Women in Parliament

Publication No. 2011-56-E
10 May 2011
Revised 2 July 2013

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WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

1 WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT: THE ISSUES

It is generally accepted that a more equitable representation of women in parliament is required worldwide to more accurately reflect the composition of society and to ensure that women’s diverse interests are taken into account. ¹ Although women play important leadership roles in community and informal organizations, their representation in public office remains considerably lower than that of men, both in Canada and internationally.

The international community has made a number of commitments to rectify the under-representation of women in parliament. For example, the equal participation of women and men in public life is one of the cornerstones of the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), of which Canada is a signatory. Inequality between men and women in positions of power and decision-making was one of the 12 key areas identified in the landmark 1995 Beijing Platform for Action.

The widely recognized minimum benchmark to ensure a critical mass of women parliamentarians has been set at 30%. ² As of 1 July 2013, however, the percentage of women in parliaments around the world stood at 20.9%. ³

1.1 WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT: CANADA

Agnes Macphail became the first woman elected to the House of Commons in 1921. While the decades following her election witnessed a steady growth in women’s representation in Parliament, progress remained near the 20% level between 1997 and 2006, as indicated in Table 1. The 2011 election increased the percentage of seats held by women to 24.7%, a figure which rose to 24.8% as a result of subsequent by-elections. Canada now ranks in 45th internationally in the representation of women in the lower house of national parliaments.⁴

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Number of Seats</th>
<th>Seats Held by Women</th>
<th>Percentage of Seats Held by Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13.3⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: a. Percentage calculated based on 294 filled seats at the opening of Parliament, following the death of an elected member immediately after the election.
The representation of women in Canada’s Senate is considerably higher than in the House of Commons, with 37.25% of occupied Senate seats held by women.\(^5\)

The representation of elected women now stands at about 25% at each level of government in Canada: on municipal councils (25%),\(^6\) in provincial/territorial legislatures (25.5%),\(^7\) and at the federal level (24.8%). Quebec became first among the federal–provincial/territorial jurisdictions in Canada to meet the critical threshold of 30% in the 2003 election, when 32% of seats in the National Assembly were held by women. Currently, women hold more than 30% of seats in the provincial assemblies of British Columbia (36.9%), Quebec (32.8%) and the Yukon (31.6%). The representation of women in provincial and territorial legislatures currently varies widely, ranging from a low of 10.5% in the Northwest Territories to a high of 36.9% in British Columbia.\(^8\) The past decade has witnessed significant breakthroughs for women as premiers of provincial and territorial governments: six of the 13 provinces and territories are currently headed by a woman.\(^9\)

Although Aboriginal women in many First Nations had played key leadership roles before the introduction of the *Indian Act*, First Nations women were excluded from reserve politics as voters and as candidates for chief or council, from the time of the introduction of the *Indian Act* until it was amended in 1951. As of 20 June 2013, women comprised 91 of the 570 chiefs (16.0%) and 767 of the 2,663 councilors (28.8%) in First Nations communities.\(^10\)

### 1.2 Women in Parliament: International Success Stories

In September 2008, Rwanda became the first country to have more female members of parliament (56.3%) than male (Table 2). By July 2013, 30 countries had succeeded in meeting the 30% critical mass target. One quarter of these are Nordic countries, which have made long-standing efforts to increase the participation of women. Another quarter are African countries, which have implemented electoral and political party practices that facilitate the representation of women. In these cases, the increased representation of women is not the result of incremental progress, but a radical re-conceptualization of the electoral and parliamentary processes in a way that recognizes the importance of equity between men and women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Lower or Single House</th>
<th>Upper House or Senate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Date of Elections</td>
<td>Number of Seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 WHY ARE WOMEN UNDER-REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT?

The three crucial barriers that individuals must pass to get elected are: first, they need to select themselves; second, they need to be selected as candidates by the parties; and third, they need to be selected by the voters.\(^{11}\) Although there is a willingness on the part of the electorate to increase the representation of women in elected positions, a number of factors make it less likely and more difficult for women to run and get elected.

2.1 DO WOMEN SELECT THEMSELVES TO RUN FOR PARLIAMENT?

Women are less likely than men to run for office in the House of Commons for a number of reasons. As Canada’s Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing (Lortie Commission) reported in 1991, some of the barriers to women’s participation “relate to broad social phenomena … [which] do not lend themselves to solutions by institutional or legal reform of the electoral system.”\(^ {12}\) For example, women continue to hold a disproportionate share of household and family responsibilities and, on average, have lower incomes (and hence less financial independence) than men. In addition, they may have been socialized to view politics as an unsuitable or undesirable vocation. These challenges are even greater for certain groups of women, such as Aboriginal and visible minority women. An American study suggested that women were more than twice as likely as men to believe they were not qualified to run for office, even when men and women possessed similar qualifications.\(^ {13}\)

Women also continue to be under-represented in the upper echelons of areas such as law, academia and the business world. They thus have fewer opportunities to develop the high-profile professional reputations that are sought by political parties, and to obtain easy access to the necessary networks and financing to secure nominations.

