

# Women Political Participation and its impact on the Quality of Living of the Women in Mexico.

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# Abstract

This research focuses on analysing the impact that the increased women political participation has on the Human Development of Mexico. The research aims to expand our knowledge and understanding on how is that an increased presence of women in a legislature can affect the development of a country. The theoretical basis of this work is found on the theories of Gender and Development; Human Development and Quality of Democracy, and the analysis is conducted on the Process Tracing Methodology. The focus of this work is on the case of the lower chamber in the Mexican legislature from the period of 2000 to 2020 and how its actions possibly affected the scores of the country in the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) run by the United Nations Development Program. The result of the analysis of this research establishes a positive correlation between the increased Women Presence in the Chamber and the scores of Mexico in the FHDI and the GII. This correlation is based on the behaviour of the Gender Committee, as the proposals made by it increased alongside the women presence, and the results of this proposal were reflected through time in the indexes.

***Key words:***

Development; Gender Quotas; Women political participation; Quality of Democracy; Mexico.

Words: 16295

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## List of Abbreviations

CELIG	Centro de Estudios para el Logro de la Igualdad de Genero
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
FHDI	Female Human Development Index
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GII	Gender Inequality Index
HDI	Human Development Index
LGAMVLV	Ley General de Acceso a las Mujeres a Una Vida Libre de Violencia
LGIMH	Ley General para la Igualdad entre Mujeres Y Hombres
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity.
SITWT	Straws in the Wind Test
TEPJF	Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WPC	Women Presence in the Chamber

# 1 Introduction:

From 1975 to 1995 the United Nations organized a cycle of conferences that had the objective to create different ways to empower women around the world (Htun - P. Jones 2002, p 34). In the last conference, in 1995, one of the main discussions was on how to strengthen the political participation of women (Chen 2008, p 1). This discussion led to the proposal of creating and adopting Gender Quotas policies that could help close the political representation gap between women and men (Paxton - Hughes 2007, p 10). To achieve this, closing the political representation gap, the gender quotas policies were proposed as they are designed to achieve a critical minority of 30% of women in the legislature, number, that according to the critical mass argument, would be enough for them to start generating change (Kanter 1977, p 54 & Chen 2008, p 2). This proposal, the gender quotas policies, were accepted by the majority of the countries which led to an international effort to adopt them (Htun - Jones 2002, p 34). After, approximately, 25 years of promoting and implementing the gender quota policies, according to the data offered by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance on 2020 (International IDEA), at least 125 countries have applied a type of gender quota policy in their government.

However, even though the application of gender quotas policies has been successful, it does not mean that all of the countries have had the same results at the moment of integrating women into the government (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2020). For example, in 2020, according to the data offered by the Inter-parliamentary Union, Rwanda and Sweden have already passed the critical minority threshold, having 61.25% and 46.99% of women presence. Meanwhile, Hungary and Sierra Leone have still to achieve a 13% of women presence in their legislatures. The different results of the application of the quotas are due to a different array of situations; however, they are usually related to the type of gender quota, mandated or voluntary, and the supporting mechanism for it that help guarantee women representation in the legislature (Franceschet et al. 2012 &

Chen 2008, p 3). And is because of the differences in the results of the gender quota policies, that the world has still to surpass the 26% of women presence in the legislatures around the world (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020).

This difference between the results of gender quotas policies, not only means that the world in general is 4% below of the critical minority in the legislatures (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020). It also means that the impact that the women presence in legislatures has on development on their country has yet to be fully explored, as 136 out of 193 countries with a legislature have yet to achieve a critical minority (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020). It is possible that the lack of countries with a critical minority has limited the research on how is that the presence of women in the legislatures affects development of a country. However, the studies that do exist, mostly in India and some African countries, point towards that an increase of women presence on a legislature usually reflects on the creation of laws that focus on benefiting women children, elderly, and other minorities (Jalalzai 2009, p 38 & Bratton 20002, p 3). As such, it could be said that there is knowledge gap regarding the impact of women political participation on the development of a country that can and should be filled. And this, the knowledge gap between the increase of women presence in the legislature and the development of a country, is the reason of why this research is being done. This research aims to deepen our knowledge and understanding of how an increased woman presence in the legislature impacts on the human development of the population of a country.

To do so, this research will focus on the Mexican case that during the last 20 years has had a constant increase of women presence in the lower chamber of the legislature (CELIG 2019) while at the same time the country has also shown an improvement on the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) (UNDP 2020). In order to achieve this, the deepening of the knowledge regarding the presence of women in the chamber and its impact on development, this research has the objective to offer an answer to the following question: *To what extent has the increased presence of women in the Mexican legislature, from 2000 to 2020, affected the quality of life of the women in the country?*



## 2 Literature review

The following section will explore the current state of women political participation and the current state of the research regarding the impact of the women presence on the developing of a country. This section will be divided into two subsections. The first subsection will focus on covering the universal literature since the moment when the Gender Quota policies became an international trend; meanwhile, the second subsection will focus on the Mexican perspective.

