 19 (17%).

Women also are underrepresented in the judicial branch. Parliament elects members to the *Suprema Corte de Justicia*, Uruguay's highest judicial body. The *Suprema Corte de Justicia,* has five members; one of these is a woman. The first female member of this judicial body was selected in 1981. The current female member is only the fourth woman ever to have served in this capacity.

B. Women's Descriptive Representation in Parliament, Post-2014 Elections

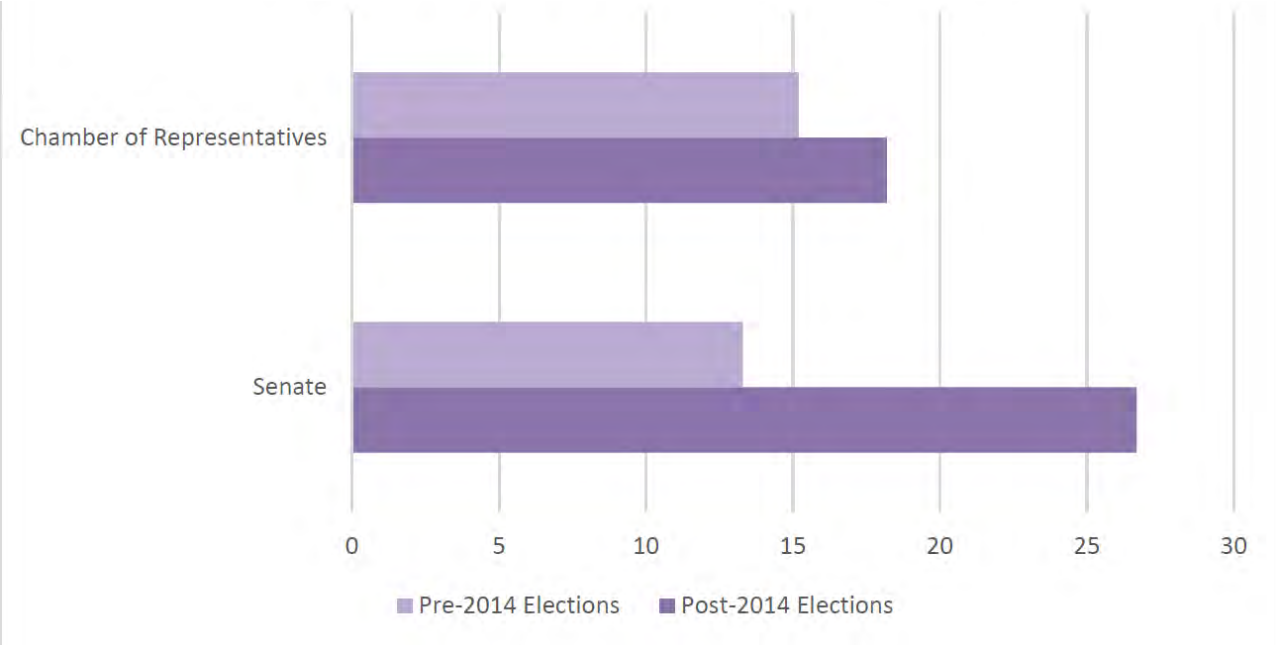
Uruguay differs from most closed list proportional representation systems in that "each party presents an important variety of closed and blocked lists that compete among themselves within the party. Intra-party competition softens the rigidity of closed and blocked lists and transforms the Uruguayan system into a kind of intra-partisan preferential vote." (Altman and Chasquetti 2005, p240). In effect then, "the lists are not party lists, but rather party faction lists" (Johnson 2015: 3). In the largest district, Montevideo, the electoral lists were headed up by "figures of national prestige," which allows unknown individuals to enter politics on the same lists (Altman and Chasquetti 2005, p244-245). This fact, combined with Uruguay's low rates of women's representation, meant that women did not occupy the top spot on any lists. This had a negative effect in the Chamber of Representatives. Because of the large number of faction lists in the smaller departments, few factions obtain more than a couple seats, and because parties complied minimally with the law (Johnson 2015), women often appeared in unelectable third spots. In the Chamber of Senators, where there are fewer total lists and hence a larger number of individuals elected from each list, women were represented in winnable spots on lists (*i.e.*, the #3 spot might be unelectable on a number of lists for the Chamber of Representatives, but it would be electable on Senate list).

However, as documented in Figure 1, significant change was seen following the use of a gender quota for the October 2014 elections. Eighteen women Representatives and eight women Senators took office, doubling women's representation in the upper Chamber from 13.3% to 26.7% and increasing women's representation in the lower Chamber less dramatically, from 15.2% to only 18.2%.

Women's descriptive representation in Parliament later increased further due to substitutions. In Uruguay, officeholders are elected alongside a short list of alternates, known as *suplentes*, who step in for the officeholder in cases of illness, travel, or resignation. Except in the case of resignation, these substitutes fill in only briefly for officeholders. Since the Uruguayan quota did not stipulate that *suplentes* must be of the same sex as the individuals for whom they would substitute—which is now the law in Mexico—these substitutions can lead to changes in the percentage of women in Parliament.

In Uruguay in 2015, these substitutions ultimately proved beneficial for women. By February 2016, women occupied 33.3% of Senate seats and 20.2% of Representative seats, bringing Uruguay closer to the regional average, which was 23.5% for the upper chamber and 20.3% for the lower chamber in 2014 (Htun and Piscopo 2014). The Parliament leadership remained majority male, including the vice-president of the country, who serves as Senate president. In the Chamber of Representatives, the leadership is comprised of one president and four vice-presidents and only one woman occupies a leadership position: Graciela Matiauda, who holds the third vice-presidency.

Figure 1: Percentage of Women in Parliament[4]



THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

A. The Nature of Representation

Political representation is composed of three conceptually distinct, but related, dimensions: descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation (Pitkin 1967). Descriptive representation refers to the composition of the legislative body: does the legislature represent the electorate demographically? Substantive representation refers to the representation of group interests in the policymaking process. For example, do increases in the number of women representatives produce differences in policy outcomes? If we have more female congress members will we have better maternity leave policies? Finally, symbolic representation "emphasizes that representation is a symbol that generates emotional responses among constituents" (Schwindt-Bayer 2010, p6).

[4] Please note that the data presented here for the second time period have since changed. These data reflect those who took office in February 2015. Members of Parliament routinely run for and win seats in the departmental elections that take place months after the national elections; typically, some of these parliamentarians then renounce their parliamentary positions for elected positions in departmental governments or will accept appointed positions in the new departmental administrations. *Suplentes* are then called in to permanently take over these positions. Due to these substitutions, women's presence in the Chamber of Representatives actually increased in 2015 to 20.2%. Similarly, women's descriptive representation within the Chamber of Senators rose to 33.3%. Source: data collected from https://parlamento.gub.uy.

The academic literature has predominantly focused on examining the relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representation.[5] In studies of several countries, increases in women's descriptive representation have been shown to increase women's substantive representation in the policy process (Burrell 1997, Thomas 1991, Celis 2006, Tremblay and Pelletier 2000, Schwindt-Bayer 2006), though not necessarily in policy outcomes (Weldon 2002). In other words, although an increased number of women in elected office has resulted in a greater likelihood that women's issues will be discussed on parliamentary floors and that more bills concerning women's issues will be introduced, it less frequently has resulted in a change in the legislation that is actually passed (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008).

A smaller portion of the academic literature aims to understand the relationship between increases in women's descriptive representation and changes in symbolic representation. Most of that literature has examined only the effects of increased women's descriptive representation on women's symbolic representation; however, some has examined how the increase in women's descriptive representation changes symbolic representation for both female and male citizens. Some scholars have found that increases in the number of women representatives lead to more positive views regarding symbolic representation for both men and women (*e.g.,* Atkeson and Carrillo 2007). For instance, increases in women's descriptive representation produce more positive views about the democratic process for men and women (Karp and Banducci 2008). Similarly, when children are aware of prominent women politicians, both boys and girls say that they expect to be more active in politics when they are adults (Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007).

When measuring symbolic representation, researchers typically examine a range of measures of political engagement (including political interest, political knowledge, and sense of efficacy) and political participation (including voting, joining a party, engaging in protests, and talking to friends and family about politics). Scholars have argued that the very presence of women representatives can have a transformative effect on women, changing their perceptions about the proper role of women and increasing their interest in politics (Alexander 2012; Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007; Kittilson 2005; Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Carroll 1985). Some research does show that having female candidates and representatives increases female citizens' political engagement, their positive attitudes toward government, and their knowledge about politics (Schwindt-Bayer 2010; Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006; Lawless 2004; Atkeson 2003; Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997; Banducci, Donovan *et al*. 2004).

