

Descriptive Representation in International Parliamentary Institutions

A comparative study on gender representation in IPIs

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on how the degree of gender representation of an international parliamentary institution (IPI) is influenced by the way it is composed and the cultural attitude of its member states to equal representation. The last decades, the number of IPIs has been growing exponentially. IPIs are suggested to be an answer to the largely debated democratic deficit of international organisations. However, until now the debate to what degree IPIs can be and are really representative in a descriptive manner has been ignored. Therefore, this article addresses this issue and by what factors this is influenced. It does so within the context of fifteen IPIs. Gender representation is the measured indicator for descriptive representation. It is argued that it is not the composition of the parliament, but the cultural attitude of member states to gender representation that is of direct influence. Also, the percentage of women in national parliaments of the member states turns out to be a positive predictor on gender representation. These arguments are supported by sociological institutionalism.

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Introduction

Globalization, defined as a network of interdependency at worldwide distances (Nye, 2001: 2), diffused political authority and created a shift of power from the national to the international level. Politics might not be just a question anymore of ‘who gets what, when and how’ as Lasswell (1936) once wrote, instead he would have to add ‘where’ to this phrase, referring to the earlier mentioned shift. Ultimately, this has led to one of the key questions in contemporary world politics (Moravcsik, 2004: 336): ‘is global governance – the structure of international institutions – democratically legitimate, or does it suffer from a democratic deficit?’ The complexity of policy-making on an international level called for an institutional answer, as the matter of providing global public goods requires the policy makers to extend and develop institutions. It requires them to address issues of transparency, accountability and democracy (Held, in Moravcsik, 2004: 337). One of the answers to these issues is the creation of a new form of representative body in the international system, namely international parliamentary institutions.

Currently, the number of international parliamentary institutions (IPIs) in the world ranges between 40 and 100, depending on the used definition of it (Marschall, 2005: 24; De Puig, 2008 and Kissling 2011). Above all, some forms of IPIs are intended to bring the decision-making process closer to the ones that are affected by it. These IPIs have a strong focus on representing the people whose lives’ are affected by the decisions made by the respective international organisation. See for instance the Pan-African Parliament (2016): “The Parliament is intended as a platform for people from all African states to be involved in discussions and decision-making on the problems and challenges facing the continent.” However, the creation of IPIs as representational bodies brings up two new dilemmas. Firstly, what is good representation? This broad and longstanding question is highly debatable. A clear normative definition is necessary when this concept is linked to the composition and structure of representational bodies. Secondly, to what extent is it feasible to create international parliamentary institutions? Some claim that international organizations are one

of the most removed kinds of government institutions in terms of the attention and control of the constituency, if there is any (Vaubel, 2005: 136). To counter these kinds of claims, international organizations have tried to set up parliamentary institutions that take up several forms via congress, assembly or even by setting up a standing parliament. The latter type of parliamentary institutions is especially interesting, given the possible similarities in ways of representation with national parliaments. However, besides research to the European Parliament little comparative research to the degree of representation of these kinds of institutions that includes other IPIs has yet been done (Kraft-Kasack, 2008:535). This article aims to fill this gap with explorative research on the level of representation of the assemblies and few standing international parliaments with a multiple issue focus that exist.

According to the proponents of descriptive representation, the legislature is required to be selected in a way that its composition corresponds to that of the people it represents (see Adams, Burke, Wilson, Mirabeau, Bluntschli and Web in Pitkin, 1967: 60-62). The non-attendance or limited amount of representation of a certain group leads to the suppression of their ideas and views. If all citizens are equal and if the lives of certain groups are affected by certain decisions, these groups should have an equal chance to be represented. Better representation stimulates political and electoral participation and the inclusion of minorities (Banducci et al. 2004; Cain 1992; Mansbridge 1999). Of the earlier mentioned factors that define groups or compositions of societies, gender is one of the most basic factors to do empirical research to. Even though women are not in itself a minority, a term that is often thought of when thinking about the concept of descriptive representation, they are underrepresented in national parliaments. The situation at the 1st of April 2016 according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union is that the average percentage of women in national parliaments in the world is 22,8% (www.ipu.org). The average has been growing over the last decades (16,6% at 1st of April 2006), but is still nowhere near the ratio of women in the world (1,01 according to CIA World Factbook, 2015).

Research on descriptive representation often focuses on gender representation, for instance in the US Congress (see for instance Swain, 1993). Two studies to descriptive representation in national parliaments are especially interesting and use gender as indicator, come from Norris and Inglehart (2001) and Bühlman, Widmer and Schädel (2010) for doing explorative research on IPIs. These two studies looked at internal factors such as the composition and structure of national parliaments and suggested that a higher amount to be divided of seats in parliament positively affects the degree of representation. They also looked at external effects

such as socioeconomic and institutional development, and cultural attitude towards equality in political representation. Given the relative similarities between national parliaments and the way some IPIs are composed and what their goals are, it is interesting to see whether the theories and indicators of earlier studies can be extended from the national to the international level. Therefore, the main question in this article is: *‘How is the degree of gender representation of an IPI influenced by way the seats are divided and the cultural attitude of its member states to gender representation?’*

The descriptive representation of the fifteen IPIs will be compared and explained. Descriptive representation in this research is conceptualized as gender representation, the first and foremost basic indicator of descriptive representation. The dependent variable thus is: degree of gender representation. To find out how this is influenced, both internal and external factors will be looked at. The internal factor in this research is the amount of seats in parliament per member state. It is assumed that the more seats available relative to the size of the member state, the higher the gender representation. The external factor is the cultural political attitude towards different genders in parliaments. It is assumed that the more positive the cultural political attitude to woman leadership in politics is, the higher the degree of gender representation will be. This research proves that only the latter statement can be agreed upon, be it cautiously and moderately.

Theory and Concept

International Parliamentary Institutions

International institutions are mingling in a broad range of policy areas and seem to more and more invade deeply into national systems, affecting the political autonomy of national governments (Zürn, 2004: 266). This in sum creates a democratic dilemma. Internationalisation, the process of making more and more decisions on the international level, can make policies to social dilemmas more effective and conditions efficient allocation. The output legitimacy improves with international governance. This is not particularly the case for input legitimacy. Decisions are taken further away from the citizens (see Dahl 1994; Scharpf 1999). However, the penetration of international institutions combined with a seemingly lack of democratic capacity creates problems with the societal acceptance of these institutions. The growing amount of international institutions leads to a growth in the demand of new types of transnational appearances. The establishment of some form of expedient political order necessarily had to be put on the political agenda (Zürn, 2004: 266). The

democratization of international institutions is fundamental and it should focus on at least three aspects: firstly, it should lead to the democratization of national representation in international transactions; secondly, it should focus on strengthening the other factors of the democratic process such as the deliberative process and thirdly, there should be institutional solutions to strengthen the transnational demos, the feeling that one can actually be part of the democratic process (Zürn, 1998:17).

Participation, representation and accountability are complicated and problematic in international governance. Usually, decisions are negotiated behind closed doors. However, representative parliamentary participation is and should be the most important way to participate in a modern democracy (Lord & Beetham 2001: 453-5). There is a hierarchy of international institutions, 'starting at the lowest level with occasional contacts between states, succeeded by conventions, treaties, and regimes, and capped by sustained international institutions.' Cutler (2001: 207) divides the institutions in three categories: societal, executive and parliamentary, that can be partly combined. The parliament is one of the most traditional ways for legitimation and is used as an answer to the broadly discussed democratic deficit. An international parliamentary institution is defined by Cutler (2001: 209) as 'an institution that is of a parliamentary nature, whether legislative or consultative; has three or more member states of which the parliamentarians are either selected from national legislatures in a manner that they determine or popularly elected by the electorates of the member states and that are regular forum for multilateral deliberations on an established basis, either attached to an international organization or itself constituting one.' A list of IPIs can be found in the annex (1) of this article. (Kraft-Kasack (2008: 537) described several parliamentary functions. They have democratic fulfillment of letting all those affected by the policy making participate. They stand for democratic legitimation by fulfilling the classic functions of: communicating societal interests, having influence in the process of decision-making, having electoral rights and controlling the executive. Lastly they defend the properties of democratic legitimacy, for instance by having the possibility to revise policies and furthering the common goods (Kraft-Kasack, 2008: 537-538).