### 2.1 International Women Presence in the Legislatures and their impact in development.

One of the first times that the Gender Quotas Policies was mentioned on an official international document was on the transcript of the Mexico City conference organised by the United Nations (UN) in 1975. In this document is agreed that the women of the world are underrepresented in the political sphere, as such, it was suggested that the application of Gender Quotas could be one of the possible solutions to this problem (UN 1975, p 156). The suggestion of implementing gender quotas to equalise the political representation between women and men brought forth a different array of reactions through the democratic world. Some countries, mostly developed countries, immediately started to apply or to strengthen their gender quotas policies; meanwhile, other countries, mostly developing countries, did nothing (Stevenson 2009, p 427 & Chen 2008, p 1). This situation, of avoiding the policies, would not last and after the 1990s the majority of the democratic countries would have adopted or would be on tracks to adopt a gender quota policy (Hughes et al. 2015, p 361 & Jalalzai 2009, p 32). This change, the broad adoption of the gender quotas, was due to a different array of reasons; however, it can be tracked down to two main ones (Hughes et al. 2015 p 369 & Chant - Craske 2003, p 27). The first reason is

international and is related to the fall of the Soviet Union (Bush 2011, p 104). After the fall of the Soviet Union the western world send aid to the developing post-conflict countries, this help; however, came with conditions, and one of these conditions was to adopt a democratic government that would require and foment the participation of women in the government (Bush 2011, p 104). The second reason is a mixture of national and international nature and is related to the International Women Movement (Hughes et al. 2015). It is theorised that the presence of the women movement was one of the main internal drivers for governments to adopt a gender quota, as the activism from the women demanding to have a larger political representation managed to promote a change (Hughes et al. 2015, p 369). As such, is mainly because of these two events, the Women's movement and the international pressure, that almost after five decades, 1975 till 2020, of broadly promoting gender quotas at least 125 countries have adopted them (Hughes et al. 2015, p 361 & International IDEA 2020).

However, this broad adoption of gender quotas did not automatically translate into the women achieving a critical minority around the world (Htun - P. Jones 2002, P 43). Many countries, especially those with weak institutions and patriarchal centric culture, found loopholes to not apply the gender policies correctly (Htun - Jones 2002, P 43). These loopholes originate on the type and how a gender quota function on each different country (Chen 2008, p 3). Usually, gender quotas are divided into two different types, voluntary or mandated (IDEA 2020). When a gender quota is voluntary, it means that the political parties are the ones deciding how and when the quota will be enacted (Chen 2008, p 3). When they are mandated is understood that the constitution or electoral law of the country is forcing the party to have the gender quota enacted (Chen 2008, p 3). However, neither of these two types of gender quota seems to be better than the other one at achieving the critical minority as their effectiveness, in most cases, depends on the laws and mechanism supporting them (Chen 2008, p 4 & International IDEA 2020). This is to say, even if the law mandates that the political parties have to guarantee a specific number of women as candidates on the elections, it does not mean that the female candidates will obtain a place on the legislature, or in the case that a female candidate obtains a place in the legislature that she would not be controlled by the party (Bruhn 2003, p 117 & Jalalzai 2009, p 33). One of the

main examples of this is when the political parties give a female candidate a candidature that is virtually impossible to win as they know that by doing that they will comply with the law while not putting at risk the established status quo (Bruhn 2003, p 107). Another example is when the political party gives a winning candidature to a woman that has close ties to a male benefactor from the political party leadership, as by doing this the political party is apparently helping women empowerment, while in reality, they are keeping the political power close to the male leadership (Jalalzai 2009, p 33). To avoid the exploitation of the different loopholes by the political parties, some democracies have instituted a diverse array of supporting laws that assure that gender policies achieve their goal (Chen 2008, p 4). One example of this, and probably the more successful support mechanisms in achieving women presence in the legislatures, is the reserved seats (Wang - Yoon 2018, p 300). A reserved seat policy is when the electoral law forces the political parties to appoint female candidates to given seats on the legislature (Wang - Yoon 2018, p 300). By doing this, the electoral law guarantees that the female candidate achieves a spot on the legislature and increases the chance that women that are not tied up to the male leadership will end up in the legislature (Wang - Yoon 2018, p 300 & Paxton – Hughes 2007, p 139 & Htun - P Jones 2002). As such, it could be said that the success of the gender quota policies, most of the times, depends on the laws and mechanism that support it. This situation, the application and the resistance from the political parties translate into the reality that even though there are more than 100 countries with a type of gender quota policy the legislatures around the world have still to achieve the critical minority (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & International IDEA 2020).

This reality, the lack of general critical minority around the world, could mean that studying the effects that the women presence in the government, especially in the legislatures, has on their country can be a difficult thing to do. This situation, the difficulty of studying this phenomenon, can be explain due to the lack data, making it challenging to identify the effects it has (Paxton - Hughes 2007, pp 192). However, this situation does not mean that is impossible to study the effects this phenomenon has as there are approximately 50 countries that have achieved a critical minority or parity in their legislatures (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & International IDEA 2020). The majority of the research done about the women