Traditional ways of working in political parties and other political institutions may discourage women from seeking political office through discriminatory attitudes and practices, and lack of attention to mechanisms that could support a balance between family and work responsibilities.\(^ {14}\) It has also been suggested that women may be reluctant to run for parliament because of the adversarial and combative nature of the work.

Recognizing that women are hesitant to identify themselves as potential candidates, some non-profit and non-partisan campaign schools have been developed to provide mentoring and training to women. These include the Campaign School organized by Le Groupe Femmes, Politique et Démocratie in Quebec; the Women’s Campaign School organized by the Canadian Women Voters Congress in British Columbia; the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women in Parliament</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua 2011</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland 2009</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union; based on information provided by national parliaments as of 1 July 2013.
Campaign School for Women founded by the Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women; and the Getting to the Gate online campaign school hosted by Equal Voice.

2.2 WHAT ROLE DO PARTIES PLAY IN THE SELECTION OF WOMEN CANDIDATES?

As indicated above, women may be less likely than men to see themselves as potential candidates. As a result, “if parties adopt gender-neutral nominating rules the consequence would be a pool of candidates skewed towards men.” The role of political parties in promoting and supporting women to run for nominations has been repeatedly identified as the most important factor in increasing the representation of women in parliament. When more women candidates run for office, more women are elected to office. Parties that have a greater proportion of women candidates tend to have a higher proportion of women in their caucuses (Table 3). Since 2006, the percentage of women who have been nominated as candidates for Canada’s four major political parties has risen from 25% to 31%.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Percentage of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloc Québécois</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Party</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Democratic Party</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: a. Women elected, as a percentage of each party’s caucus.
Sources: Equal Voice Canada and Library of Parliament.

This raises the question of the role of political parties in nominating more women to run for Parliament. The Conservative Party has attracted an increasing number of women candidates in each of the past three elections without implementing specific measures to achieve this. Other political parties have taken proactive steps to attract and support women candidates. These include special funds to help nominated women cover campaign-related costs, and minimum targets for women candidates. The New Democratic Party, which has historically attracted more women candidates than the other parties, has a policy of freezing nominations until riding associations prove that a genuine search has been made for women or candidates from other under-represented groups. Deliberate commitments to increase the number of women candidates seem to have an impact. When Stéphane Dion, the Liberal leader at that time, committed that “a thorough search for women candidates [would be] conducted in each un-held riding before a nomination meeting [would be] called” in the 2008 election, the Liberal Party exceeded its minimum target of 33% female candidates. In contrast, the percentage of Liberal women candidates went back down to 30% in the 2011 election.
Although political parties have occasionally set voluntary quotas for nominations of women candidates, local riding associations maintain a level of autonomy in the nomination process that makes it difficult for political parties to impose and meet these targets. There is also debate as to the appropriate use of quotas, which are criticized by some commentators as being undemocratic and unfair.

### 2.3 How Successful Are Women Candidates?

The major hurdle for women in Canada appears to be at the party level rather than at the polls. Women running for office in Canada are only slightly less likely than men to be elected. The 76 women elected in 2011 represented 17% of all women candidates running for office in that election, only slightly lower than the 20% success rate for male candidates.

If the electorate is not actively discriminating against women candidates, why are more women not elected? It is commonly held that changes to the electoral system may help bolster the representation of women in parliament. The vast majority of countries that have reached a 30% critical mass of women in their lower house of parliament have done so through the use of measures such as proportional representation electoral systems (described below) or the use of electoral quotas. Countries that rely exclusively on the “first-past-the-post” electoral system, as does Canada, consistently have lower levels of representation of women.

### 3 The Effect of Electoral Systems on Women’s Representation

In 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action called on nations to “review the differential impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women in elected bodies and consider, where appropriate, the adjustment or reform of those systems.” As noted previously, the representation of women in the parliaments of post-conflict countries has dramatically increased when electoral and constitutional measures have been introduced to achieve greater equality in positions of power.

#### 3.1 Proportional Representation Versus “First-Past-the-Post” Electoral Systems

Canada’s electoral system is a “single-member plurality” or “first-past-the-post” system. In every federal electoral district, the candidate with the most votes wins a seat in the House of Commons and represents that riding as its member of Parliament. It has been argued that this system tends to discourage the election of women and other under-represented groups.