However, some researchers have been unable to document a significant positive relationship between the election of women to office and women's political attitudes and political participation (Lawless 2004, Dolan 2006, Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2010, Karp and Banducci 2008). In an examination of Latin American countries, Desposato and Norrander (2008) find that the gender gap in political participation is smaller in countries where women have higher rates of political representation, suggesting a link between descriptive and symbolic representation. However, Kittilson and Schwindt-

[5] We are unaware of any academic studies that seek to examine the relationship between women's descriptive representation and substantive representation that is outside the scope of women's issues. It is important to note, however, that women's issues have been defined in a variety of ways by scholars. Moreover, these issues can and do affect men, as well. For example, daycare is often categorized as a women's issue although it is an issue that also affects male parents and caregivers.

Bayer (2012), in cross-national analyses, find mixed results regarding the relationship between the percentage of women in elected office and women's political engagement.

Alexander (2012) has expanded the conceptualization of symbolic representation to include changes in people's beliefs about women's ability to govern. Looking at 25 countries across a variety of regions over a 15-year period, Alexander finds that increases in the percentage of female legislators contribute to an increase in women's beliefs regarding women's ability to govern. Other scholars have found that quotas may shape the kinds of women elected to office and what they do once there, thereby influencing substantive representation (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, Murray 2010).[6]

B. Effects of Gender Quotas on Representation

Gender quotas are a mechanism for altering descriptive representation. In recent decades, more than 50 countries have adopted national quotas or reserved seats for women (Krook 2009). There are three types of affirmative action measures that are typically referred to as gender quotas: reserved seats, internal party quotas, and national quotas. Recent academic studies of gender quotas predominantly focus on the final category (Baldez 2004, Htun and Jones 1999, Jones 1996, Krook 2004, Meier 2004), of which Uruguay's Law #18,476 is an example.

Reserved seats, as the name implies, set aside a certain percentage or number of legislative seats for women. In contrast, both internal party quotas and national quotas affect political parties' candidate selection procedures. Internal party quotas are set by political parties wishing to increase women's representation; typically, parties allot a set percentage of candidate positions or a proportion of party leadership positions to women. National quotas, which Krook refers to as legislative quotas, are: "measures passed by national parliaments requiring that all parties nominate a certain percentage of women" (Krook and O'Brien 2010, p260). National quotas, unlike party quotas, are legally sanctioned.

Much of the gender quota literature has focused on explaining changes in women's descriptive representation following quota adoptions. However, a limited literature has attempted to analyze the effects of gender quotas on women's substantive representation in select countries across the globe (Schwindt-Bayer 2010, Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, Zetterberg 2008, Devlin and Elgie 2008). Little scholarly attention has examined the impact of gender quotas on symbolic representation (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012, Franceschet *et al.* 2012, Zetterberg 2009). Some scholars believe that gender quotas can "reshape attitudes, values, and ideas toward women's roles in politics" (Kittilson 2005, p29). However, the research has been mixed. Zetterberg 2009 finds that "quota legislation appears to not be positively associated with women's political engagement—at least not in Latin America," but notes that one possible explanation for this finding is that there is limited public knowledge of quotas (716).[7]

Academics have tested the relationship between gender quotas and symbolic representation in Uruguay (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012). Using Americas Barometer data from both before (2008) and after

[6] While we cannot test these hypotheses in this paper, we further expect that the increases in women's numbers in Parliament will affect the policymaking process by broadening the agenda and enriching debates, thereby influencing substantive representation. We would also expect that these changes to the policy process would lead to further changes in women's political interest and empowerment.

[7] This is an issue that we address directly, by measuring awareness/knowledge of the gender quota among respondents in our survey.

(2010) the passage of the gender quota, Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer found little effect on political interest, knowledge, or participation, which suggests that quotas may not directly influence symbolic representation (though it could also suggest, as we indicate below, that there is little awareness of the quota law). Quotas may shape the kinds of women elected to office and what they do once there, thereby influencing substantive representation (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, Murray 2010).[8]

i. Differential Effects of Gender Quota Laws on Representation

The effects of the gender quota law may be conditioned by the gender and political sophistication of citizens. People with greater sophistication about politics, who pay more attention to the news media, and are more interested in politics, may be more influenced by changes in the representational process. The importance of political sophistication, interest, and media usage for understanding what people learn about politics is well-documented (*e.g.,* Zaller and Feldman 1992). In addition, men and women may experience the impact of gender quotas differently: "…quotas can raise resentment among men, who feel left behind, while simultaneously increasing women's empowerment… Quotas may also increase women's engagement while men's activity remains constant." (Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo 2012, p230).

ii. The Importance of Visibility

Research in the US suggests that the link between descriptive and symbolic representation may be conditioned by the visibility of women legislators (Atkeson 2003; Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Koch 1997; Sapiro and Conover 1997) or by the characteristics of citizens (*e.g.,* young women may be more affected than older women; see, for example, Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006). Previous scholars have demonstrated that women candidates and women politicians are most likely to influence women constituents' views and behaviors when they are prominent (Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007, Atkeson 2003, Hansen 1997, Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006). Campbell and Wolbrecht state, "the mere presence of a female politician is not enough: the degree to which the candidacy is visible—either as a function of the office sought, the viability of the candidate, or the extent to which attention is drawn to the unique phenomenon of female politicians—creates a context in which women's presence as politicians can affect the political engagement of women" (2006, p235).

Widespread quota awareness is a key implicit assumption in theories of the effects of quotas on symbolic representation. Scholars have assumed that citizens know about quotas. For example, researchers have looked at public opinion data before and after the passage of a quota to assess changes in symbolic representation and have presumed that the lack of change they see is due to a lack of effect by the quota rather than by a lack of knowledge of the quota. Quotas exert little influence on the public if few people are aware of them. Htun and Jones 2002 report that 75% of Peruvians were unaware that their country had passed a gender quota. Similarly, only 18% of Panamanians knew that a gender quota was being used to choose their candidates (UNDP 2007). Zetterberg too noted that his findings on the lack of effect of gender quotas in Mexico may be due to a lack of general knowledge about the quotas (2009).

[8] See Footnote 5.

RESEARCH DESIGN

A. Research Methodology

In this project, we seek to increase our understanding of the dynamics of representation by untangling the causal connection between changes in descriptive representation, substantive representation, and symbolic representation, relying on a multi-methodological approach. The research is composed of two parts: a two-wave panel survey of Uruguayan citizens and a content analysis of news coverage to assess how the news media cover the introduction and implementation of the quota law and subsequent changes in descriptive representation. By focusing on one country over time, we can hold constant potentially confounding influences, such as electoral system and political culture. Furthermore, Uruguay has stable political institutions and strong political parties. This stability gave us confidence that any changes in symbolic representation (and in particular, changes in trust in government) that our survey captured would not be driven by changes in Uruguay's political institutions.

A panel survey is the best longitudinal survey method for assessing changes in attitudes and behaviors. While a panel survey has important advantages, this survey method does have drawbacks, including the problem of panel attrition, whereby some original respondents are not re-interviewed. Of the original first-wave respondents, 731 were re-interviewed in the second wave. The second wave also included "fresh" respondents that were included to address attrition issues. A copy of the survey is provided in Appendix A.

Implementation of the first wave began after candidate lists conforming to the quota requirements became public in September 2014. We expected that news coverage of both the quota and the possible increase of women's representation would be common since the candidate lists had already been publicized. The second wave began approximately two months after the October 26, 2014 elections. Due to the Christmas holiday and summer vacations, this wave was not completed until early February 2015. This wave of the survey is necessary for understanding how increased women's representation affects symbolic representation, absent any changes in women's substantive representation. In other words, because the newly elected representatives had not yet taken office (they were not sworn in until February 15, 2015), we can attribute changes in symbolic representation to changes in descriptive representation and exclude any possible effects from substantive representation.

We employed a Uruguayan polling firm, *Instituto Factum*, to carry out the surveys, after obtaining quotes from several local polling companies. *Instituto Factum* is a well-regarded firm, and previously had carried out the Uruguayan portion of surveys for the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. *Instituto Factum* used a stratified probability sampling technique to sample respondents in the capital city of Montevideo. Nearly half the Uruguayan population resides in Montevideo or its suburbs. Due to financial constraints, this is the only area where the survey was conducted. The first wave of the panel survey consisted of face-to-face interviews, while the second wave was conducted over the telephone to minimize costs.

We wrote the survey instrument and, whenever possible, relied on established measures to facilitate comparisons with other academic work on this topic. Since we expected that changes in descriptive representation would produce changes in symbolic representation, we tapped two dimensions of

symbolic representation: political engagement and political participation. Political engagement is commonly defined as "psychological orientations toward politics" (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001, p335). Our survey instrument included standard survey questions that assess political interest (*e.g.,* "Generally, how interested are you in elections?"), political efficacy, political knowledge[9], and attention to politics.

We also included a series of measures of political participation, such as voting, participating in political rallies, engaging in protest behavior, and talking to friends and family about politics. We relied extensively on the American National Election Study, Americas Barometer, and the World Values Survey for these standard measures. We also assessed people's level of satisfaction with their governing institutions (*e.g.,* "Do you believe that the representatives in congress are doing their jobs very well, well, neither well nor poorly, poorly, very poorly?"; "Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?").