presence in the legislature centres on how successful the mechanism is to achieve a sustainable presence of women in the legislature and on the change of priority that the legislature can have after a certain level presence of women has been achieved (Chen 2008 & Wang - Yoon; 2018). This research, the one focusing on the mechanism that helps the women attain political representation and the change in behaviour of the legislature, has been able to establish some constants. The mechanism focus research has been able to establish that the fastest way to achieve a critical minority is by using a reserved place mechanism that guarantees a place for the female candidate independently of the overall results of the elections (Wang – Yoon 2018, p 300 & Paxton - Hughes 2007, p 139). Meanwhile, the behaviour focused research has been able to establish that the higher the presence of the women in the legislature the more the legislature will be interested in working with topics related to women and other minorities that previously were rarely touched upon (Htun - P. Jones 2002, p 48 & Jalalzai 2009, p 38). On the other hand, the research that focuses on studying the impact that the women presence on the legislature has on the country can be more challenging to find. This, the scarce number of research related to the impact that the women presence have on their countries could be explained due to the relatively low number of long-standing legislatures with a critical minority making it hard to explore its effects (Paxton - Hughes 2007, p 192 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020). However, the studies that do exist about this topic, that are mainly based on the legislatures of different countries in Africa and India, point towards to an increase on the quality of living of the vulnerable groups in the country (J-Pal 2006, & Rahozina 2020). This, the improvement of the quality of living of vulnerable groups could be possible explain as a natural result of the change in behaviour of the legislature thanks to the increased women presence (Rahozina 2020).

To conclude this section. It is possible to say that there is a considerable knowledge gap regarding the impact that an increase of women presence in the legislature has on the development of its country. This could be explained by the fact that in 2020, according to the Interparliamentary Union, there only 53 countries, out 170 countries, that have achieved a critical minority or parity in their legislatures. This situation, the lack of countries that have achieved a critical

minority or parity, also means a lack of data and tools that would enable us to better understand the effects of this phenomena, the increase of women presence in the legislature, would have on the developing of the countries.

## 2.2 Women Representation and their Impact in the Development in Mexico.

The Mexican state recognized the Mexican women as citizens in 1953, and by doing so, the state also granted the Mexican women the citizens' rights to vote and be voted at a constitutional level (Pérez 2019, p 203). This recognition happens in a large extent thanks to the activism done by the activist Elvia Carillo Puerto and the “Ligas de Resistencia Feminista” movement that kickstarted the women political rights movement (Senado de la República 2020). The first national female representative came a year after this in 1954, when Aurora Jiménez de Palacios was elected from the state of Baja California in the lower chamber of the Legislature (Cervantes 2009). After this, the election of the first women legislator at a national level, the women representation in the legislature saw few improvements as almost for 40 years the women presence in the lower chamber stayed below the 10% (CELIG 2019, p 18).

This, the lack of advance in the women presence in the chamber, started to change after the Legislature of 1991-1993 establish the Código Federal de Instituciones y Procedimientos Electorales<sup>1</sup> (COFIPE) that recommended the parties to promote women participation in the elections (CELIG 2019, p 15). This recommendation had, as a result, a larger presence of women in the chamber. Increasing from 8.8% in 1991 to 14.5% in 1994 (CELIG 2019, p 18). After this, the establishment of the COFIPE, the Legislature of 1994-1997 approved the first gender quota policy, lacking any sanctions, that aimed to achieve at least 30% of women presence in the Legislature (CELIG 2019, p 15 & Pérez 2019, p 203). This first iteration of

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<sup>1</sup> Federal Code for Democratic Institutions and Procedures.

the gender policy failed to achieve its aim; however, it did increase the women presence from 14.5% to 16.8% (CELIG 2019, p 18 & Pérez 2019). The legislature in 2000-2003 changed the nature of the gender policy to mandated and added penalties to the parties that did not comply, and it also forced the political parties to have women candidates in the proportional representation list (CELIG 2019, p 15). This modification to the law saw a large increase of women presence, as it went from 16.8% in 2000-2003 to 25.8% in 2006-2009 (CELIG 2019, p 18). However, it was not until after the 2006-2009 legislature that the presence of women saw the biggest increase in the history of the chamber of almost 20% points from (CELIG 2019, p 18). This increase was due to two reasons; the first one was that the 2006-2009 legislature changed the goal of the policy law from 30% to 40%, increasing the chances for women candidates to get elected (CELIG 2019, p 16). The second one was that due to the incident known as “las Juanitas de San Lazaro” that forced the Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federacion<sup>2</sup> (TEPJF) to restrict the conditions and the rules of the gender policy (El Universal 2012). The incident of “Las Juanitas de San Lazaro” took place during the early days of the 2009-2012 legislature and it was focused on twelve female legislators that renounced to their place in the legislature in favour of their male supplements (Garduño et al. 2009). This, the renounce of the female legislators, brought attention from the female activism groups and the media that pushed the institutions to react in order to avoid this to happen again. As such, to prevent the “Juanitas” to happen again, the TEPJF ruled that the titular candidate and the supplement must be from the same sex (El Universal 2012 & Murgía 2017, p 34). These two reasons, the rule by the TEPJF alongside the change in the law, finally made it possible for the women presence to surpass the critical minority on the 2012-2015 legislature achieving a 41.4% (CELIG 2019, p 18). Finally, the law saw its final changes during the 2015-2018 and 2018-2021 legislature. In the 2015-2018 legislature, the legislature changed the aim of the gender quota from 40% to 50%. And the 2018-2021 legislature changed the law again to achieve a complete parity in the administration (CELIG 2019, p 17). As a result of this, the Women presence in the legislature is currently at 48.2% (CELIG

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<sup>2</sup> The Electoral Tribunal of the Judicial Power of the Federation.

2019, p 18). This means that the critical minority in the lower of the Mexican legislature has been present for 8 years, from 2012 to 2020.