There are three types of IPIs. Firstly, there are 'conferences', a form of IPI that often follows the consensus principle and gives non-binding recommendations that do not have to be commented on. The conferences exist of members of national parliaments that come together. The conference does not require a permanent secretariat and is often also called a 'congress'. The next level and type is called 'assembly'. Assemblies take (non-binding) recommendations

that have to be commented on and sometimes use the majority principle. An assembly usually meets in more than one gathering and members of it share a common situation to which they will try to take common decisions. Assemblies often have a (small) secretariat. The last type is the 'parliament', 'a place there is talk' which takes legislative decisions according to the majority principle (Cutler, 2001: 214-215 and Kraft-Kasack, 2008: 544). The parliament can decrease the democratic deficit in such way that it ensures accountability, transparency and representation. If and how an international parliament can be representative is our next question.

Representation

Globalization, defined as networks of interdependence at worldwide distances (Nye, 2001: 2), diffused political authority and created a shift of power from the national to the international level. The IPIs described above are one answer to the dilemma of the democratic deficit; the next question is whether they actually are able to narrow the gap between the principle and agent, with a special focus on representation. According to Mill (1958 [1861]) democracy is only possible via political representation. Research on representation (see Pitkin, 1967) of parliaments has developed several normative concepts, but in general there are two main concepts of representation: substantive and descriptive. Substantive representation focuses on the representation of ideologies of the electorate. It prescribes that representatives should be responsive and act according to the ideologies of the constituency. The responsiveness can be achieved if the representatives adequately represent the preferences of the people. Thus, issue congruence of preferences is the most important factor. Descriptive representation on the other hand, focuses on whether the composition of the body of representatives mirrors the composition of the body represented (Bühlman, Widmer & Schädel, 2010: 566-568). Descriptive representation moreover focuses on the adequate inclusion of all population groups. According to Williams (1998) the confidence between the represented and representatives should be higher when they share common interests, perspectives and experiences. Bühlman, Widmer and Schädel (2010: 569) describe three benefits: firstly there are lower barriers of communication; secondly, identification is crucial for vote choices and thirdly, it helps stabilizing political systems.

True representation requires that the legislature be selected in a way that its composition corresponds to that of the people it represents (see Adams, Burke, Wilson, Mirabeau, Bluntschli and Web in Pitkin, 1967: 60-62). However, Pitkin herself is not directly in favour of this argument. Instead she puts more weight on the fact that these groups are not always

homogenous, and thus thinks that ‘acting for’ and ‘responsiveness’ is more important for good representation (Pitkin, 1967: 209-210). Bird (et al. 2010: 5) counters by stating that responsiveness is also achieved by descriptive representation as it provides an ‘important point of access for marginalized groups, facilitates the introduction of new perspectives and a broader range of reasons to democratic debate’. She is accompanied by Phillips (1995: 187-191) who criticized Pitkin that the argument undermines the basis for political accountability, and counters with an argument on ‘politics of presence’, stating that improvements on descriptive representation lead to improvement of representation. This would ultimately lead towards a more participatory democracy. Together with Philips (1995), Mansbridge (1999) and Williams (1998) argue that descriptive representation improves the representation of a parliamentary assembly both symbolically and substantively.

In research to descriptive representation, gender is often the main subject and dependent variable, as women have a long history of exclusion (Mansbridge, 1999; Philips, 1995; Sapiro, 1985; Williams, 1998; Young, 2000). However, this does not immediately mean that research had a very limited scope. As Wängnerud (2009: 54) puts it: ‘gender serves as a lens that makes important issues in the field of representation visible. Whom do elected politicians represent? What do we know about the interplay between parliaments and citizens?’ and many more questions are related. According to Norris and Inglehart (2001: 126) the deficit of gender representation is one of the most the crucial issues to the worldwide process of democratization. Other than representation of minorities, which is dependable on historical and cultural context, gender representation is an issue that counts for everyone, everywhere in the world. It is one of the most basic indicators in research to measure descriptive representation and will therefore be the leading indicator in this research. Norris and Inglehart (2001) saw that despite the push for gender equality – for instance see UN General Assembly session “Women 2000” (2000) calling for the empowerment of women - there are many factors that uphold this movement. Using an index of the Inter-Parliamentary Union on “Women in National Parliaments” (IPU, 2000) they showed that the proportion of women in parliaments was the worst in the Arab region. On the first of January 2016, the Arab region is the second worst region with regard to gender representation, while the Pacific region is the worst (IPU, 2016). It is important to have women in parliament, because it is expected that women have a better capacity to represent the interest of female voters, because they share the same experiences. They deal with and address other issues that are of women interest besides women, concerning children and family. They have a different political attitude than men, tend to be more leftist and are more favourable to new policy areas like environmental

protection (Wängnerud, 2009: 61-62). In sum, women can actually do bring a whole different voice in contemporary politics and should therefore also be represented in representative bodies.

Both internal and external factors could lead to a distorted balance of gender representation in the representational bodies. Internal factors focus on the structure of the parliament itself, while external factors could influence the balance from the outside. As there hardly has been done any research on the gender representation of international parliaments, this article will mainly build on theories that derive from research that has been done on a national level. Norris and Inglehart (2001) have studied to which and to what extend external factors have influence on equal representation of gender in national parliaments. Norris and Inglehart (2001: 127) divide three groups of external factors that play a role in descriptive representation. Firstly, structural factors are mentioned that include the degree of socioeconomic development and the proportion of women in professional and managerial occupations. Research of Studlar and McAllister (2002) finds a positive relation between the two. However, Norris and Inglehart (2001) find that, after doing a worldwide comparison, structural factors like socioeconomic development are not necessarily the only factors of significant influence (Norris and Inglehart, 2001: 129). Secondly, Norris and Inglehart (2001) describe political institutional factors, including the level of democratization, the electoral system and specific features like gender quotas. Of these factors, the level of democratization has the greatest influence, for instance if it concerns the right of women to vote and to stand for elected office. Wide's (2006) analysis shows that besides level of democratization, quota's and having a proportional electoral system are important factors too. Yet, the institutional factors also turn out not to be the only ones of significant influence (see Reynolds in Norris and Inglehart, 2001: 130). Thus, a last group of factors should be added to structural and institutional explanations: political cultural factors, with a focus on the cultural attitude towards gender equality in politics. Using data from the World Values Survey (conducted in 1995-1999) and comparing this to the data of the IPU (2000) on women in national parliaments, Norris and Inglehart (2001) found that there was a striking link between cultural political attitudes and women empowerment in national parliaments. According to their results 'countries with a more egalitarian culture have more women in parliament' (Norris and Inglehart, 2001: 134). This conclusion, if used in the context of international parliaments, cautiously leads to the suggestion that the political culture of member states is of influence on the gender representation in their respective international parliaments.

Bühlman, Widmer and Schädel (2010) also used gender as most important characteristic in their approach to measuring descriptive representation. Their research, instead of having a main focus on external factors, also focused on internal factors that could be of influence on equal gender representation in parliaments. Their research to political representation in cantons and the parliament of Switzerland leads to some interesting conclusions that are useful for measuring descriptive representation of international parliaments. Besides a second measure whether the composition of the body of representatives mirrors the composition of the body represented, they found out that the number of seats in parliament are also of influence on this (Bühlman, Widmer & Schädel, 2010: 576). It turns out that the higher the numbers of seats; the better gender groups are represented. Earlier literature of Holden (2006) already suggested this positive relation, but Bühlman, Widmer and Schädel (2010) now proved this in the case of Switzerland. This conclusion, if used in the context of international parliaments, leads to the suggestion that the amount of seats in the international parliaments could be of influence on the gender representation.