We deviated from surveys such as the World Values Survey and Americas Barometer by measuring attitudes toward women's role in politics and knowledge about women's representation in politics. We expected that people's attitudes toward women in politics would change in response to the implementation of the quota, as well as in response to changes in descriptive representation. We also attempted to assess visibility of the quota and of changes in descriptive representation by specifically asking about knowledge of measures taken in Uruguay to increase women's representation and asking respondents for the percentage of female representatives in office. We built on Campbell and Wolbrecht's conception of visibility, extending it beyond the candidate or politician. Our survey assessed public awareness of the gender quota law by asking individuals whether they were aware of measures to increase women's presence in Parliament. Second, we measured the visibility of women's descriptive representation by asking: "Are citizens aware of changes in the number of women in government?" and "Do people understand that the quota is responsible for these changes?"

Our surveys also asked questions about media usage: "Can you tell me how you obtain most of your news about Uruguay?"; "Do you use the internet for learning the news?"; "How often do you read the newspaper?"; "Which newspaper do you read regularly?"; and "Do you receive or regularly purchase a newspaper?" These types of questions are necessary to assess visibility and will allow us to ascertain—when paired with our content analyses—whether certain Uruguayan newspapers provide greater visibility.

In addition to the survey, we also undertook a thorough content analysis. We monitored news treatment of the gender quota (from 2001 through election day) and descriptive representation (from election day through May 15, 2015). This element of the project is closely linked to our survey, since our survey instrument asks respondents about media-usage habits, including inquiring about the media sources they use and their frequency of attention to the news media (*e.g.,* is the respondent a daily newspaper reader?).

We selected three newspapers for this analysis: *El País*, *El Observador*, and *La República*. These were selected because, according to World Press Review and Press Reference, these three papers have the

[9] We modified the political knowledge questions asked in the Americas Barometer study to develop an index of political knowledge.

largest circulations in Uruguay. Of these three, *El País* has the largest circulation, with approximately 70,000 copies sold on Sundays and an average of 25,000 on weekdays. These three newspapers also mirror the ideological spectrum, with *El País* representing the center, *La República* the left, and *El Observador* the right. We used both Lexis-Nexis and the newspapers' internal search engines to find articles, applying a variety of search terms.

We opted to code only newspaper coverage of the gender quota and descriptive representation because of both financial considerations and accessibility concerns. Coding radio or television news broadcasts would be useful, but presents tremendous financial costs due to the necessity of watching or listening to thousands of hours of coverage to code any relevant items. Furthermore, coding broadcasts also poses problems due to the difficulty of obtaining them from stations. Similarly, trying to code internet coverage of these issues would also prove logistically difficult. However, we believe newspaper coverage represents the issues as discussed on other media platforms and, as previously mentioned, numerous Uruguayans rely on newspapers for their political news (and the circulation rates provided do not count individuals who access those newspapers' websites). The Uruguayan population is highly literate: 98.5%, according to the most recent estimates and internet usage is very high (59% of the population has access to the internet at home) (CIA World Factbook 2015).

B. Hypotheses

We theorize that the introduction of the quota law is the primary casual factor influencing the dynamics of representation. We expect that the implementation of the quota will directly and indirectly influence each of the three dimensions of representation; however, this paper seeks only to examine the effects of increased descriptive representation on symbolic representation.[10]

- Hypothesis 1: Increased descriptive representation will positively affect symbolic representation.

The implementation of quotas will necessarily change descriptive representation. We hypothesize that women's growing descriptive representation in the legislature will positively affect symbolic representation because it will illustrate a more open and inclusive political system. In other words, as Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001, p340) note, having more women in office will send a clear message to the electorate that politics is for women as well as men.

Positively affecting symbolic representation can also affect the legitimacy of government both internationally and domestically (Dahlerup 2006, Krook 2010), improve the image that citizens have of government (Vincent 2004, Kittilson 2005, Schwindt-Bayer 2010), and spur greater political engagement and participation by women (Zetterberg 2009). Scholars have argued that increases in symbolic representation should produce more trust and connectedness in government, more political engagement, and higher levels of political participation.

[10] Although our paper focuses on the effects of descriptive representation (caused by the gender quota) on symbolic representation, we do believe that the quota implementation can itself have both symbolic and direct effects on the policymaking process. Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) have noted that women elected due to a quota may feel a "mandate effect" and therefore are more likely to work on women's issues while in the legislature.

- Hypothesis 2: The gender of citizens will lead to differential effects on symbolic representation (*i.e.,* more positive effects for women than men possibly leading to the shrinking of the observable gender gap).

While increases in women's numerical representation in Parliament may positively affect men's and women's sense of symbolic representation, we expect women will be more powerfully influenced by changes to descriptive representation than men.

- Hypothesis 3: The political sophistication of citizens will lead to differential effects on symbolic representation (*i.e.,* more positive effects for more politically sophisticated individuals).

The political sophistication of citizens will lead to differential effects on symbolic representation. We hypothesize that we will see differential effects for individuals who are more knowledgeable about politics; we expect they will be more likely to know about the implementation of the quota law and will be more familiar with changes to the composition of the legislature.

- Hypothesis 4: The dynamics of representation will be conditioned by visibility.

Assessing the degree of quota visibility is essential for understanding the effects of the quota on citizen attitudes and behaviors. We hypothesize that the impact of descriptive representation, spurred by the passage and enactment of the quota law, on symbolic representation will be more powerful when the quota and/or women's gains are visible to citizens.

We expect that visibility will influence the dynamics of representation. In particular, the gender quota, as well as consequences of introducing the quota (*i.e.*, effects on descriptive representation) will produce changes in symbolic representation only under conditions of visibility. For instance, when people are aware that the quota law has been passed and understand that its implementation will significantly increase women's numbers in Parliament, we expect positive changes in symbolic representation. Similarly, when citizens recognize that many more women have been elected to Parliament, their sense of symbolic representation is expected to grow (we expect that these feelings of symbolic representation would be different for men than for women). Finally, when the public understands that substantive differences in legislation have been produced, their feelings of symbolic representation are expected to increase. In contrast, if the quota law, changes in descriptive representation, and changes in substantive representation are *invisible,* we expect no subsequent effect on citizens' symbolic representation.[11] We believe that even if the quota has minimal visibility, we might nonetheless see changes in symbolic representation due to visible increases in descriptive representatives.

We also hypothesize that visibility of the quota and its effects will vary based on the type of media coverage. The news media can influence the visibility of the quota law as well as affect the public's understanding of the consequences of the law. If coverage of the quota is extensive, people who pay attention to the news are likely to recognize that the quota law has passed and may understand the consequences of its passage. Similarly, if the news media spend a significant amount of time describing

[11] Again, we are unable to test a number of hypotheses until we can undertake a third wave of the survey.

differences in the demographic composition of the Parliament, the public is likely to learn that the number of women representatives has dramatically increased.

RESEARCH RESULTS

A. Results from the Panel Survey

Our results confirm our initial hypotheses. We find strong evidence that increases in women's descriptive representation, resulting from the implementation of a gender quota, positively affect symbolic representation. We also confirm that there are differential effects on men and women. While we see some changes in men's symbolic representation, we see more substantial changes for women. These changes are statistically significant.

To begin, we look at whether people were familiar with the quota before and after it was implemented. Before the quota was implemented, only 10% of respondents could identify the quota by name. However, the percentage of people naming the quota measure increased to 15% after the quota had been implemented. Furthermore, during the first wave of the survey (before implementation of the quota law), women were significantly less likely than men to be able to identify the law, but after implementation, the gender difference in knowledge of the quota disappeared.[12] We believe that this indicates that women took more of an interest in politics once they were better descriptively represented in the legislature.

To better understand the factors producing higher levels of recognition of the quota law, we developed a multivariate analysis where we examined the impact of demographic factors (*i.e.,* gender, age, and education), as well as political variables, like political ideology.[13] We also measured whether people with higher levels of political knowledge, in general, were more likely to be familiar with the quota[14] and whether people who report talking more about politics, as well as people who pay more attention to the news media, may be more aware of the gender quota.[15]

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[12] The gender difference in recognition of the quota law during the first wave of the panel was statistically significant at $p<.05$. During the second wave of the panel (after implementation of the quota), the gender difference failed to reach statistical significance. Among the new cross-section of respondents interviewed after the implementation of the quota, 20% of the sample could identify the quota law and the gender difference in knowledge failed to reach statistical significance at $p<.05$.

[13] Sex is measured (1) for female and (0) for male. Education is measured with the question: "What was the last year of schooling that you completed?" Political ideology is measured with the following question: "On this card, there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. One means left and 10 means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms 'left' and 'right' have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?"