Regarding the status of the research that deals with the impact that the increased women presence in the legislature has. As far as this research could find, most of the studies regarding the increased women presence in the Mexican Legislature relate to the effectiveness of the mechanism and the change in priorities of the chamber (Murgía 2017 & Pérez 2019 & CELIG 2019 & Reynoso - D`Angelo; 2006). These studies show that the Mexican legislature follows the trend that has been established at an international level. This is to say, the mechanism that has been the most efficient in increasing the women presence in the chamber is the reserved seat with penalties mechanism (Murguía 2017 & CELIG 2019). Once this mechanism was adopted, it increased the women presence in the chamber for almost 20% points in six years and now is close to achieving a 50%-50% (CELIG 2019, p18). It is worth noticing that the political parties did find a way to cheat the mechanism by making the female legislatures renounce their charge in favour of their male replacement; however, this loophole was solved by the judicial power almost immediately (Murgía 2017, p 34). The Mexican legislature also follows the international trend on change of priorities in the legislature as the larger the presence of the women in the legislature the more proposals regarding women and other vulnerable population has the legislature proposed (Cámara de Diputados 2020).

On the other hand, the studies regarding the possible effects that the increased women presence in the legislature have on the development of the country are scarce, and most of them focus with the impact of specific policies (Tepichin, 2010). These studies, the one focusing on the results of specific policies, do show that some aspects of gender inequality are being improved as result of the policies (Tepichin 2010, p 25). However, there is still a knowledge gap regarding the relationship between the increased women presence and the quality of living of the women in the country. And this gap is probably caused by the lack of data to study this phenomenon as the Mexican legislature only achieved a critical minority in 2012 while having some interference from the political parties.

## 3 Theoretical Framework:

The theories that will guide this research are the theories of Gender and Development that has been built upon by different authors since 1993; Human Development proposed by Amartya Sen in 1999 and Quality of Democracy also built by different authors since 2004. At continuation, this research work will explain each of these theories, how they relate to each other and why is necessary their combined use.

### 3.1 Gender and Development:

Gender and Development (GAD) is a theory that surges as a continuation and a critique of the Women in Development Theory (WAD) (Coles et al. 2015, p 3). The principal argument of the theory is that the use of a gender-neutral language, a language that does not recognize between women men or non-binary people (EIGE, 2020), in the mainstream theories and methodologies of development have unintentionally blinded the institutions responsible of development on the role that women, and other vulnerable population, play (Connell - Pearse 2002, p 73 & Calkin 2018, p 17). As such, for GAD, this lack of gender-sensitive language, a language that makes women, men and non-binary people visible, created a series of events that have complicated the life of the women and other minorities rather than improving them (Calkin 2018, p 17). GAD argues that this lack of gender-sensitive language comes from cultural domination that normalizes and minimizes the specific social problems, including gender roles, that women, and other vulnerable groups, face (Kabeer 1999, p 438 & Journal of International Affairs; 219; p 210). This, the normalizing of the social problems that minorities and women face, can be seen, in different degrees, in almost all the theories; policies; and indicators in development as they have been originally designed without

thinking about gender being created inside a gender-neutral environment (Calkin 2018, p 17).

The argument the theory proposes is demonstrated through the history of development. In 1950, developing programs were constructed being “blind” towards gender as they focused on developing the household rather than the individuals (Coles et al. 2015 p 2 & Calkin 2018, p 77). This, the development of the household instead of the individual, was because they assumed that once the household developed the women belonging to it would develop accordingly; however, this rarely if ever happened (Coles et al. 2015, p 2 & Calkin 2018, p 77). After this, around 1970, the development programs started to believe that in order to empower women and jumpstart their development, the only thing they needed was to economically empower them (Coles et al. 2015, p 3). This approach, even though it found more success than the previous one, also failed as women in developing countries, in most of the cases, did not have the time to comply with the requirements of their program on top of their domestic responsibilities (Coles et al. 2015, p 3). This patron, of trying to economically empower women before trying to solve structural problems, kept being prevalent in development until finally, around 1990, the approach of GAD was proposed and some programs started to change (Coles et al. 2015; p 3 & Gaye et al. 2010, p 2).

This, the creation and use of GAD, did not mean that the course was corrected as the big majority of the programs and institutions were still based on a non-gender sensitive language, mainly because, the indicators had been just recently created (Gaye et al. 2010, p 3). However, it did motivate a change in the institutions and programs that started to add gender-related objectives to their efforts (Gaye et al. 2010, pp 3). Unfortunately, the addition of this element did not always solve the problem as the measuring was still related to a “general view for development”. This situation, the presence of a gender-related element in a non-gender-sensitive index or program, was, and in some cases is, still present giving a false sense of how to understand, measure and achieve a gender-sensitive development. A prime example of this, even though it has been mostly solved, is the Human Development Index (HDI) that it only added the Gender Development Index (GDI) five years after its first publication in 1990 (United Nations Development

Program 1990, & Gaye et al. 2010, p 4). The addition of the GDI to HDI brought some light to the social reality of the women; however, it did so in a way that was subordinated to the HDI and such it was criticized for giving a half-truth (Gaye et al. 2010 p 10). The addition of the Gender Development Index, although criticized for being a subordinate index to the HDI, did start a change in the development of indicators that resulted in the creation of the Female Human Development Index (FHDI); Gender Equity Index and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) that are independent and focus entirely on measuring the development of women (United Nations Development Program 1990, & Gaye et al. 2010 p 6). Currently, the landscape of indicators and development programs that are gender-sensitive has improved, and this is mainly because of the increment of women participating in developing institutions around the world (Calkin 2018, p 28). This, the integration of women to the institutions in charge of development, translates to the necessity to include women in all the stages of development to achieve a gender-sensitive development (Calkin 2018, p 28).