As the debate on descriptive representation of IPIs has largely been ignored until now, it is inevitable and necessary to use measures that were used in- and theories that derived from studies on national parliaments. Besides the necessity, it is ostensibly interesting to see whether national and international parliamentary institutions show any similarities with regard to gender representation and to see whether the same predictors can be applied to the international level. After all, they do somehow have the same goal: to represent the people. This fits to the expected pattern of institutionalism theories, neo-institutionalism in particular. Also called sociological institutionalism, this theory argues that institutional forms and procedures of IPIs are not adopted only because they are most efficient and rational, but they derive from culturally specific practices of societies (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 14). Social institutionalism emphasizes that there is a seemingly interactive and mutually constitutive relationship between the society on a national level and the institution on the international level (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

With regard to the theoretical framework, the above-mentioned theories and to see whether the same rules can be applied from the national- to the international level, this leads to the following two hypotheses that are tested in this article:

H1: Considering the study of Norris and Inglehart (2001) that focused on the national level, the more positive the political cultural attitude to woman leadership in politics in member states, the higher the degree of gender representation of the IPI on an international level.

H2: Considering the study of Bühlman, Widmer and Schädel (2010) that focused on the national level, relative to the amount of member states and size of the international organization, the more seats an international parliament has, the higher the gender representation.

Political cultural attitude to women leadership in politics (external) and seats in parliament (internal) are the independent variables. The degree of gender representation is the dependent variable and used as indicator for the degree of descriptive representation.

Case selection

Different types of international parliamentary institutions were described in the theory section: conference, assembly and parliament. Using variables and methods of data analysis that have been used before in research to national parliamentary representation, it is preferred to use the cases that show most similarities with national parliaments. Therefore, the research focuses on the third type of parliaments only, as these – even though they mostly differ on legislative powers - relatively show high similarities to national parliaments with regard to their structure, composure and goals. Considering this, only few of the many IPIs remain acceptable as case. However, only a few cases comply with this characteristic. Therefore it is feasible to also focus on the second type of parliaments, the assembly. All selected cases have in common that they have a multiple issue approach, are a parliament that has legislative powers and gives (non-binding) recommendations while using a majority principle. At least two cases should have in common the way members of parliament (MPs) are elected, indirect or direct. All cases are highlighted in annex (1). Therefore of the remaining cases, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly is for instance not used because this is related to an organization that is merely focused on a single issue, namely security. Some of the remaining cases are IPIs where there is no information on its members available, a problem that does not only affect this research, but also the legitimacy of the IPI. These cases can therefore not be used in this research and are marked with an apteryx in annex (1). However these and other cases that are not with the remaining group could of course be used for later research, when information is available.

The criteria and selection lead to the following cases:

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- Andean Community of Nations – Andean Parliament
 - African Union – Pan-African Parliament
 - Arab League – Arab Parliament
 - Benelux Economic Union – Benelux Parliament
 - Black Sea Economic Cooperation – Parliamentary Assembly of the BSEC (PABSEC)
 - Central America Integration System – Central American Parliament (PARLACEN)
 - Council of Baltic Sea States – Baltic Assembly
 - East African Community – East African Community Legislative Assembly (EACLA)
 - Economic Community of West African States – ECOWAS Parliament
 - European Union – European Parliament
 - Int. Org. of la Francophony – Assemblée Parlementaire de la Francophonie (APF)
 - Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean – PAM
 - Mercado Común del Sur– Mercosur Parliament
 - Nordic Council of Ministers – Nordic Council
 - Union for the Mediterranean – Union for the Mediterranean Assembly (UFMA)
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Andean Community of Nations – Andean Parliament

The Andean Parliament was established when the Treaty of La Paz was signed on October 25 1979, and came into force in 1984. The parliament is situated in Bogota, Colombia and is part of the Andean Integrated System. It functions as the political, legislative body that is deliberative and representative to the people and aims to protect and guarantee the rights and democracy of the Andean community. It supports the member states with the harmonization of the laws, regionalization of public policies and government practices that contribute to improving the quality of life and well being of the population of the Andean countries. Similarly, it strengthens the Andean integration process through the construction of an Andean citizenship and promoting citizen participation. The Andean Community, to which the parliament is connected, is a customs union that was established in 1969. The parliament counts five member states: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Each member may send five delegates to the parliament, which has 25 seats in total. These delegates are directly elected at the same day of the national elections of the respective member state. Until now there were no simultaneous elections. The legislative powers of the parliament are limited to giving non-binding recommendations, having elections of parliamentary committees and

attending to meetings of the other Andean Community organs (Malemud and De Sousa, 2007).

African Union – Pan African Parliament

The Pan-African Parliament was first mentioned in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, being a legislative body that would ensure that the people of Africa would be represented in the economic development and integration of the member states. The actual establishment came in to force in March 2004. The parliament is situated in Midrand, South Africa and is part of the African Union. It functions as an arena for African parliamentarians, a legislative body to the African Union and idealistic institution that promotes peace, security, solidarity and stability to the African continent. The purpose of it is to ensure the full participation of African peoples in the development and economic integration of the continent. The legislative powers of the parliament are limited to giving consultative and advisory recommendations. In 2016, the parliament counts 50 member states that are allowed to send 5 delegates each of which at least one delegate should be a woman. The delegates are not directly elected, although this is the ultimate goal (African Union Handbook, 2016; Malemud, 2004)). Information about the fourth parliament (2015-2018) and former parliaments is hardly available. Therefore a list with information on the first parliament (2004-2009) will be used for this case.

Arab League – Arab Parliament

Already in the 1950s the Arab League had been thinking of establishing an Arab Parliament. In 1977 the ideas led to the establishment of the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union, which turned out to be more of just a forum for parliamentarians of the member states. A couple of decades later, in 2004 all members agreed to the creation of a transitional Arab Parliament and in December 2012 the parliament was officially inaugurated. The purpose of the parliament is to give the citizens of the Arab world a voice together with Arab governments and improve the democratic decision making process of the Arab states and the Arab League. The Arab Parliament officially counts 22 member states that each may send 4 delegates. Currently it is uncertain whether Syria and the Comoros Islands have a delegation to the parliament. The delegates are not directly elected, but it is the intention to copy the European Parliament model for elections of delegates. The legislative powers of the parliament are limited to giving non-binding recommendations (www.ar-pr.org).

Benelux Economic Union – Benelux Parliament

The Benelux Parliament derived from the cooperation between the Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg that partake in the Benelux Union. The Benelux Parliament is seated in Brussels has 49 indirect elected members of the three member states. It takes decisions according the 2/3-majority principle. It gives advice and recommendations on multiple issues (Groenendijk, 2013).

Black Sea Economic Cooperation – Parliamentary Assembly of the BSEC (PABSEC)

The Parliamentary Assembly of the BSEC, also referred to as PABSEC, was founded in 1992 as a way to seek for integration and cooperation in the Black Sea region on multiple issues on the economical, political and security level. Besides this it promotes democracy in the Black Sea region. It has 12 member states, indirect and proportionally divided over 76 seats. The secretariat is situated in Istanbul (Pavliuk, 2001).

Central America Integration System – Central American Parliament

The Contadora Group of El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua that aimed to bring peace in times of civil wars first mentioned the Central American Parliament - also referred to as Parlacen - in the 1980s. The Esquipilas II Agreement of 1987 caused the establishment of the parliament that held its first session in October 1991. The purpose of the parliament consists of being the democratic and political representational organ of the Central American and Dominican people, unifying the people and exercising the parliamentary functions to the Central American Integration System. The parliament is situated in Guatemala City in Guatemala and houses 6 member states: El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic. Each state may send 20 delegates that have to be directly elected. Some states however have less, or more than 20 delegates in the parliament. The legislative powers are limited to giving binding recommendations to which should be replied. It may propose legislation, initiatives and is used for democratic control of the integration system (Malemud and De Sousa, 2007).