[14] We measure political knowledge by examining the number of factual questions the respondent can correctly answer. The following questions are included in the index: 1) "What is the name of the current president of the Uruguay?" 2) "How many departments does this country have?" 3) "How long is the presidential term of office in this country?"

[15] We measure people's likelihood of talking about politics with the following survey question: "How many days last week did you talk about political news with friends or family or learn about it through informal channels?" We measure people's exposure to the news with the following six questions: "How many days last week did you watch

We report the results of the logistical regression analysis predicting people's ability to identify the quota measure before (Time 1) and after (Time 2) the implementation of the quota law.[16] In Time 1, as Table 1 demonstrates, women were significantly less knowledgeable than men about the quota law, even when controlling for a series of important rival factors. In addition, people with higher levels of education and income were more likely to know about the law. Similarly, people who pay attention to the news, people who talk more about politics, and people who are more knowledgeable about politics were more informed about the law.[17]

Table 1: Logistic Regression Explaining Knowledge of Gender Quota Law

	Time 1 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)	**Time 2 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)**
Gender of Respondent	-.47(.23)**	-.15(.26)
Political Variables		
Pay Attention to News	.03(.01)**	.05(.01)***
Political Ideology	-.06(.04)	-.14(.05)***
Political Knowledge	.71(.28)**	.61(.32)*
Talk about Politics	.11(.06)*	.07(.05)
Demographic Variables		
Education	.05(.008)***	.04(.009)***
Income	.08(.04)**	.13(.04)***
Age	.005(.006)	.008(.007)
Constant	-7.565(.94)***	-7.69(1.12)***
N	1053	618
Percent Correctly Predicted	89%	85%
Nagelkerke R Square	.27	.19

Note: The model uses logistic regression. The dependent variable is a binary variable (1=know gender quota; 0=don't know gender quota). Each cell contains the unstandardized coefficients, with standard errors (in parentheses) and level of statistical significance, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<10.

When we look at knowledge of the quota law during the second wave of the panel (Time 2), a few interesting differences emerge. First and perhaps most importantly, the gender difference in knowledge

political news on public TV?"; "How many days last week did you read political news in a newspaper?"; "How many days last week did you listen to political news on the radio?"; "How many days last week did you read political news online?"; "How many days last week did you watch political news on cable TV?"; and "How many days last week did you read political news on social networks?"

[16] We rely on logistical regression analysis because the dependent variable is dichotomous (1=correctly identifies the quota law and 0=cannot correctly identify the quota law).

[17] We fail to find a significant relationship between age and knowledge of the quota law, controlling for potentially important rival explanations.

of the quota disappears: women respondents were just as likely as men to know about the law.[18] We continue to find that individuals with higher levels of education or higher income, those who pay more attention to the news, and those with higher levels of political knowledge are more aware of the quota law.[19] Finally, we find that people's ideological profile is negatively and significantly related to their knowledge of the quota law. In particular, as people move toward the right ideologically, they are significantly less likely to identify the quota law. This unexpected finding is likely a result of the news sources that these individuals rely on; as will be explained in the next section of this paper, of the three major newspapers that we analyzed, the one most aligned with the right was least likely to cover the gender quota. We suspect that other news sources—available through radio, television, or internet—with a right-wing bent also were less likely to cover the gender quota. Individuals who turned to these types of sources for their news, therefore, would be less likely to learn about the gender quota.

Next, we look at people's attitudes about women's representation in government by asking, "Do you believe that women's representation in Parliament is too low 1) just right 2), or too high 3)?" As the data in Table 2 reveal, during Time 1, almost three-quarters of female respondents believed that women's representation in Parliament was too low. Men, in contrast, were more likely than women to view women's representation in Parliament as "just right" (35% vs. 26%). Overall, the gender difference in was statistically significant (p<.01) during Time 1.

Table 2: Assessment of Women's Representation in Parliament

	TIME 1		**TIME 2**	
Women's representation in Parliament is…	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Too Low	63%	72%	63%	62%
Just Right	35%	26%	35%	36%
Too High	2%	2%	2%	2%

However, during Time 2, women's views of representation in Parliament became significantly more favorable.[20] In comparison, men's views of women's representation did not change between the two time periods. Because women's views changed, while men's views remained stable, the gender differences in these assessments of women's representation disappear after the law was implemented.

In addition to bivariate analyses, we ran multivariate models to explain people's views regarding women's representation. In particular, we relied on logistical regression analysis to explain whether

[18] When we look at the people interviewed for the first time after the implementation of the quota law (*i.e.,* the "fresh" cross-section of respondents), we fail to find a significant gender difference in understanding of the quota law (at the p<.05 level).

[19] During the second wave of the panel, people's likelihood of talking about politics is not significantly related to their knowledge about the quota law. Age continues to be statistically insignificant in the model predicting knowledge of the quota law.

[20] According to the paired t-test, the difference in women's views of representation of women in Parliament between Time 1 and Time 2 is statistically significant at p<.01.

respondents believe women's representation is too low. We used the same demographic (*e.g.,* age, income, education), political (*e.g.,* ideology, political knowledge), and media variables (attention to news media) introduced earlier. In addition, when predicting people's views about women's representation after the implementation of the quota law (*i.e.,* during the second wave of the panel), we included a variable measuring whether the respondent knew about the quota law during the pre-election wave. By including knowledge about the quota law as an independent variable, we controlled for people's awareness of the new law.[21]

Table 3. Logistic Regression Explaining Assessment of Women's Representation in Parliament

	Time 1 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)	Time 2 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)
Gender of Respondent	.44(.14)***	-.15(.18)
Political Variables		
Knowledge of Quota Law	----	-.34(.28)
Pay Attention to News	.02(.01)**	.02(.01)**
Political Ideology	-.08(.03)***	-.07(.03)**
Political Knowledge	.35(.10)***	.23(.15)
Talk about Politics	.01(.03)	.06(.04)
Demographic Variables		
Education	.02(.01) **	.02(.01)**
Income	-.02(.02)	-.05(.02)**
Age	.01(.00)***	-.002(.01)
Constant	-1.01(.34)***	.025(.49)
N	1016	595
Percent Correctly Predicted	68%	63%
Nagelkerke R Square	.088	.062

Note: The model uses logistic regression. The dependent variable is a binary variable. Each cell contains the unstandardized coefficients, with standard errors (in parentheses) and level of statistical significance, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<10.

In short, the results of the multivariate analysis confirm the bivariate analysis for Time 1. Before the quota law was implemented, we find that men and women differ significantly in their perceptions of whether women's representation is too high, too low, or just right (see Table 3). Even controlling for a host of important demographic, media, and political factors, women are significantly more likely than men to agree that women's representation in Parliament is too low. Further, political sophistication is linked to assessments of women's representation levels. Those who pay more attention to the news, have higher levels of political knowledge, and have completed more years of education think women's representation is too low.

[21] We rely on awareness of the quota law during the pre-election survey when predicting attitudes (*e.g.,* views of women's representation) during the post-election survey to establish temporal order (*e.g.,* we are confident that awareness of the quota law occurs before post-election attitudes).

During Time 2, the multivariate analysis shows that men and women's views regarding women's representation in Parliament began to converge. In other words, and consistent with the bivariate results, we find the gender gap in people's views regarding women's representation disappears after the quota law is implemented. By Time 2, women are not more likely than men to say that women's representation in Parliament is too low.[22] In addition, political sophistication becomes less important as political knowledge loses its statistical significance. Those with leftist ideology continue to believe women's representation is too low. In contrast, those on the right are significantly less likely to view women's representation as too low. Also, people's level of income is negatively related to views about women's representation, but the relationship only reaches statistical significance in Time 2. The impact of people's age and political knowledge on their assessment of women's level of representation is only statistically significant in the pre-election survey.