Probably one of the biggest caveats of this theory is that it, mostly, depends on the application and operationalization of other theories to be able to be use. This is because its focus is mainly on complementing how the other gender-neutral theories understand a phenomenon by offering a gender sensitive point of view that will help to achieve a more complex and complete interpretation of reality.

The way this research will use the Gender and Development theory is as a guide as it will be through this theory that the data will be mainly interpret. Starting from the principle that the increase of women in the Mexican Legislature was the main reason for why the Legislature started to pay attention and work towards improving the Mexican women quality of Living according to the Female Human Development and the Gender Inequality Index. It will also serve as the basis to complement the Human Development Theory and the Quality of Democracy Theory that are mainly created and establish on a gender-neutral environment and as such can be lacking in the gender sensitive department.

## 3.2 Human Development Theory:

The Human Development or Capabilities approach, proposed in 1990 by Amartya Sen, is a theory that was created to explain and guide development as something that can be separated from the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country. The core idea of this theory is that development goes hand in hand with the freedom and capabilities that the population of a country has and not only with its GDP (Sen 1999, p 53). This, the degree of freedom and capabilities of a population is translated to the existence of *agents*, who are citizens with access to political and civil rights and essential services, that will push their institutions to efficiently guarantee their development (Sen 1999, p 153). Sen argues that the more access the population of the country has to civic and political rights, like the right vote and be voted, along with access to essential services, like access to education, the more they will be able to influence the government to guarantee their development (Sen 1999, p 151). To validate this, he offers the example that in recent history there has been no modern democracy that has suffered from famine meanwhile other states, with a different form of government, have suffered for one (Sen 1999, p 153). He argues, then, that this situation is because the population in a democratic country have the freedom and the rights to demand and force their government to be better as the government depends on the trust and legitimacy that is derived from the population, rather than sustained by a divine right or military power (Sen 1999, p 153).

The way this theory, and the liberties that Sen sustains are the motor for development, were operationalized was by creating the Human Development Index (HDI) (United Nations Development Program 1990). The HDI is an index created by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), by a team led by the economist Mahbub ul Hag, in 1990. This team argued that development is better reflected on the results of people-centred politics rather than in the GDP of a country (United Nations Development Program; 1990). As such, this index bases its evaluation on the “Standard of living” (GNI per capita); “Knowledge” (years of formal education and expectation of years of formal education) and “Long and healthy Life”(Life expectancy at birth) that each country has (United Nations

Development Program 1990). These areas were further divided into the following categories: 1) Health; 2) Education; 3) Income/Composition of Resources; 4) Inequality; 5) Gender; 6) Poverty; 7) Work employment and vulnerability; 8) Human Security; 9) Trade and financial flows; 10) Mobility and communications; 11) Environmental Sustainability; 12) Demography and 13) Socio-economic sustainability (United Nations Development Program 1990). All of these categories are supposed to reflect the liberties that Sen argues drive the development of societies. As such, this theory relies heavily on the empowerment, through the access and use of political and civil rights and services, of the population of a country in order for them to become agents that will be capable of stirring the development of their country (Sen 1999, p 53).

The theory is not without its shortcomings, especially regarding its gender sensitivity. Even though Sen does not ignore the role that women play in development (Sen 1999), he does end up generalizing their role. He argues that, just like everyone else, the only thing women need to become an agent in their society is that the system guarantees their political rights and their basic needs. (Sen 1999). However, he does forget to mention that sometimes women are ignored as the gender-neutral language “blinds” the system and makes it incapable of recognizing the women social reality. By doing so, not recognizing the women social reality, the system might not be moved to solve the social problem affecting them, and as a consequence, it might be denying their possibility of becoming an agent and as such, denying their capability to generate change. This lack of gender sensitivity was also reflected on the fact that the Human Development Index did not start with a gender-sensitive item and even after this item was added it was subordinated to the general index instead of being independent (Gaye et al. 2010 p 10).

This research will use this theory to try and explain how development can be achieved through the empowerment of the female population of Mexico. In this specific case, it will be referring to the political empowerment of women. This political empowerment will take the form of the women presence in the legislature and their actions.

### 3.3 Quality of Democracy:

The theory of Quality of Democracy surges to answer the need to understand and to evaluate the new democracies that appear during the 70's (Diamond - Morlino 2004, p 20). The premise of this theory is that there are as many different democracies as states that decide to use democracy as a form of government and have achieved universal adult suffrage; recurring, free, competitive and fair elections; more than one serious political party; and alternative sources of information (Diamond – Morlino 2005, p 11). However, it also acknowledges that just achieving these fundamental characteristics of democracy does not equal having a good quality of democracy as these characteristics can be emulated (O'Donnell - Schmitter & Whitehead 1993, p 5). To solve this problem, the possibility of regimes emulating the fundamental characteristics of a democratic regime, three different areas of the evaluation were established (Diamond & Morlino 2004, p 22). The first area is *Procedures*; it deals with the democratic procedures, like the elections, and how recurrent and exact they are (Morlino 2012, p 36). The second area is related to *the content*, that deals with the laws and policies that are established in this democracy and how they are adequate to the population (Morlino 2012, p 36). The last area is *results*, that deals with how satisfied citizens are with its government and how this is evaluated by them (Morlino 2012, p 36). These areas can, in turn, be divided into different items and categories that help to easily monitor and evaluate the quality of the democracy in question. However, this subdivision depends on the institution that created the index, and as such, the indexes can vary. Is because of this, the variations on the indexes that this research will not take these indexes into account.