Council of Baltic Sea States – Baltic Assembly

The Baltic Assembly is advisory body of the Council of the Baltic Sea States. When it was founded in 1991, the Benelux Parliament and the Nordic Council inspired its structure. The main issues that the Baltic Assembly wished to address when it was established were empowerment of the regions independence, political, economic and social issues, improving

cooperation in these issues and security. The assembly has three members that each may bring between 12 and 16 indirect elected delegates. Currently 38 seats are in use. The secretariat is situated in Riga, Latvia (Vareikis, 2001).

East African Community – East African Community Legislative Assembly (EACLA)

The East African Community Legislative Assembly is the assembly of the East African Community and was founded in 2001 after an earlier collapse of the Community in 1977. The secretariat is situated in Arusha, Tanzania. It serves as the legislative organ of the Community, approves budgets, it makes recommendations and aims to represent the African people. The assembly consists of 5 member states that may each send a delegation of 9 indirectly elected parliamentarians. It is however the aim to have direct elections in the future (Sabic, 2008).

Economic Community of West African States – ECOWAS Parliament

The ECOWAS Parliament of the Eastern Community of West African States is considered to be the Assembly of the peoples of the community and was founded in 2000. It consists of 115 seats that are proportionally divided over 15 member states. The parliament promotes cooperation on security, economical, political, social and environmental issues. The latest details on parliamentarians are not available. For this research the list of members of parliament of the 3rd legislature (2011-2015) was used. The secretariat is situated in Abuja, Nigeria (Aning, 2004).

European Union – European Parliament

The European Parliament is the parliamentary institution to the European Union. It was more of a parliamentary assembly at times of the establishment in September 1952, but slowly took the form to what it now is: a representational and democratic organ and a part of the legislative power to the European Union. The parliament has three roles. Concerning legislative powers, it passes EU laws based on European Commission proposals, it decides on agreements and may propose on legislation. Concerning supervisory powers, it is concerned with the democratic process of the EU and the affected citizens. Lastly, it has a role in the budgetary process of the EU. The parliament houses 28 member states. It consists of a total of 750 parliamentarians that are directly chosen and proportionally divided over each member state according to the size of population (Judge and Earnshaw, 2008).

Int. Org. of la Francophony – Assemblée Parlementaire de la Francofonie (APF)

The Assembly of la Francophonie is the advisory body of the International Organisation of la Francophonie. It is considered to be a forum for discussion, proposals and the exchange of information. It was founded in 1967 for all the Francophone peoples of the world. It aims to promote democracy, the rule of law, human rights, the international status of the French language and cultural diversity. The APF is composed of 77 parliaments and interparliamentary organizations divided. It houses 252 seats divided between 39 states for indirectly elected parliamentarians, and several more for other organizations. The secretariat is situated in Paris (Côté, 2008).

Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean – PAM

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean is not connected to any specific international organisation. It is considered to be an exclusive shared parliament for Mediterranean member states. It should not be confused with the Assembly for the Union for the Mediterranean, which included several non-Mediterranean states as well. It was founded in 2006 to foster cooperation on multiple issues for the countries that find themselves around the Mediterranean Sea. It consists of 71 seats for indirect elected members, which are divided amongst 21 member states. The secretariat is situated in St. Julians, Malta (Kissling, 2011).

Mercosur – Mercosur Parliament

The Mercosur Parliament – also referred to as Parlasur – was established on December 6, 2006, as a substitute for the Joint Parliamentary Committee that was established in 1992, and is the organ of Mercosur that represents the interests of citizens of all the member states. The formation of Parliament aimed to create a common space in which pluralism and diversity of the region is reflected and to contribute to the improvement of democracy, participation, representation, transparency and social legitimacy in the development of the integration process of Mercosur. The purpose of the parliament includes representative functions, budgetary control and furthering the integration process. The parliament houses 5 states: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela. Currently there are 158 seats being used, which are proportionally divided according to the size of population of the member states. The amount of seats is gradually and proportionally expanding to 174. The delegates are directly elected on the same day of national elections (Malemud and De Sousa, 2007).

Nordic Council of Ministers – Nordic Council

The Nordic Council is the legislative body of the Nordic Council of Ministers and was founded especially after the Second World War, inspired by the Council of Europe in 1952. It has 87 seats that are divided amongst 8 member states. Greenland, Faroe Island and Åland are counted as member states as well. The delegates are to be indirectly elected. The Council aims to establish not only cooperation within the Nordic region, but also with the Baltic region and Europe. The secretariat of the Nordic Council is situated in Copenhagen, Denmark (Solem, 1977).

Union for the Mediterranean – Union for the Mediterranean Assembly (UFMA)

The Union for the Mediterranean Assembly is the consultative institution that was created as a result of the Barcelona Process. It aims to improve the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation on multiple issues and ensuring the visible and transparent development of the Barcelona Process, also referred to as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. The assembly houses 181 indirectly elected delegates that are divided amongst 40 member states. The secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean Assembly is situated in Barcelona, Spain (Aliboni and Ammar, 2009).

Table 1: Overview specifications of parliaments

Parliament	Number of member states	Number of seats	Electoral system	Division of seats
Andean Parliament	5	25	Direct	Fixed
Pan-African Parliament (2004-09)	41	205	Indirect	Fixed
Arab Parliament	22	77	Indirect	Fixed
Benelux Parliament	3	49	Indirect	Proportional
Pabsec	12	76	Indirect	Proportional
Parlacen	6	128	Direct	Fixed
Baltic Assembly	3	38	Indirect	Fixed
EACLA	5	45	Indirect	Fixed
ECOWAS Parliament (2011-2015)	15	115	Indirect	Proportional
European Parliament	28	750	Direct	Proportional
APF	39	252	Indirect	Proportional
PAM	24	71	Indirect	Proportional
Mercosur Parliament	5	158	Direct	Proportional
Nordic Council	8	87	Indirect	Fixed
UFMA	40	181	Indirect	Fixed

Research design and data analysis

The independent variables are political cultural attitude to women leadership in politics and the average number of seats per member state in parliament. The degree of gender representation is the dependent variable, which serves as an indicator for descriptive representation. For measuring the dependent variable of gender representation two sets of data were needed. Firstly, data on the gender division in the international parliaments was needed and collected via the general information sources of the parliaments, their websites. Secondly, data on the demography of the citizens that are affected by the parliament was needed and found via the CIA World Fact Book (www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook, 2015). The data of each member state should be added to the data of other member states by means of a weighted arithmetic mean as some member states have more inhabitants than others.

The collected data on the gender of the representatives and the represented citizens that are influenced by the policies of the specific IPI is used for measuring the degree of gender representation. The degree of correspondence is based on the enlarged Gallagher index (Gallagher 1992) according to formula (1):

$$100 - \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n (V_i - S_i)^2} \quad (1)$$

When using gender V is the share of women/men in the IPI and S depicts the share of women/men in the corresponding to the population. To measure the degree of gender congruence, this value is to be subtracted from 100. The degree of gender representation thus theoretically would range from 0 - where only men would represent a population consisting only of women, or the other way around - to 100 – where there is a perfect match between the composition of the representatives and the composition of the corresponding population in terms of gender.