An alternative to the first-past-the-post system, and one that is supported by many advocates of greater gender equality in legislatures, is proportional representation (PR). Most of the countries in which women occupy at least 30% of parliamentary seats use a PR system. Although there are many variations of PR, the most widely used form is the list system, whereby each party presents a list of candidates and
receives seats in proportion to its overall share of the national vote. In the mixed-member system, voters elect a certain proportion of the legislature from single-seat, “winner-take-all” districts while the remaining members are chosen from lists based on the proportion of votes obtained by each party.

Although PR electoral systems are often discussed as a potential solution to the under-representation of women, critics caution that these systems do not necessarily benefit women. As long as parties still exercise discretion in drafting the list of candidates, there is no assurance that these lists will be more gender-balanced. PR systems work best in environments, such as the Nordic countries, where the electorate has high expectations for equality between men and women, and thus pressures parties to ensure that lists are gender-balanced. Other commentators have noted that, in order to successfully increase the representation of women, PR systems need to be supplemented by additional incentives for parties to ensure parity on party lists.

Several provincial and territorial governments have recently undertaken a re-evaluation of their electoral processes, proposing alternatives to the first-past-the-post system currently in use.

3.2 Quotas

Of the 25 countries to have reached 30% or more women members of parliament in 2009, 22 had applied quotas in some form or another. Quotas to increase the representation of women can be either legislated or voluntary. Legal quotas are mandated in a country’s constitution or by law, usually in the electoral law. All political parties must abide by legal quotas, and may be subject to sanctions in case of non-compliance. Costa Rica, Belgium and Argentina have legislated quotas, which specify that a certain percentage of candidates for election must be women. There are firm legal sanctions in place if the provisions are not met, such as rejecting electoral lists that have less than the statutory minimum number of women.

Voluntary quotas are developed at the discretion of political parties.

For more information about the use of quotas, consult the website of the Global Database of Quotas for Women.

3.3 Proposals for Electoral Change – Canada and the Provinces

Proposals for electoral change in Canada have included alternatives to the first-past-the-post electoral system as well as incremental changes to the rules regulating elections. While some advocates for greater representation of women call for a focus on the electoral system, others have identified the importance of changing the rules to create a more level playing field for women.

Electoral reform initiatives in British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario elicited interest among advocates of greater gender equality in legislatures. While the major impetus for reviewing the electoral
systems in these provinces was to ensure that a party’s representation in the legislature more closely reflects the percentage of votes it receives, a secondary goal in some provinces was to redress the gender imbalance in the legislature. In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for example, the impact of alternative electoral systems on the representation of women was clearly laid out for the population. Draft legislation to change the electoral system in Quebec specifically identified equitable representation between men and women as one of its goals, proposing financial incentives to parties that elect minimum thresholds of women and increased rates of reimbursement of election expenses incurred by women.

There is no agreement, even among women’s groups, as to which electoral reforms would best increase the representation of women. Many equality-seeking organizations in Canada recommend a PR system, yet Quebec’s Conseil du statut de la femme argued against the introduction of a mixed-member PR system in Quebec. Pointing to the list of countries that have elected a very low proportion of women despite having a PR system in place, the Conseil du statut de la femme argued that other factors, such as the socio-economic status of women and the political culture, are likely to carry more weight than the type of electoral system.

Although there may be disagreement about whether changing the electoral system would automatically increase the representation of women, equality-seeking organizations agree that measures to incite political parties to nominate more women would result in increased representation. Such organizations in Quebec gave wide support to proposals in the draft legislation to introduce financial measures to disburse more money to political parties that elect more women candidates.

The Law Commission of Canada identified the importance of looking at both the electoral system and other measures to improve the representation of women. Based on extensive consultation on electoral reform, it concluded that “increased representation of women is an important reason for reforming Canada’s first-past-the-post voting system,” and recommended that Canada adopt a mixed-member proportional electoral system. It cautioned, however, that a mixed-member proportional system would not, by itself, result in more equitable results for women, and recommended other measures to ensure that women would be equally represented in the House of Commons, including recruitment policies, incentives and ensuring gender parity on party lists.

The 1991 recommendations of the Lortie Commission focused on the rules of elections rather than the electoral system. The Commission report noted that “one of the challenges of electoral reform is … to help reduce the systemic or structural barriers to candidacy without compromising the elements that constitute its strengths.” Noting that many women considered the nomination process to be a greater challenge than the election itself, it recommended that party nomination and recruitment processes be reformed to remove barriers for women. Proposed changes included the introduction of spending limits on nomination campaigns, and tax credits for contributions to support prospective candidates seeking nomination. The Lortie Commission’s recommendations in this area have yet to be fully implemented, and are still regarded as relevant and important in increasing the representation of
women. At the federal level, amendments to the Canada Elections Act, which took effect in January 2004, introduced new limits on political contributions for both nomination contests and election campaigns (although the limits are higher than those proposed by the Lortie Commission).