The theory does point out that the quality of the democracy of a country, mainly, depends on the existence of citizens that will exercise their political rights to push their institutions to achieve a good quality (O'Donnell 2010, p 175). This is the point where the theory of Quality of Democracy echoes with the Human Development Theory, proposed by Sen in 1999, and it is the principal reason why is being used in this research. Both of the theories depend on the existence of an agent or citizen that will push their institutions to become better in order to

achieve a good quality of democracy or to generate development (Diamond - Morlino 2005, p 11 & O'Donnell 2010, p 175 & Sen 1999). And this dynamic could be understood as the following. The more a citizen/agent exercise their political rights to force their institutions to be better the higher the quality of democracy and development they will have (Diamond - Morlino 2005, p 11 & O'Donnell 2010, p 175 & Sen; 1999). Meanwhile, the less their citizens/agents exercise their political rights to force their institutions to be better the lower their quality of democracy and development a country will have (Diamond - Morlino; 2005, p 11 & O'Donnell 2010, p 175 & Sen; 1999).

It can be said that the Quality of Democracy theory is the most gender-neutral and, therefore the less gender-sensitive theory, present in this work. This is because the theory almost completely focusses on studying the institutions and how they achieve a good quality of democracy rather than the women and men that constitute them (O'Donnell 1986, p 198). Is probably because of this, the lack of focus of the theory in the human factor, that many indexes decided that the best way to deal with the gender quotas policies, a heavy gender-related topic, was to focus on the evaluation of the effectiveness of the gender quota to bring women into the legislature. By doing so, just focusing on the effectiveness of the gender quota, the indexes simplified the women political participation in the legislatures to just to their numbers proving, in a way, the lack of gender sensitivity of the theory.

To conclude, this research will utilize this theory mainly by using the areas previously established. The area of *Procedures* will help to determine how is that the increased women presence in the legislature was achieved. The area *content* will be use to better and understand the content of the laws that came as a consequence of the increased Women presence in the chamber. Finally, the area of *results* that will facilitate the understanding of the results these laws and policies are getting.

### 3.4 Discussion of the Theoretical Framework and Hypothesis:

It is possible to see that these theories have common grounds, as all of them argue that in order to achieve their goal, being this development, gender equality, or a high-quality democracy, the population of a country must be recognized and empowered. As, according to the theories, it is through the agent/citizen exercising its political rights and being recognize that the institutions will be encouraged to provide development or a good level of quality of democracy. When applying these theories to the field, it is easy to imagine how these theories can work together and build into each other. For example, empowered agents, capable of understanding and identifying how to use their political rights will, more than likely, push their institutions to have a certain quality and to achieve development. As such, the way this research will use these theories in conjunction with each other will be the following way. The Human Development Theory will be used as the basis, as it will explain how the political participation of the women in the legislature could be translated into the improvement of the quality of living of the women in Mexico. The Quality of Democracy theory will be used to understand how women achieved their levels of participation in the chamber; the content of their modification proposals and the results that these laws had on the population. Finally, the Gender and Development theory will be used to establish the importance of having a gender-sensitive legislature in order to have a positive impact on the development of women in Mexico. As such, with these theories as guidance, this research proposes the following hypothesis as an answer to the previously proposed research question: H1. *The increased women presence in Mexican legislature has positively affected the quality of life of the women in Mexico.*

## 4 Methodology:

### 4.1 Case Selection:

Mexico is considered to be a developing country, and according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) it ranks high on the Human Development Index on 2020 and the country has been trying to achieve parity in its legislature since the 90s decade ( CELIG 2019, p 15). This process, of achieving parity, started in 1993 when the government created a voluntary gender quota policy that recommended the political parties to promote the women political participation. This voluntary gender quota achieved a 14.5% of women presence in the legislature (CELIG 2019, p 18). This original gender quota evolved into a mandated quota, with support mechanism, that in 2020 has achieved a 48.2% of women presence in the chamber (CELIG 2019, p 18). On parallel to this, the process of achieving parity on its legislature, Mexico has also been progressively improving on its scores in the UNDP gender-related indexes (2020). This situation, the constant increase of women presence in the chamber and the constant improvement of the scores in the gender-related indexes, opens the rare opportunity to study how these two phenomena relate to each other. This, the opportunity of studying the progress of the women presence in a legislature and the impact it has on the development of the female population of the country is the main reason of why this research will be conducted. One of the other reasons for focusing in Mexico is due to the research being familiar with the country context. Finally, the last reason for choosing the Mexican case is the familiarity that the research has on working and accessing the information provided by the country.