For measuring the first hypothesis, data is needed on the independent variable of political cultural attitude to women leadership in politics. The World Values Survey (1995-2014) provides this data. Norris and Inglehart (2001) made use of the third wave of surveys that

were held by this organization in 1995-1998. The most recent wave has been completed in 2010-2014, however this dataset does not include all countries that they have done research in since the first Wave (1981-1984). Therefore a longitudinal dataset that was provided will be used to get the most recent data for each of the member states of the respective parliaments. The same question will be used as Norris and Inglehart (2001) did when measuring political cultural attitude. They looked at the responses to the statement: “On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do”, on a 4-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=agree; 4=strongly agree). The data of all member states to the parliament are to be put together by means of a weighted mean as some member states provide more members to the parliament than others. The outcome is then transferred a two option scale, where the options 1=strongly disagree and 2= disagree are put together in 0=negative attitude and the options 3=agree and 4=strongly agree will be put together in 1=positive attitude. This ultimately leads to a percentage where 0=totally negative attitude, and 100=totally positive attitude. The outcome of the average percentage of all cases is to be compared with the amount of women in the different parliaments mainly by using the Pearson’s r correlation coefficient.

For measuring the second hypothesis, data is needed on the independent variable of amount of seats relative to the size of the organization the parliament is embedded in. This data is received from the official websites of the cases and their respective parliaments. The amount of seats is then to be divided through the amount of member states per case and put next to the degree of gender representation using the Pearson’s correlation coefficient to see whether there is any significant correlation.

As mentioned earlier, there are other factors that influence the degree of women in parliaments, besides these two variables. Even though other research suggests that the two independent variables used in this research are probably the most significant, some other variables need to be taken into account for controlling the causal relationship. The first control variable is concerns a socioeconomic factor, the Human Development Index Gender Ratio, which measures gender gaps in human development by accounting for differences between women and men in three basic dimensions of human development - health, knowledge and living standards using the same component indicators as in the HDI (UNDP, 2016). The other control variable is an institutional factor. The level of democratization could also very well be of influence, and will be checked as well. Data on the democratic level of member states is available via the Freedom House (2016). The aggregate level of democratization is then weighed to the population size of the member state and the overall size population of the parliament.

Besides the control variables, two other variables will be taken into account for extra analysis. These are the electoral system and the division of seats in the IPIs. The influence of electoral systems has been broadly studied upon a national level and was found to correlate with the degree of gender representation (Wängnerud, 2009: 52). In addition, as all these variables are suggested to influence the total amount of women in national parliaments, an additional analysis will be made to see how the weighed percentage of women in the national parliaments of member states could be a predictor – not a control variable – for the amount of women in IPIs. Lastly, it should be mentioned that it is acknowledged that making strong statements is nearly impossible due to the low number of cases. However, as this is an explorative research, suggestions can be cautiously concluded from the results.

Empirical results

Gender representation

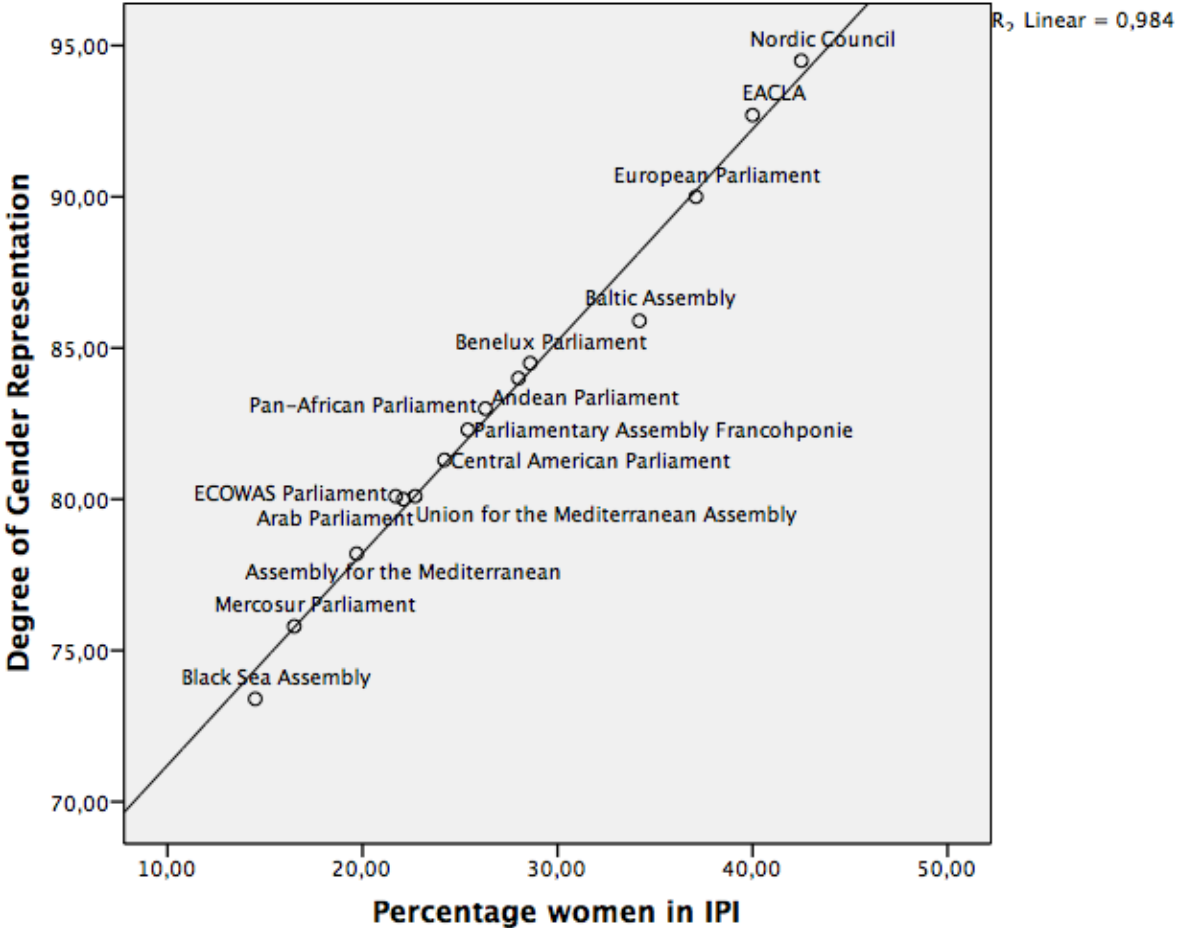
The measures of gender representation are based on a dyadic approach: the gender equality of the total population of all member states of a certain international parliament is compared with the gender division in the respective parliaments. All members of the international parliaments were identified, and the percentage of women was counted. There were some difficulties with the availability of information of some of the cases. The most recent details of MPs of the Pan-African Parliament were unavailable. This made it inevitable to make use of less recent information; a list of the MPs of the first Pan-African Parliament (2004-2009) was found available. Besides the fact that some information on the MPs was hardly available or difficult to find, language was another barrier with regard to the Arab Parliament, however it was still possible to get a complete list of members. Information on the demography of the member states was easily found available. The use of the Gallagher index (Gallagher, 1992) has led to the following numbers.

Table 2: Degree of gender representation

Parliament	Gender Population Percentage		Gender Parliament Percentage		Gender repr. (0=only men, 100=perfect composition male/female)
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Andean Parliament	49,4	50,6	72,0	28,0	84,0
Pan-African Parliament	49,6	50,4	73,7	26,3	83,0
Arab Parliament	50,6	49,4	77,9	22,1	80,0
Benelux Parliament	49,5	50,5	71,4	28,6	84,5
Pabsec	47,9	52,1	85,5	14,5	73,4
Parlacen Parliament	49,3	50,7	75,8	24,2	81,3
Baltic Assembly	45,9	54,1	65,8	34,2	85,9

Parliament	Gender Population Percentage		Gender Parliament Percentage		Gender repr. (0=only men, 100=perfect composition male/female)
EACLA	49,7	50,3	60,0	40,0	92,7
ECOWAS Parliament	50,2	49,8	78,3	21,7	80,1
European Parliament	48,8	51,2	62,9	37,1	90,0
APF	49,5	50,5	74,6	25,4	82,3
PAM	49,5	50,5	80,3	19,7	78,2
Mercosur Parliament	49,3	50,7	83,5	16,5	75,8
Nordic Council	49,7	50,3	57,5	42,5	94,5
UFMA	49,2	50,8	87,3	22,7	80,1