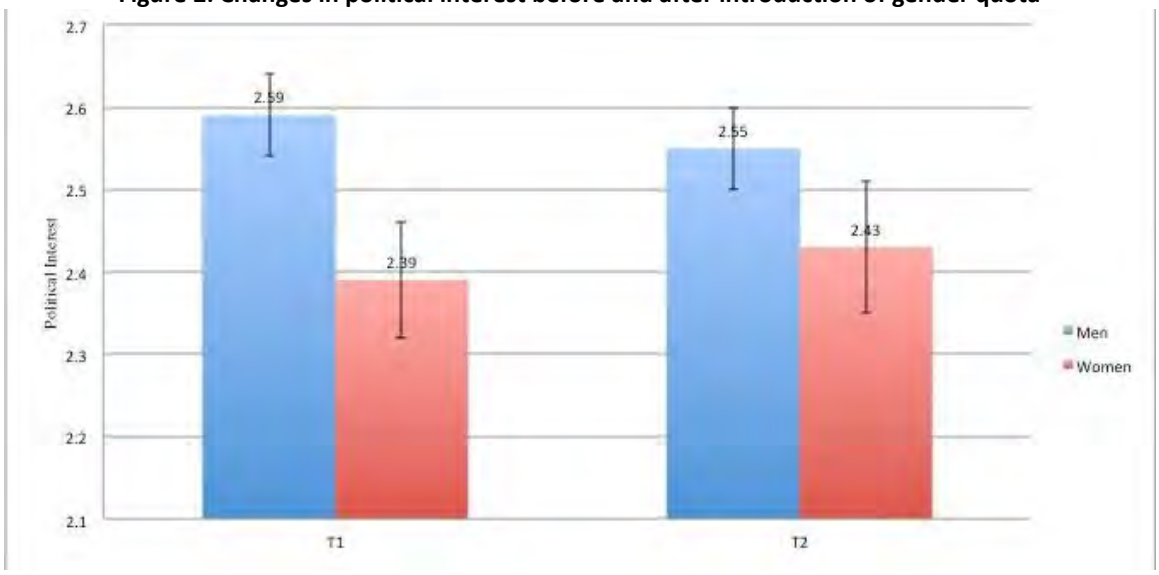
The implementation of the quotas may influence people's general views about politics. In particular, we expect that the gender quota law in Uruguay may encourage positive changes in women's views about elections and the political system. To begin, we look at how implementation of the gender quota affected people's interest in politics. We know that, in the US and across the world, women's interest in campaigns, and politics more generally, has traditionally lagged behind men's. We are interested in seeing whether the introduction of the quota law heightened women's interest in politics. In our survey, we ask respondents at each wave: "How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little, or none?" As the data in Figure 2 demonstrate, during Time 1, men are significantly more interested in politics than women, as expected. However, the gender gap in political interest closes in Time 2. Women's interest in politics appears to be enhanced by the quota law.

We can also look at specific categories of political interest. During Time 1, we find women are significantly more likely to report no interest in politics, compared to men. In contrast, by the second wave, the percentage of men and women reporting no interest in politics is statistically indistinguishable. The disappearance of the gender gap in political interest may lead to enhanced political engagement for women in Uruguay. When we rely on multivariate analysis to predict people's level of political interest (see Table 4), we see that, during Time 1, men are significantly more interested politically than women. However, when these same respondents are interviewed during Time 2, we no longer find a significant gender gap in political interest. These results indicate that the increase in women's descriptive representation in Parliament may have effectively eliminated gender differences in political interest.[23]

[22] In the new cross-section of respondents interviewed after the election, we find a significant difference between men's and women's views regarding the representation of women.

[23] The lack of a gender gap in political interest is also evident among the new cross-section of respondents interviewed after the election. In particular, a multivariate analysis of political interest shows that men and women do not differ significantly in their levels of political interest after the implementation of the gender quota law.

Figure 2: Changes in political interest before and after introduction of gender quota



We also control for the standard rival influences in our models for each wave of the survey. As in previous analyses, during both Time 1 and Time 2, we find people who pay more attention to news, people who are more politically knowledgeable, and people who are more likely to discuss politics are more interested in politics. In addition, the results in both models show that as people's education, age, and income increase, they become significantly more interested in politics.[24] Finally, as people become more leftist in their ideology, they are more likely to be interested in politics.

[24] However, the relationship between income and interest only reaches statistical significance in the pre-election survey.

Table 4: Logistic Ordinal Regression Explaining Political Interest

	Time 1 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)	Time 2 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)
Gender of Respondent	.23(.12)*	.23(.16)
Political Variables		
Knowledge of Quota Law	-----	.99(.25)***
Pay Attention to News	.05(.008)***	.05(.01)***
Political Ideology	-.07(.02)***	-.15(.03)***
Political Knowledge	.34(.09)	.16(.13)
Talk about Politics	.17(.03)***	.22(.04)***
Demographic Variables		
Education	.02(.01)**	.02(.006)***
Income	.03(.01)***	.003(.02)
Age	.02(.003)***	.01(.005)**
Threshold 1	1.70(.30)***	-.92(.51)*
Threshold 2	3.76(.32)***	1.78(.52)***
Threshold 3	5.35(.34)***	4.15(.54)***
Model Chi-Sq	390.44***	259.31***
-2 Log Likelihood	2467.35	1325.19
DF	8	9
Pseudo R-Square (Cox & Snell)	.310	.337
N	1052	630

Note: The model uses logistic ordinal regression. Each cell contains the unstandardized coefficients, with standard errors (in parentheses) and level of statistical significance, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<10.

In addition to political interest, understanding of political issues is an important prerequisite for participation (Verba and Schlozman 2000). We asked respondents on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), how much do you agree or disagree with the statement: "You feel you understand the important political issues of this country." As the data in Figure 3 illustrate, during Time 1 men express significantly more confidence in their understanding of issues. However, by Time 2, we no longer see a significant gender gap in how men and women view their comprehension of the important issues facing Uruguay. The multivariate analyses similarly reveal statistically significant differences in men and women's level of confidence in their understanding of important issues before the implementation of the gender quota law. Consistent with the bivariate results, after the election, we find no gender differences in men's and women's self-assessment of their understanding of the important issues facing the country.[25]

[25] Consistent with the panel data, we find no gender difference among the new respondents in assessments of their understanding of issues. In particular, a multivariate analysis of understanding of important issues shows that men and women do not differ significantly in their assessment of their understanding of political issues after the implementation of the gender quota law.

Figure 3: Changes in understanding of important issues before and after introduction of gender quota

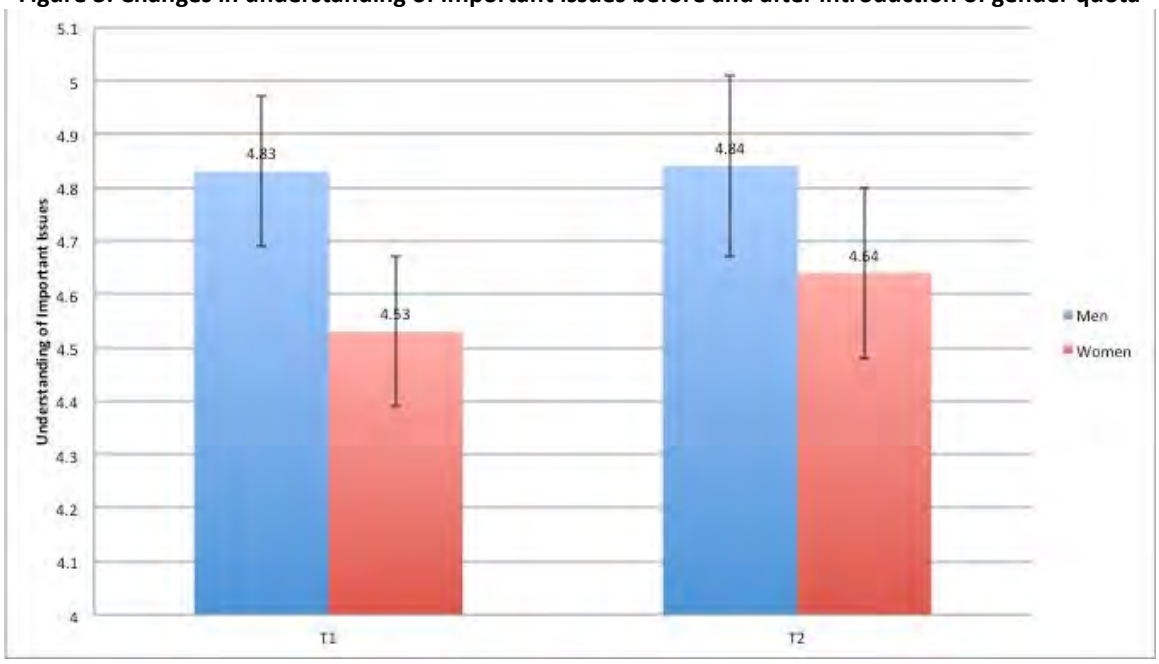


Table 5: Linear regression explaining confidence in understanding important issues