## 4.2 Methodology justification:

This research uses the process tracing methodology (Collier 2011). This decision was made because of the many advantages that it offers and how it fits the study of the phenomena this research work is studying. The principal advantage of the Process Tracing Methodology is that it lets the research trace causal events, through the different data sources that will be use, over a period of time in order to establish a causality between them (Bennet 2008 & Punton - Welle; 2015). This, the capability of the methodology to trace causal events to its consequences over time, is important to this research as it will let us connect the effects that the increased presence of women has on the behaviour of the Gender Commission in the parliament and how its proposals in the chamber affects the Female Human Development Index (FDHI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) scores of the country. To achieve this, tracing the influence that increased presence of women has on the behaviour of the Gender Commission and how it affects the FDHI and the GII, this research will mainly combine two different data sources. These data sources that will be combined are the archive of the Mexican Cámara de Diputados, and the gender related databases on Mexico of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). These two data sources, the Archive of the Mexican Cámara de Diputados and the UNDP data bases, will be traced back from 2000 till 2020 in order to try and establish a Configurational Causality between the variables (Punton - Welle 2015, p 2). Another advantage that this methodology presents is that it will permit this research to operationalize complex concepts like agency in a relatively simple way while at the same time showing how the concept has evolved during the established period of time. The final advantage of why this method was chosen is that it lets the research establish a clear timeline to show how the studied phenomena has affected society over a period. It is worth noticing that process tracing methodology does have some caveats. The first, and probably most noticeable, is that the interpretation of the data gathered can be heavily susceptible to the personal bias of the investigation as is relatively easy to try to assemble the data in a way that will favour the objective of the research (Collier 2011, p 800). Another caveat is that some evidence and events can be hard to correlate, and this is mostly, because of the

relative flexibility of the methodology (Collier 2011, p 828). Finally, for process tracing to be able to correlate evidence and events with social phenomena it has to establish an uninterrupted timeline of events, and this can be difficult to achieve depending on the accessible information (George – Bennet 2005, p 222).

In the following sections this research will expand on the methodology, its different types of casualties and tests, the data that will be used, its operationalization and how it will be presented, and finally the analysis.

### 4.3 Process Tracing:

To answer the question that the present research work proposed, it will use the methodology known as Process Tracing. This methodology focuses on establishing a timeline of events and in linking the pieces of evidence that connects a specific social phenomenon to a specific aftermath to demonstrate a causality (Bennet 2008, p 4). As such, this methodology will try to establish one of the following frameworks for causality (Punton - Welle 2015).

- **Counterfactual:** This type of causality is proven by establishing a control case and a treatment case to compare them and be able to identify the variables that promoted a change. However, this framework is unable to explain how the change happened (Punton - Welle 2015, pp 2)
- **Regularity:** It looks forward to singling out a frequent constant to be associated with a change. It cannot, however, explain the change or the how and why of the change (Punton – Welle 2015, pp 2).
- **Configurational:** It tries to identify a specific configuration of variables that lead to a specific event to happen. This causality, however, does acknowledge that different variables configurations can reach the same result or vice versa. It does try to explain how a change happened (Punton - Welle 2015, p 2).

- **Generative:** This framework tries to provide a detailed description of a causal mechanism that leads to a specific result and by doing so demonstrating a causal relation between the two. This framework tries to explain the why the changes happen (Punton - Welle 2015, p 2).

This research will try to establish a configurational framework as the hypothesis relies on proving that the increased presence of women in the congress plus inclusive institution positivity affects the behaviour of the Gender Development Index of the Country. However, to demonstrate this causality, it is necessary to submit this research hypothesis, along with the evidence that supports its, to the three tests that will determine if this causality is possible at all (Collier 2011). In continuation, we will explore these three tests.

- Straws in the wind: its main objective is to determine if the hypothesis is plausible, however, it is not capable to negate or confirm the hypothesis (Collier 2011, p 826). In this research work it will be used to cement the suspicion of the possible relationship between women political presence and the women quality of living in Mexico. And it will be applied in the following way.
  - T1: This test will consist in comparing the behaviour of the Female Human Development Index; the Gender Inequality Index and the Women Presence on the Congress during the same time period in order to try to establish a shared patron between the variables.
- Hoop test: It has the main objective to affirm the relevancy of the hypothesis. In case the hypothesis passes this test, it will not be confirmed, however, it will strengthen it (Collier 2011, p 826). In this research work it will be used to determine if the women presence on the congress has motivated or demotivated the gender committee in creating or modifying laws that impact the living quality of the women in Mexico. This test will be applied in the following way.

- T2: It will focus on measuring the total number of laws and policy proposed by the Gender Committee from 2000-2020.
- Smoking gun: It has the main objective to debilitate and, if possible, negate the competing hypothesis while fortifying the prime hypothesis. If the test is pass it will fortify the proposed hypothesis and it will make it the prime candidate as an answer to the research question (Collier 2011, p 827). If the test is not passed this will not negate the proposed hypothesis; however, it will considerably decrease its possibilities to become the answer to the research question (Collier 2011, p 827). In this research work it will be used to determine if the laws proposed by the gender committee have been created in order to improve the living quality of the women in Mexico.
  - T3: Will focus on analysing the specific changes to the law and how it relates to the specific sub-indexes present in the Female Human Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index.

## 5 Operationalization:

In this section will present the pertinent data that will be used to create a causality line based on evidence and an interrupted timeline of events. This causality line will be submitted to the different test that will help validate it or negate the hypothesis that this work offers as an answer to the research questions.

### 5.1 Concepts:

The following are the concepts that will be used to organize and measure the data.