Figure 1: Scatterplot degree of gender representation



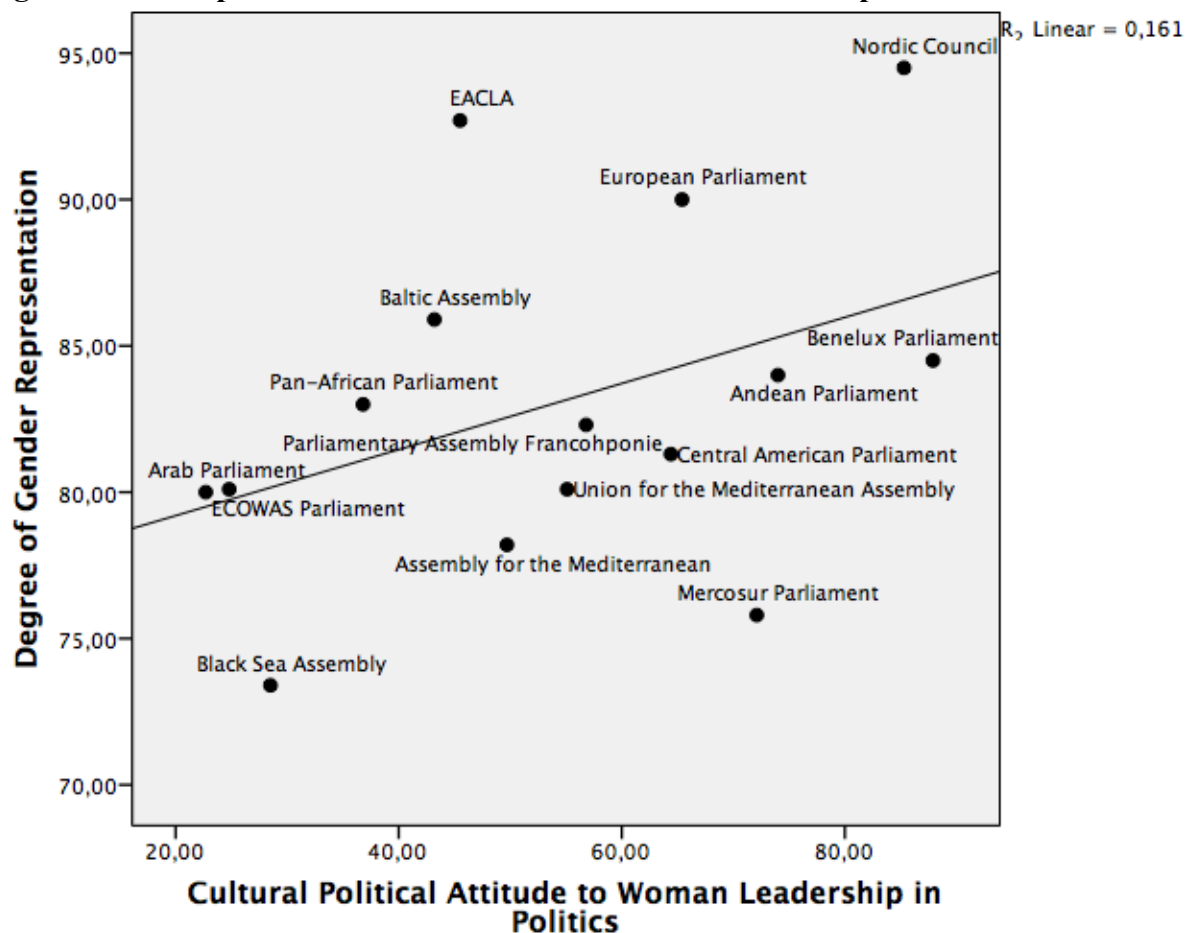
The results tell that the Black Sea Parliamentary Assembly with 73,4 out of a hundred has got the worst score on the degree of gender representation. The results of four following cases lie relatively close to each other between 80 and 85. The Nordic Council proves to have the highest degree of gender representation with a score of 94,5 out of 100, where 0 would mean

that there are only men in the parliament and 100 would mean that there is a perfect composition of men and women in the parliament. Running a bivariate analysis between the degree of gender representation and percentage of women in the IPIs shows a significant correlation (sig.=,000; R=,992).

Cultural Attitude

Most of the countries were represented in one or two of the survey waves. However, some of the member states have not yet been included in any waves by World Values Survey. To not let this influence the average of the parliament, the population of the missing states diminished the total population of the states that were not included in the surveys. The results per parliament are listed in the annex (2).

Figure 2: Scatterplot cultural attitude towards woman leadership



The results show that in general the average of the Arab Parliament (22,7) suggests the least positive attitude to woman leadership. The Arab Parliament is therefore considered having the most traditional attitude. The Arab Parliament is followed by yet another very low score of

the ECOWAS Parliament (24,8) and Black Sea Assembly (28,5). Surprisingly enough, the European Parliament (65,4 out of 100) does not get the highest score while having one of the highest scores on gender representation (90,0). The Nordic Council (85,3) is on the second best place, while having the highest degree of gender representation (94,5). The Benelux Parliament (87,9) ranks the highest. A bivariate analysis shows that for these fifteen IPIs there is no significant correlation, but there is a moderate correlation between gender representation and cultural attitude (sig.=,139; R=,401). Although the research of Norris and Inglehart (2001) shows that there is a significant cross-national effect between the two variables on a national level, this effect turns out to not directly be the same international parliaments. However, having noticed the moderate positive correlation, a more extensive research on this is needed to confirm this.

Number of seats

Bühlman, Widmer and Schädel (2010) showed with their research to representation in Swiss cantons and parliament, that the number of seats had a significant effect on the degree of gender representation. According to them, the higher the number of seats in parliament, the higher the degree of gender representation. For this research, the total number of seats in the IPI was divided by the amount of member states to the parliament. Some member states did not use the maximum amount of seats. This was for instance the case in the Arab Parliament, where Syria and the Comoros were missing, and for the Mercosur Parliament, where the amount of seats is gradually growing. These seats and states were not taken into account. This led to the following results.

The results (sig.=,739; R=,094) do not come nowhere near close to results that would support the hypothesis. Only the PAM, Benelux-, Parlacen- and European Parliament tend to fit the expected pattern of having large delegations positively influencing the degree of gender representation. The Arab Parliament and Mercosur Parliament in fact show the opposite effect. Therefore it must be concluded that on the base of this research the second hypothesis seems to be falsified in the case of these fifteen IPIs. Of course, it should be taken in to account that the number of cases is low, which has great effect on the significance. Therefore, conclusions are taken very cautiously. However, the suggested correlation is also very low.

Table 4: Average amount of seats per member state

Parliament	Average seats per member state	Gender repr. (0=only men, 100=perfect composition male/female)
Andean Parliament	5	84,0
Pan-African Parliament	5	83,0
Arab Parliament	3,9	80,0
Benelux Parliament	16,3	84,5
Pabsec	6,3	73,4
Parlacen Parliament	21,3	81,3
Baltic Assembly	12,7	85,9
EACLA	9	92,7
ECOWAS Parliament	7,7	80,1
European Parliament	26,8	90,0
APF	6,5	82,3
PAM	3	78,2
Mercosur Parliament	31,6	75,8
Nordic Council	10,9	94,5
UFMA	4,5	80,1

Control variables

There might be other factors that influence both the degree of gender representation and the cultural attitude. Even though other research suggests that the two independent variables used in this research are probably the most significant, two other variables need to be taken into account for controlling the causal relationship. Both of which have also been used in the research of Norris and Inglehart (2001). Using a bivariate analysis shows that both the level of democratization (sig.=,002; R=,739) and HDI Gender Index (sig.=0,19; R=0,598) are of significant influence on the cultural attitude towards equal gender representation. The first control variable concerns the socioeconomic factor, the Human Development Index Gender Ratio, which measures gender gaps in human development by accounting for differences between women and men in three basic dimensions of human development - health, knowledge and living standards using the same component indicators as in the HDI (UNDP, 2016). Level of democratization could also very well be of influence, and will be checked as the other control variable. Data on the democratic level of member states is available via the Freedom House (2016). The aggregate level of democratization is then weighed to the population size of the member state and the overall size population of the parliament. A table with details on both variables per IPI can be found in the annex (3). A Partial correlation analysis has led to the results below. Both variables show a moderate negative effect to the

degree of gender representation. This suggests that both control variables have little influence on the relation between gender representation and cultural attitude.