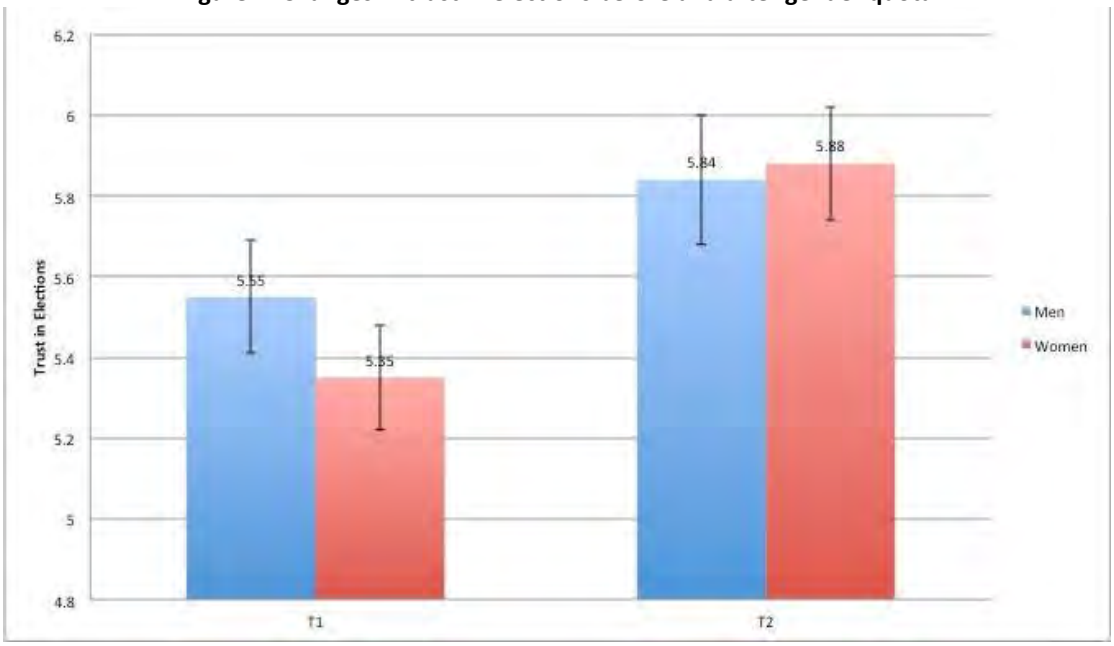
	Time 1 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)	Time 2 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)
Gender of Respondent	-.24(.10)***	-.09(.12)
Political Variables		
Knowledge of Quota Law	---	.47(.19)**
Pay Attention to News	.03(.006)***	.03(.008)***
Political Ideology	-.05(.02)***	-.03(.02)
Political Knowledge	.12(.07)*	.13(.10)
Talk about Politics	.08 (.02)***	.05(.03)
Demographic Variables		
Education	.02(.004)***	.01(.005)**
Income	.02(.01)**	.02(.02)
Age	.02(.003)***	.002(.004)
Constant	2.4(.24)***	3.3(.33)***
Adj R-Square	.23	.13
N	1054	615

Note: The model uses linear regression. The dependent variable ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Each cell contains the unstandardized coefficients, with standard errors (in parentheses) and level of statistical significance, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<10.

Looking at the remaining variables in the multivariate analysis, we see that during Time 1, people's attention to news, how often they talk about politics, and their knowledge about politics are each significantly related to their individual assessments of their own understanding of issues. In addition, we find that people's level of education, their age, and their income level also contribute to their evaluations of their understanding of issues. Turning to the multivariate analysis for Time 2, we include the variable assessing whether people could identify the quota law during the first wave in the panel. Once we control for whether respondents know about the quota law during the pre-election survey, we find that only people's level of education and attention to news continue to influence assessments of their understanding of issues in Time 2.

Finally, we asked respondents to rate their trust in elections by using a seven-point scale where one means "not at all" and seven means "a lot." As with political interest and understanding of issues, we find that, during Time 1, men are significantly more likely to report feeling trust in elections (see Figure 4). However, by Time 2, after the introduction of gender quotas, women were just as likely as men to have trust in elections. Furthermore, the increase in trust in elections from Time 1 to Time 2 is statistically significant for women ($p<.05$), but not for men.

Figure 4: Changes in trust in elections before and after gender quota



Supporting our bivariate findings, the multivariate analysis of the Time 1 survey reveals that women report significantly lower levels of trust in elections than men. However, by Time 2, women are no longer less trusting of elections. In other words, the gender gap in trust in elections disappears after the gender quota has been implemented.[26]

[26] The lack of a gender gap in trust in elections is also evident among the new cross-section of respondents interviewed after the election. In particular, a multivariate analysis of trust in elections shows that men and women do not differ significantly in their levels of trust in elections after the implementation of the law.

The multivariate analysis shows that as age and income increase, people became more trusting of elections (when surveyed before election day). During Time 1, we also find that people's attention to news and level of political knowledge increases people's trust in elections. During Time 2, we again find that income and age are positively related to people's trust in elections. Finally, with both Time 1 and Time 2 surveys, as people move toward the political right, they become significantly less trusting of elections. While our survey design does not allow us to assess the reason for this negative relationship between individuals who identify with the political right and trust in elections, it may be the case that these more right-wing respondents are responding to political loss. The left-wing *Frente Amplio* controlled the presidency and both chambers of Parliament prior to the 2014 elections and soundly defeated the right in the elections. Individuals on the ideological right may be less trusting of elections because the parties that represent them have not been victorious in electoral contests.

Table 6. Linear regression explaining trust in elections

	Time 1 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)	**Time 2 Unstandardized Coefficient (Standard Error)**
Gender of Respondent	-.20(.10)**	.09(.12)
Political Variables		
Knowledge of Quota Law	---------	.17(.18)
Pay Attention to News	.01(.006)**	.01(.007)
Political Ideology	-.09(.02)***	-.09(.02)***
Political Knowledge	.27(.08)***	.04(.10)
Talk about Politics	.02(.03)	.03(.03)
Demographic Variables		
Education	.01(.00)*	.01(.005)
Income	.04((.01)***	.04(.02)***
Age	.02(.003)***	.01(.003)***
Constant	3.3(.26)***	4.8(.32)***
N	1052	600
Adj R Squared	.16	.09

Note: The model uses linear regression. The dependent variable ranges from 1 to 7 (1=not at all trust; 7= a lot of trust). Each cell contains the unstandardized coefficients, with standard errors (in parentheses) and level of statistical significance, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<10.

B. Results of the Content Analyses

i. Coverage of the Quota Law

We tracked news coverage of the quota law, beginning with debates prior to its adoption and continuing through the 2014 elections, in three major newspapers: *El País,* which occupies the political center; *La República,* which represents the left; and *El Observador*, which represents the right. We divided our coding of the gender quota coverage into two periods to separate coverage related to the law's passage from coverage related to implementation. We believed that, as the election neared, the type of coverage of the quota would change, as arguments for/against it became less theoretical and instead focused on specific effects of implementation.

a. *Time Period 1: Gender Quota Coverage from Initial Debates to Pre-Election Period (2001 – 2011)*

We examined a total of 151 articles for the ten-year period, and the tone of coverage was mixed. For the 126 news articles that we coded, it was clear that the left-leaning paper was more likely to cover the gender quota. *La República* published 57 articles on the quota, while the centrist *El País* printed 47. The right-wing *El Observador* published only 22 news articles (see Table 7). Among the 126 news articles coded, 58% were neutral or mixed in tone, 37% were positive toward the quota, and 7% were negative. We also coded 25 opinion pieces. Among these columns and editorials, 44% were positive in tone and 28% were negative, significantly higher than the percentage of news articles that were negative in tone. The vast majority of articles that were coded as negative failed to mention women's underrepresentation in politics.

While there were differences in the negativity of quota coverage in news articles across the three newspapers analyzed, much more significant differences appeared when analyzing op-ed pieces. Here, as expected, the ideological bent of these newspapers was obvious: the leftist *La República* published no negative op-ed pieces regarding the quota, while the centrist *El País* had equal numbers of positive and negative opinion pieces printed. The newspaper more closely aligned with the right, *El Observador*, printed only three op-eds about the gender quota law, and two were negative in tone.

These findings demonstrate important variability in quota coverage across major newspapers, but they also indicate a general lack of visibility for coverage of gender quotas. Nineteen of the 25 articles were published in either 2008 or 2009, *i.e.,* during the period of discussion of the gender quota law in Parliament and in the immediate aftermath of the law's passage. This is despite the fact that gender quota laws had previously been introduced and debated within the legislature.

Eight of the 11 op-ed pieces written in favor of the quota bolstered their arguments by mentioning the underrepresentation of women in Uruguayan politics, often by providing statistical evidence. For example, an editorial published in *El País* on August 15, 2003 noted that: "Women are not equal in Parliament nor in politics generally. All one needs to know is that a scant 6% of Uruguay's legislators are women. That's half of the average for Latin America, which is comprised of countries reputed to be much more *machista* than our own." None of the op-ed pieces written against the quota noted women's lack of descriptive representation in the lower or upper chambers of the legislative body. In contrast, one article published in *El Observador* claims that women have made tremendous advances in Uruguay, but no statistical evidence is provided: "As has occurred gradually throughout the West—unlike what continues to persist in some closed Islamic societies like Iran—Uruguayan women have been actively incorporated into management positions in the private sector, in unions, and in the state." Only articles voicing support for the gender quota law compared Uruguayan women's political representation to that of women in other countries. None of the articles against the quota made any mention of how Uruguay compared to other countries of the region or the world in women's political representation. However, given the fact that neighboring Argentina, with which Uruguay shares many commonalities, was the first country in the world to institute gender quotas and has had tremendous success in increasing women's descriptive representation, it is surprising to note how little mention is made of the Argentine case. Only one op-ed piece mentioned Argentina's successes, while Costa Rica was mentioned in two articles, as were Belgium and Taiwan.

b. *Time Period 2: Gender Quota Coverage As the Election Nears (2012 - Election Day)*

The second time period of quota coverage is from 2011 and through October 26, 2014 (election day). We analyzed a total of 60 news articles, the majority of which were published within months of the election. Of the 60 news articles, 11 appeared in *El Observador*, 15 appeared in *El País*, and 34 appeared in *La República*, again demonstrating that the left-leaning paper was most likely to give attention to the issue of gender quotas (see Table 7). Of the *El Observador* articles, three were positive toward quotas and two were negative. Three of the articles in *El País* were positive and four were negative. Of the articles in *La República*, 10 were positive and five were negative.