4 MAKING PARLIAMENT A WOMEN-FRIENDLY ENVIRONMENT

Ensuring that both women and men will be able to influence decisions and resource allocations requires going beyond simply increasing the number of women in different positions, to providing real opportunities for influencing the agendas, institutions and processes of decision-making. This calls for special attention to the values, norms, rules, procedures and practices in parliament to ensure that, once they are elected, women can apply their unique and diverse perspectives.31

Discussions at the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and within parliamentary associations such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union have turned to ways in which parliaments can better accommodate women.32 Among other options, parliaments could consider reorganizing their work to become more gender-sensitive – for example, by instituting family-friendly hours, ending parliamentary business at a reasonable time; reorganizing work schedules to allow for “family days”; or spreading parliamentary business over a number of shorter days.33

While family-friendly changes to how parliament works help both women and men, women are more likely to benefit as they continue to spend more time than men providing care for children and seniors.34 Some of the countries with a higher proportion of women parliamentarians have made family-friendly changes to the way parliament works. For example, Sweden’s parliamentary calendar is prepared one year in advance with sittings scheduled Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, commencing in October and ending in June.35

Provincial legislatures across Canada continue to make efforts to become more family-friendly. On 11 December 2007, the Ontario legislature passed a motion to create “an all-party panel … to make recommendations to the Speaker on ways to make working at the Ontario legislature more family friendly for members of provincial Parliament.”36 That panel was never convened, but provisional amendments to the standing orders introduced in the Ontario legislature on 1 May 2008 provide for certain family-friendly changes such as limiting the use of evening sittings of that legislature and starting later on Monday mornings.

In 1993, a member of Parliament missed a vote in the Canadian House of Commons while she was searching for a women’s washroom. Shortly afterward, the large men’s washroom off the lobby of the Chamber was converted into separate facilities for men and women.37 It has been suggested that Parliament will change as more women are elected. Research indicates that to have a significant impact on the culture of an organization, women must occupy at least one-third of the available space— the target referred to as the “critical mass of women.” It would be expected, then, that Parliament might become a more women-friendly environment when
Canada approaches that critical mass – which brings us back to the question of electing more women to Parliament.

5 CONCLUSION

Increasing the proportion of women in Canada’s Parliament is important to ensure that Parliament represents the Canadian electorate in all its diversity, and that it addresses issues of concern to women. While the Canadian electorate appears equally likely to elect men and women candidates, women still represent a minority of candidates in federal elections. Measures proposed to address this imbalance include: education and mentoring activities to increase interest in political office among women; voluntary or mandatory changes to how candidates are selected; a re-examination of Canada’s electoral system; and changes to make Parliament a more welcoming work environment for women.

NOTES


2. This is the benchmark used by the Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU] and the United Nations.


4. IPU, Women in National Parliaments: World Classification, 1 July 2013.

5. Percentage of women as at 27 May 2013 (102 filled Senate seats, 38 held by women). The Library of Parliament maintains a table of women in the Senate.


7. The Library of Parliament maintains a table showing the representation of women in provincial and territorial legislatures on its website.


10. As of 20 June 2013; confirmed by telephone interview with Nathalie Nepton, Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, 20 June 2013. Under the Indian Act, elections for chief and council are held every two years, so this data becomes outdated quickly. For quarterly updates, see the website of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development.


14. Carolyn Hannan, Opening statement at the Expert Group Meeting on equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes, with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership, organized by the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Africa and the IPU, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 3–7 October 2005.


18. This statistic includes women and men candidates for all political parties, not only the major political parties.

19. For more information on the application of quotas around the world, see International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [IDEA], IPU and Stockholm University, Global Database of Quotas for Women.


29. In a mixed-member proportional electoral system, each voter has two votes: one for the party of his or her choice and one for the riding candidate of his or her choice.


SELECTED REFERENCES

PRINTED MATERIAL


ELECTRONIC SOURCES

- International comparisons are available at *Women in national parliaments*, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva.

- For information about women in Canadian federal elections, consult the [website](#) of Professor Andrew Heard at Simon Fraser University.

- The International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics (*iKNOW Politics*) is an international online workspace on the subject of women in politics.

- Equal Voice has a number of fact sheets, including “*Women in Provincial Politics*.”

- Library and Archives Canada maintains a list of “first women” in government in Canada. This includes the names and biographies of the first woman Governor General, the first women Lieutenant Governors, the first women Territorial Commissioners, the first woman member of Parliament, the first women elected to provincial and territorial legislatures and selected provincial firsts. See “*Government*, *Celebrating Women’s Achievements*.”

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT ON THE LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT WEBSITE

- Women – [Current Provincial and Territorial Party Standings](#)

- *Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date*

- *Women – Federal Political Representation*

- *Women Members of the Ministry*

- *Women in the House of Commons*

- *Women in the Senate*

- *Women’s Right to Vote in Canada*