Table 6: control variables HDI Gender Index and level of democracy

Control Variables			Cultural Political Attitude to Woman Leadership in Politics
HDI Gender Index	Degree of Gender Representation	Correlation	,384
		Significance (2-tailed)	,175
Aggregate Level Of Democratization	Degree of Gender Representation	Correlation	,231
		Significance (2-tailed)	,428

Alternative variables

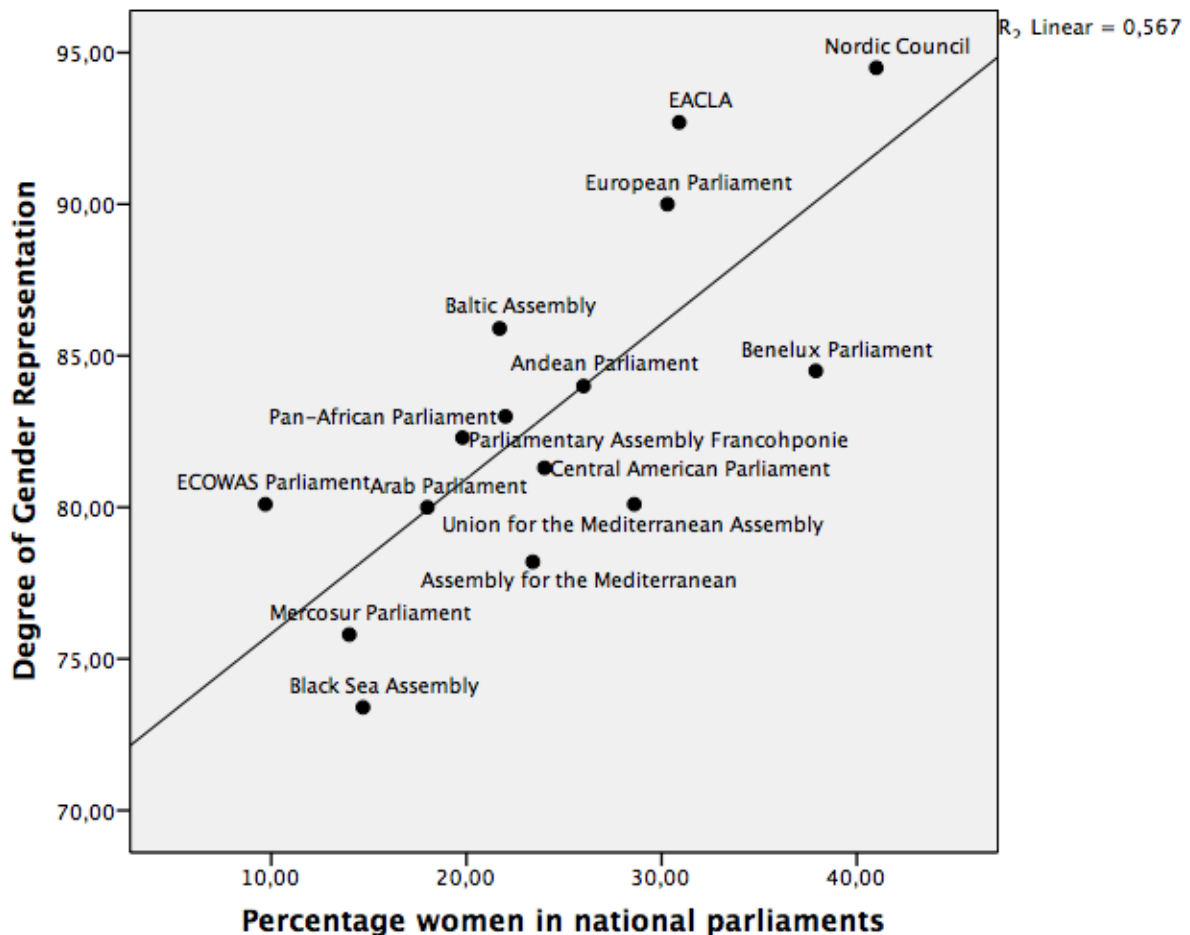
Besides the above-mentioned variables that were adopted from earlier research on national parliaments, it is interesting to see if there are any alternative variables that influence the degree of gender representation in IPIs. Three variables are tested: electoral system, division of seats and average percentage of women in national parliaments of member states. Details on these variables can be found in table 1. Even though the electoral system, be it direct or indirect, was said to be of influence on the national level, this does not show up in the results regarding the international level (sig.=,917; R=-,030). Neither is the fixed or proportional division of seats (sig.=,949; R=-,018).

There is only one alternative variable left: the weighed percentage of women in the national parliaments of member states. There has been no research on this variable so far, as this can only be related to international parliaments. Although this seems to be a post treatment variable, it might be a predictor to the dependent variable. Details on this variable can be found in the annex (4).

Surprisingly this variable actually is significant (sig.=,001; R=,753). This suggests two things. From an empirical perspective, this confirms the suggestion of a moderate correlation between cultural attitude and gender representation, as the average percentage of women in national parliaments is considered (Norris and Inglehart, 2001) to be significant influenced by cultural attitude. Secondly, from a more theoretical perspective, this suggests that there seems to be a spill over effect of cultural attitude from the national- to the international level. This fits to the expected pattern of institutionalism theories, neo-institutionalism in particular. This way it seems less of a surprise, but even more evident that cultural attitude and the average

percentage of women in national parliament are of influence, be it moderate, on the degree of gender representation in IPIs. The word ‘moderate’ is used, as it has to be kept in mind that this research deals with only a very small number of cases.

Figure 3: Scatterplot percentage of women in national parliaments



Conclusion

Ultimately, transnationalization has led to one of the key questions in contemporary world politics (Moravcsik, 2004: 336): ‘is global governance – the structure of international institutions – democratically legitimate, or does it suffer from a democratic deficit?’ The complexity of policy-making on an international level called for an institutional answer: international parliaments. The democratization of international institutions is fundamental and it should focus on at least three aspects: firstly, it should lead to the democratization of national representation in international transactions; secondly, it should focus on strengthening the other factors of the democratic process such as the deliberative process and thirdly, there should be institutional solutions to strengthen the transnational demos (Zürn, 1998:17). The creation of IPIs as representational bodies brings up two new dilemmas.

Firstly, what is good representation? And secondly, to what extent are international parliamentary institutions able to be representative? With regard to the first question to what good representation is, this article focuses on descriptive representation particularly (see Manin 1997; Mansbridge, 2003 and Pitkin, 1967). In line with the 'politics of presence' of Philips (1995), true representation is assumed to require that the legislature be selected in a way that its composition corresponds to that of the people it represents (see Adams, Burke, Wilson, Mirabeau, Bluntschli and Web in Pitkin, 1967: 60-62). Given the relative similarities between national parliaments and the way some IPIs are composed, what their goals are, this contribution tried to see whether the theories and indicators of earlier studies can be extended from the national to the international level.