None of the articles in this later time period mentioned the Argentine law, perhaps because the law itself was no longer being debated and there was no need to draw on the Argentine case as a successful example. One article each in *El Observador* and *La República* mentioned quota laws in other countries. One article in *El Observador* mentioned Uruguay's descriptive representation in comparative perspective, as did three of the *El País* articles and four of the *La República* articles.

In addition, we analyzed 16 opinion pieces. The majority (nine) of these opinion pieces came from *La República*; only two of these cases from *El Observador* and five came from *El País*. Interestingly, the only op-eds that took a negative stance toward the quota appeared in the most leftist paper. *La República* published two critical opinion pieces; all other pieces in all newspapers were either positive, mixed, or their slant could not be determined.

Table 7: News Articles on the Gender Quota

	Time Period 1	Time Period 2
La República	57	34
El País	47	15
El Observador	22	11
TOTAL	126	60

ii. Coverage of Descriptive Representation (Election Day Through Inauguration Day)

We also undertook a thorough analysis of coverage of changes in descriptive representation to measure the visibility of increased descriptive representation, using 31 search terms to find relevant articles that discuss any increases in women's presence in elected office.[27] We coded coverage of descriptive representation from after the elections and until the newly elected representatives took office on February 15, 2015, using the same three newspapers.

A total of 41 news articles were coded. Eight of these appeared in *El Observador*, 12 in *El País*, and 21 in *La República*. In other words, the most extensive coverage of women's descriptive representation came from the left-leaning paper and the least extensive from the right-leaning paper. Of the eight articles in

[27] The search terms used were: *cuota femenina, cuota política, cuotificación, cuota legislativa, ley de cuotas, ley de cuotificación, cuota de género, ley 18.476, ley de representación femenina, norma femenina, norma de cuotificación, representación femenina, representación de mujeres, cuota mujeres, cuota partidaria, integración de mujeres, integración política, integración femenina, debate cuota femenina, debate cuota política, debate ley de cuotas, implementación cuota política, implementación cuota femenina, implementación ley de cuotas legisladoras, participación de las mujeres, participación femenina, bancada femenina, participación política de las mujeres, porcentaje de mujeres, perspectiva de género,* and *representación equilibrada*.

El Observador, three did not mention changes to descriptive representation. Of the 12 articles in *El País*, five did not mention changes to descriptive representation. Of the 21 articles in *La República*, eight made no mention of any changes to descriptive representation. Of the articles that did mention changes to descriptive representation, only some noted the role that the gender quota played in bringing about this change: three of five for *El Observador,* three of seven for *El País*, and seven of 13 in *La República*.

Even fewer articles linked women's lower descriptive representation in Uruguay to lower substantive representation of women. Of the eight *El Observador* articles, three mentioned the lack of substantive representation; none of the 12 *El País* articles mentioned women's lack of substantive representation and only six of the 21 *La República* articles did. There were even fewer mentions of changes to substantive representation: one from *El Observador*, two from *El País*, and four from *La República*.

Several coded articles covered Graciela Bianchi's resignation of her position in the Chamber of Senators in order to accept her position in the lower house of Parliament. Bianchi had simultaneously run for both positions. While this action did not violate the letter of the quota law, it certainly was perceived as a violation of the spirit of the law. The decision by Bianchi to assume the lower position was scandalous.

In addition to the 41 news articles that were coded, we also coded 12 opinion pieces that appeared in these papers during the same time period—six in *La República* and three each in *El País* and *El Observador*. Ten of these opinion pieces were positive about the increase in women's descriptive representation and two (one in *La República* and one in *El País*) did not take a specific stance on this issue. There was more variation when examining whether these opinion pieces specifically attributed changes in descriptive representation to the use of a gender quota. Half of *La República* pieces did so, none of the *El País* articles did so, and two of the *El Observador* did so.

The results of these content analyses are clear: coverage of the gender quota and of women's descriptive representation is quite limited in all three major Uruguayan newspapers, which affects the visibility of the quota law and of how women's descriptive representation changed with its implementation. However, the variation in coverage among the three major newspapers also gives important information about how visibility of the quota law varies among citizens based on their political leanings and therefore their preferred news source. The left-leaning paper covered both issues significantly more, and more positively, than the right-leaning paper.

CONCLUSION

Uruguay's natural experiment afforded us the opportunity to understand more thoroughly how gender quotas can affect political representation. This project used the Uruguayan case to empirically assess the dynamic nature of representation and has aided our understanding of how increases in the number of women leaders influence both representatives and the represented. We intend to continue this work to further our understanding of the ways in which descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation interact.

First, we intend to search for funding sources that would allow us to carry out a third wave of this survey in the future. This final round of polling would allow us to assess the longer-term impact of increased

women's representation. We would assess the effects of substantive representation at this point, since we will no longer divorce descriptive representation from substantive representation as in the second wave of the survey. Therefore, we will be able to evaluate people's understanding of the content of legislation on the agenda in Parliament and whether people who recognize changes in the legislative agenda are more likely to experience changes in symbolic representation. During this wave, we would query respondents on their knowledge of the major legislative debates and initiatives. In addition, we would repeat measurements included in earlier waves, such as assessing people's understanding and evaluation of women's role in government and measuring citizens' political activity and engagement.

Second, our analysis of news coverage of substantive representation will continue. For instance, we will look at news attention to legislative initiatives in Parliament to see whether there are substantive changes in the types of legislation passed before and after the implementation of the quota law. Combined with a potential third wave of survey, this content analysis would allow us to assess how newspaper readership can affect citizens' feelings of symbolic representation. Do individuals who learn of policy changes on women's issues feel differently toward government? Do they feel better represented and more engaged with the political process? By tracking changes over time in the behavior and attitudes of elites, citizens, and the news media, we can disentangle the relationship between the implementation of the quota and changes in descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation.

Third, we intend to add an elite component to this work by interviewing female members of Parliament. We have already begun this work due to generous grants from Arizona State University President Michael Crow (which allowed us to undertake fieldwork in June 2015) and from the School of Politics and Global Studies (which funded a research trip in June-July 2016). We have undertaken semi-structured interviews with female parliamentarians during these research tips to gauge political elites' perceptions of the national climate toward gender quotas and to determine whether "quota women" believe that 1) their presence in office necessitates that they provide substantive representation and that 2) their presence in office has symbolic effects. We would like to test whether there is a disconnect between quota women's perceptions of symbolic effects and actual symbolic effects in the population. This disconnect could be critical to explaining how such women behave while in office (*i.e.,* substantive representation).

The work that we have presented here has significant implications for academics and policymakers alike as they debate the adoption or continued use of affirmative action policies to increase women's descriptive representation. Today, women across the globe are better represented than they have ever been before, and women's presence in political bodies is growing daily. In 1980, women made up less than 1% of Bolivia's lower house; today women sit in half of all seats. In the 1990s, only in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, and the Netherlands did women hold at least 30% of seats. Women now comprise at least 30% of parliamentarians in 45 countries, including Burundi, Uganda, Nepal, Seychelles, and Nicaragua. As women's representation in government has increased, it is important to explore how the nature of representation has changed. Furthermore, more than 50 countries have legislated gender quotas—and many more have other mechanisms in place, like reserved seats or party quotas—and numerous countries are considering these types of measures to increase women's descriptive representation. The results that we have described here must be made a part of debate about these types of measures.

Simply put, our work clearly demonstrates that the effects of gender quotas go far beyond their effects on descriptive representation. Gender quotas have a measurable effect on symbolic representation. Previous studies have been limited in their ability to isolate the causal impact of descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation; our innovative research design, centered on the opportunities provided by the Uruguayan case, have allowed us to determine that an increase in descriptive representation—even absent any changes in substantive representation—affects citizens' political knowledge, political interest, and political participation.

The unique contribution of this project to the literature on women's representation is found in our ability to examine the effects of descriptive representation on symbolic representation by removing any potentially confounding effects from changes to substantive representation. The persistent gender gap that has been noted in countries across the globe, as it turns out, is *not* insurmountable: the results from our work convincingly demonstrate that across a number of traditional measures of symbolic representation, the application of the gender quota law eliminates the gender gap. We find strong evidence that increases in women's descriptive representation resulting from the implementation of a gender quota positively affect symbolic representation, especially among female citizens.

This project has significant implications for policymakers far beyond Uruguay's borders. Representation is a key component of the democratic process, and our work is instructive, as it begins to detail how individuals—and women in particular—can become more engaged, participatory citizens. The policy prescriptions from this project are clear: governments must take action to increase women's descriptive representation. Even without widespread awareness of the mechanisms by which government attempts to introduce more women into positions of political power, citizens (and especially female citizens) are changed by the notable increases in women's descriptive representation. The use of gender quotas in particular can have immediate and dramatic effects not just on the gender composition of elite institutions, but also on the political knowledge, interest, and participation of ordinary citizens.

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTIONS

QUESTION	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	**WAVE 2 New Respondents**
How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little, or none?	X	X	X
In your opinion, generally speaking, is the country moving in the right direction or in the wrong direction?	X	X	X
During election time, some people try to convince others to vote for a party or candidate. How often have you tried to convince others to vote for a party or candidate?	X	X	X
There are people who work for parties or candidates during electoral campaigns. Did you work for any candidate or party in the primary elections that took place in June 2014?	X	X	X
Now thinking of the presidential elections in 2009, did you work for any candidate or party in the last presidential elections?	X	X	X
In the last 12 months, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march?	X	X	X
What was the purpose of the demonstration or protest?	X		X
Have you ever attempted to run for political office?	X		
At any point, has anyone encouraged you to run for office?	X	X	X
To what extent do you respect the political institutions of Uruguay?	X	X	X
To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of Uruguay?	X	X	X
To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of Uruguay?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the judicial system?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the Electoral Court?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the Parliament?	X		
To what extent do you trust the political parties?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the president?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the Supreme Court of Justice?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the mass media?	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust elections?	X	X	X
To what extent are you proud of being Uruguayan?	X	X	X

QUESTION	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	**WAVE 2 New Respondents**
In order to solve your problems, have you ever sought help or cooperation from a senator?	X		X
Did they resolve your issue?	X		
In order to solve your problems, have you ever sought help or cooperation from a deputy?	X		X
Did they resolve your issue?	X		
In order to solve your problems, have you ever sought help or cooperation from a local authority, like the departmental intendent, the mayor, or a council member?	X		X
Did they resolve your issue?	X		
In order to solve your problems, have you ever sought help or cooperation from any ministry or minister (federal), state agency, or public agency or institution?	X		X
Did they resolve your issue?	X		
Would you say that the services the municipality is providing to the people are…?	X		X
Now speaking of Congress, and thinking of senators and representatives as a whole, do you believe that the senators and representatives of Congress are performing their jobs:	X		
Do you believe that women's representation in congress is 1) too low, 2) just right, or 3) too high?	X	X	X
In your opinion, in the best government Uruguay could have, what percentage [from 0 to 100] of elected officials would be men and what percentage would be women?	X	X	X
How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think.	X	X	X
To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement: Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government.	X		X
In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in this country?	X	X	X
In your opinion, is Uruguay very democratic, somewhat democratic, not very democratic, or not at all democratic?	X		X
Is there a senator or deputy that you feel represents you well or that you admire? What is that person's name?	X	X	X
Is there another politician that you think represents you well or whom you admire who is not a deputy or senator? What is that person's name?	X	X	X
Did you vote in the last presidential elections of October 2009?	X		X
Who did you vote for in the last presidential elections?	X		X
Do you currently identify with a political party?	X	X	X

QUESTION	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	**WAVE 2 New Respondents**
Which political party do you identify with?	X	X	X
If the next presidential elections were being held this week, what would you do?	X		
Do you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statement: When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.	X	X	X
Do you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statement: If a woman earns more than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems.	X	X	X
Do you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statement: Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person.	X	X	X
Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? When a mother works for pay, the children suffer.	X	X	X
Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.	X	X	X
Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl.	X	X	X
Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? On the whole, men make better business executives than women do.	X		X
Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.	X	X	X
Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? Same-sex couples should have the right to marry.	X		X
Could you tell me, what is your main source of information about the politics and government of Uruguay?	X	X	X
How often do you use the internet?	X	X	X
Do you have a favorite television news program that you watch? Which one?	X	X	X
Do you receive or regularly purchase a newspaper? Which one?	X	X	X
How many days last week did you watch political news on public TV?	X	X	X
How many days last week did you read political news in a newspaper?	X	X	X
How many days last week did you listen to political news on the radio?	X	X	X
How many days last week did you read political news online?	X	X	X
How many days last week did you watch political news on cable TV?	X	X	X
How many days last week did you talk about political news with friends or family or learn about it through informal channels?	X	X	X

QUESTION	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	**WAVE 2 New Respondents**
How many days last week did you read political news on social networks?	X	X	X
If you do use the internet for learning the news, is there a particular website that you use to provide you with information?	X	X	X
Could you tell me if you have the following in your house: television?	X		X
Could you tell me if you have the following in your house: landline phone?	X		X
Could you tell me if you have the following in your house: cell phone?	X		X
Could you tell me if you have the following in your house: computer?	X		X
Could you tell me if you have the following in your house: internet access?	X		X
In your view, how often do journalists in this country provide fair coverage of elections?	X	X	X
You feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement.	X	X	X
How regularly do you follow the news, either on the television, radio, newspapers, or internet?	X		
What is the name of the current president of the United States?	X		X
How many departments does this country have?	X		X
How long is the presidential term of office in this country?	X		X
What percentage of the Senate is female? If you do not know the answer, please give me your best guess.	X		
Do you know of any measures that have been taken here in Uruguay to increase women's representation in the Senate? What is this measure called?	X	X	X
According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?	X	X	X
How often do you attend religious services?	X		X
In your primary job, are you…	X		X
Into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, including remittances from abroad and the income of all the working adults and children?	X		X
What is your marital status?	X		X
Do you have children? How many children do you have?	X		X
Do you consider yourself white, mestizo, indigenous, black, mulatto, or of another race?	X		X
What is your mother tongue, that is, the language you spoke first at home when you were a child?	X		X

QUESTION	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	**WAVE 2 New Respondents**
What was the last year of schooling that you completed?	X		X
How old are you?	X		X
When the interview is complete, without asking, please use the color chart and note the number that most closely corresponds to the color of the face of the respondent.	X		
Please use the same color chart to note the number that most closely corresponds to the color of your own face.	X		
When the interview is complete, without asking, please note the sex of the respondent.	X		X
Please note your own sex.	X	X	X
To what extent do you trust the Senate?		X	X
To what extent do you trust the Chamber of Representatives?		X	X
To what extent do you feel that women's rights are well-protected by the Uruguayan political system?		X	
Now speaking of Congress, and thinking of senators, do you believe that the senators are performing their jobs?		X	X
To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement: The Uruguayan political system is open to new ideas.		X	
To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement: The Uruguayan political system is open to new people.		X	
Did you vote in the last presidential elections of October 2014?		X	
Who did you vote for in the last presidential elections?		X	X
Do you know what percentage of the Senate will be female in February when the new Senate is sworn in? If you do not know the answer, please give me your best guess.		X	X
Do you know what percentage of the Chamber of Representatives will be female in February when the new Chamber is sworn in? If you do not know the answer, please give me your best guess.		X	X
The 2014 elections called for the use of a gender quota, which was supposed to dramatically increase women's representation in politics. Before the election women were X% of the Senate and they are now X% of the Senate. Before the election women were X% of the Chamber and they are now X% of the Chamber. Would you consider the gender quota a success, a moderate success, neither a success nor a failure, a moderate failure, or a failure?		X	
Who do you think is responsible for the fact that women's representation in Parliament did not increase further?		X	
For these questions, 1 is the lowest and means NOT AT ALL and 7 the highest and means A LOT. To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? One or more of the political parties.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? The party directorates.		X	

QUESTION	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	**WAVE 2 New Respondents**
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? Women within the party.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? Electoral Court.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? Voters.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? The Media.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? Female candidates.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? The lack of female candidates.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? The lack of qualified women to be candidates.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? The lack of women interested in running for office.		X	
To what extent do you think the following are responsible for the fact that the quota did not result in greater changes to the gender makeup of the Parliament? Uruguayan culture.		X	
Do you think gender quotas are generally a very good idea, a somewhat good idea, a somewhat bad idea, or a very bad idea?		X	
Do you think a gender quota should be applied again in Uruguayan parliamentary elections?		X	
Do you think the quota should be applied in parliamentary elections in 2019?		X	
Do you think the quota should be applied in parliamentary elections in 2024?		X	
Do you think the quota should be applied in parliamentary elections in 2029?		X	
Do you think the quota should be applied in parliamentary elections in 2034?		X	
Who do you think is responsible for the fact that women's representation in Parliament did not increase further?		X	
Now speaking of Congress, and thinking of deputies, do you believe that the deputies are performing their jobs?			X