Three results are worth noting. Firstly, although the research of Norris and Inglehart (2001) shows that there is a significant cross-national effect between the two variables on a national level, this effect does moderately turns out to directly be the same for international parliaments (sig.=,139; R=,401). Secondly, the results on the test of the second hypothesis do not come anywhere near close to the results it was based on (sig.=,739; R=,094). Only the PAM, Benelux-, Parlacen- and European Parliament tend to fit the expected pattern of having large delegations positively influencing the degree of gender representation. The Arab Parliament and Mercosur Parliament in fact show the complete opposite effect. Therefore, it must be concluded that on the base of this research the last hypotheses seem to be falsified in the case of these six international parliaments. On a more positive note, the first hypothesis moderately fits the expectations and deserves more attention in extensive research. Supporting this hypothesis is one alternative variable that turned out to have significant effect on the degree of gender representation. This is the control variable that took into account the average percentage of women in national parliaments of the member states to the international parliaments. This could somehow contribute to the – in some way rather cyclic - evidence that increases in women's presence in political office strengthens the women's involvement in politics (see Alexander, 2012: 440). It is even more backed by the social institutionalism theory that argues that institutional forms and procedures of IPIs are not adopted only because they are most efficient and rational, but they derive from culturally specific practices of societies (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 14). The outcome of this research emphasizes that there is a seemingly interactive and mutually constitutive relationship between the society on a national level and the institution on the international level.

However, using gender representation as only indicator for descriptive representation of IPIs has its limits. It is highly recommended to entail further research on other aspects as well, such as age, ethnicity, education or income. Besides this, research on substantive representation is suggested as representation has more than one side. To complete the research cycle, it should not only be the goal to understand to what extent and how IPIs are representative, but also what the consequences of it are. However, to be able to bring these suggestions in to practice, transparency of IPIs should improve drastically, as until now research is limited given the little information available.

All in all this last argument strengthens the advocating directive on descriptive representation in general in this article. The confidence between the represented and representatives should be higher when they share common interests, perspectives and experiences, there are lower barriers of communication; secondly, identification is crucial for vote choices and thirdly, it helps stabilizing political system. Lastly, the outcome shows that the answer to the deficit of descriptive representation at the international level is not unreachable, but might just lie in our very own 'national' hands.

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Annex 1

Overview International Parliamentary Assemblies: possible cases highlighted

Source: Grigorescu, A. (2015). *Democratic Intergovernmental Organizations?*. Cambridge University Press.

Intergovernmental Organization	International Parliamentary Assembly	Year Established	Type of institution
Commonwealth	Empire Parliamentary Association*	1911	Assembly
Nordic Council of Ministers	Nordic Council	1912	Assembly
Council of Europe	Parliamentary Assembly	1949	Assembly
European Union	European Parliament	1951	Parliament
Western European Union	Assembly of the WEU	1954	Assembly
Benelux	Benelux Parliament	1955	Assembly
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	NATO Parliamentary Assembly	1955	Assembly
International Organization of La Francophonie	Parliamentary Assembly of La Francophonie	1966	Assembly
Association of South-East Asian Nations	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly*	1967	Assembly
European Free Trade Association	EFTA Parliamentary Committee	1977	Conference
Andean Community of Nations	Andean Parliament	1979	Parliament
Pacific Island Forum	Association of Pacific Island Legislatures	1981	Conference
Arab Maghreb Union	Consultative Parliamentary Council*	1989	Conference
Central America Integration System	Central American Parliament	1991	Parliament
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe	OSCE Parliamentary Assembly	1991	Assembly
Commonwealth of Independent States	The Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of the CIS*	1992	Assembly
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation	Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum	1993	Conference
Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization	Parliamentary Assembly of BSEC (PABSEC)	1993	Assembly
Arctic Council	Conference of Arctic Parliamentarians*	1994	Conference
Council of Baltic Sea States	Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference (Baltic Assembly)	1994	Assembly
Caribbean Community	Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians*	1996	Assembly
Southern African Development Community	SADC Parliamentary Forum*	1997	Assembly
West Africa Economic and Monetary Union	Inter-Parliamentary Committee*	1998	Assembly

Central European Initiative	Parliamentary Assembly	1999	Conference
Organization of the Islamic Conference	Parliamentary Union of OIC members	1999	Conference
Eur-Asian Economic Community	Inter-Parliamentary Assembly*	2000	Assembly
East African Community	East African Legislative Assembly	2001	Assembly
Economic Community of West African States	ECOWAS Parliament	2002	Parliament
Euro-Mediterranean Partnership	Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly (absorbed by UFM Parl. Ass.)*	2003	Assembly
African Union	Pan-African Parliament	2004	Parliament
GUAM – Organization for Democracy and Economic Development	Guam Parliamentary Assembly*	2004	Assembly
Union for the Mediterranean	UFM Parliamentary Assembly	2004	Assembly
Mercosur	Parliament of Mercosur	2005	Parliament
Parliamentary Assembly for the Mediterranean**	Parliamentary Assembly for the Mediterranean**	2005	Assembly
Organization of the Collective Security Treaty	Parliamentary Assembly of the OCST	2006	Assembly
Community of Portuguese Language Countries	Parliamentary Assembly of the CPLC*	2007	Assembly
Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa	Communitarian Parliament*	2010	Parliament
League of Arab States	Arab Parliament	2010	Parliament

* No information on members to the parliament available

** Originally not in Grigorescu (2015), but found by default when looking at ‘Union for Mediterranean’. Right specifications and information available, therefore used in this research.

Blue: selected cases, information available

Green: selected cases, information unavailable

Annex 2

Table 3: cultural attitude and gender representation

Parliament	Cultural Attitude	Gender repr. (0=only men, 100=perfect composition male/female)
Andean Parliament	74	84,0
Pan-African Parliament	36,8	83,0
Arab Parliament	22,7	80,0
Benelux Parliament	87,9	84,5
Pabsec	28,5	73,4
Parlacen Parliament	64,4	81,3
Baltic Assembly	43,2	85,9
EACLA	45,5	92,7
ECOWAS Parliament	24,8	80,1
European Parliament	65,4	90,0
APF	56,8	82,3
PAM	49,7	78,2
Mercosur Parliament	72,1	75,8
Nordic Council	85,3	94,5
UFMA	55,1	80,1

Source:

World Values Survey (1995-2014), Do men make better political leaders than women do?

(<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org>)

Annex 3

Table 5: HDI Gender Index ratio and level of democracy

Parliament	HDI Gender Index Ratio	Level of Democracy	Gender repr. (0=only men, 100=perfect composition male/female)
Andean Parliament	0,972	70	84,0
Pan-African Parliament	0,875	46	83,0
Arab Parliament	0,846	26	80,0
Benelux Parliament	0,959	97,8	84,5
Pabsec	0,980	44,2	73,4
Parlacen Parliament	0,956	57	81,3
Baltic Assembly	1,030	90	85,9
EACLA	0,909	36,8	92,7
ECOWAS Parliament	0,833	53,8	80,1
European Parliament	0,976	92,5	90,0
APF	0,908	49,9	82,3
PAM	0,908	67,2	78,2
Mercosur Parliament	0,997	76	75,8
Nordic Council	0,993	99,6	94,5
UFMA	0,960	085,4	80,1

Source:

UNDP (2016), Human Development Index 2015.

(<http://hdr.undp.org/en/2015-report>)

Freedom House (2016), Freedom in the World 2016.

(<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/table-scores>)

Annex 4

Table 7: Percentage of women in national parliaments

Parliament	Percentage Women in National Parliament	Gender repr. (0=only men, 100=perfect composition male/female)
Andean Parliament	26	84,0
Pan-African Parliament	22	83,0
Arab Parliament	18	80,0
Benelux Parliament	37,9	84,5
Pabsec	14,7	73,4
Parlacen Parliament	24	81,3
Baltic Assembly	21,7	85,9
EACLA	30,9	92,7
ECOWAS Parliament	9,7	80,1
European Parliament	30,3	90,0
APF	19,8	82,3
PAM	23,4	78,2
Mercosur Parliament	14	75,8
Nordic Council	41	94,5
UFMA	55,1	80,1

Source:

Inter-Parliamentary Union (2016), Women in National Parliaments.

(<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>)