- **Agency:** This concept emerges from the Gender and Development and Human Development theories. Agency is related to the ability that the women in the congress have to generate laws that benefit the women in the country.
- **Procedures:** This concept emerges from the Quality of Democracy Theory. The procedure's concept is related to the mechanist, in this case the gender quota law, that guarantees the women's presence in the chambers is respected.
- **Content:** This concept comes originally from the theory of Quality Of Democracy. It focuses on how the content of the laws correctly reflects the social reality it wants to interact with. However, for the purpose of this research work it will also be part of Gender and Development theory as it will be used to understand if the laws are gender sensitive or not.
- **Results:** This concept originates from the theory of Quality of Democracy. It focuses on the results that the laws have after they have been applied.

## 5.2 Data:

The following section will expand on the data sources that will be used in this research. They are divided into four areas that in turn, are related to the central concepts of this research. This data was chosen due to its relevance, as it deals directly with the topics of this research, the time it has been recorded, as the variables have been recorded for almost the same time length, and the reliability of the sources, as it originates from the United Nations Development Program and the Mexican Legislature.

### **Women presence in the chamber (Procedures).**

Political inclusion will trace the participation of the women in the political sphere focusing on the number of women that are present in the congress.

- **Historical Records of the composition of the Cámara de Diputados and Inter-Parliamentary Union database:** In these databases it is possible to observe how the gender composition of the lower chamber has changed through time (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-parliamentary Union database 2020).

### **Women Agency (Agency):**

The Women Agency data will be focused on tracking the agency that women have in the political sphere and how it is translated into reality by the amount of laws proposed by the Gender Committee.

- **Voting records of the Camara de Diputados:** In this database it is possible to observe the number of the laws and modifications proposed by the Gender Comision (Cámara de Diputados 2020).

### **Gender Sensitive laws (Content).**

The gender sensitivity data will be focused on the content of the laws and to what extent they correspond to the social reality of the women in Mexico as is measured in the Gender Inequality Index and the Female Human Development Index. As such the data that will be used for this section will be the following.

- **Diario Oficial de la Federación<sup>3</sup>:** The Diario Oficial de la Federación is where all the laws and modifications that were approved are published by the lower chamber. In this document it is possible to observe the content and propose behind the laws and modifications (Cámara de Diputados 2020).

### **Women development (Results):**

The Women development data will be used to understand how the laws proposed by the Gender Committee have impacted the quality of living of the women in Mexico. The data that will be used will be the one offered by the two gender centric Indicators of the United Nations Development Programme.

- **Female Human Development Index.**

The Female Human Development Index focuses on measuring three areas that are considered essential for Development. The first area is *life span*; this area tracks the estimated living years that each woman has after the moment that they were born, the longer this number is, the better. The second area is *knowledge*, and it focuses on measuring the expected years of education that a woman will have access. Finally, the third area is *A decent Standard of living*, and it focuses on measuring the economic income that women have in the country using the GDP (PNUD 2020).

- **Gender Inequality Index.**

The Gender Inequality Index focuses on measuring three areas that it considers necessary to reduce Gender Inequality. Its first area is *health*; this area monitored maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth. The second area is; *Empowerment*, this area focusses on monitoring the difference that is between the female and male population and the female presence in the congress. The third and final area is the *Labour Market*, and it focuses on female participation in the labour force (PNUD 2020).

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<sup>3</sup> The Official Journal of the Federation.

**Key actors:**

This section will focus on explaining the different political actors that are part of the research.

**Political Institutions:**

- **Cámara de Diputados (Chamber of Deputies):** The Cámara de Diputados is the lower chamber of the legislative power in Mexico. It is composed of 500 representatives, 300 of them elected by popular vote and 200 elected by the political parties through the principle of proportional representation. One of the chamber's primary responsibilities is to propose, modify and evaluate the laws that are used to govern the country.
- **Equity and Gender Committee/Gender Committee:** This is the committee responsible for continuously proposing new laws or modifications that are related to the Gender. The Gender Committee is not the only Committee in the chamber responsible for making gender related proposals; however, it is the main source of this proposals.

### 5.3 Tests:

The following are the planned tests that will be done to prove or disprove the proposed Hypothesis.

- **Straws in the Wind:** This test has the objective to demonstrate a possible relation between the variables. The test will consist in comparing the behaviour of the Female Human Development Index; the Gender Inequality Index and the Women Presence in the chamber from 2000 to 2020 to try to prove the possibility of a relationship between the variables. This test will be considered passed if the three variables, the Indexes and the Presence of women in the chamber, show signs of interacting with each other.

- **Hoop Test:** The objective of this test is to further strengthen the possible relation between the variables by showing that the actions taken by the women in the chamber can impact the grades of Mexico in the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII). This test will focus on measuring the presence of women in the chamber; the total number of laws proposed by the Gender Committee and the scores of the FHDI and the GII from 2000 to 2020. The test will be considered passed if there is a rise in the presence of women in the chamber; meanwhile, the number of proposals made by the Gender Committee increases and the results show in the FHDI and the GII improve.
- **Smoking Gun:** The objective of this test is to show a clear correlation between the variables. This will be done by proving that the actions that women representatives in the chamber take directly affect the scores of Mexico in the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII). The test will focus on analysing the specific changes to the law and how it relates to the specific items present in the Female Human Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index. This test will be considered passed if the number of laws proposed by the Gender Equality committee that are related to the items of the Gender Inequality Index and the Female Human Development Index goes up while at the same time the grades of Mexico in these indexes improves.

If these tests were to be passed this would mean that there is at least a strong correlation, and probably even causation, between the presence of the political inclusion of women in the lower chamber and the development of the women in Mexico proving the proposed hypothesis right.

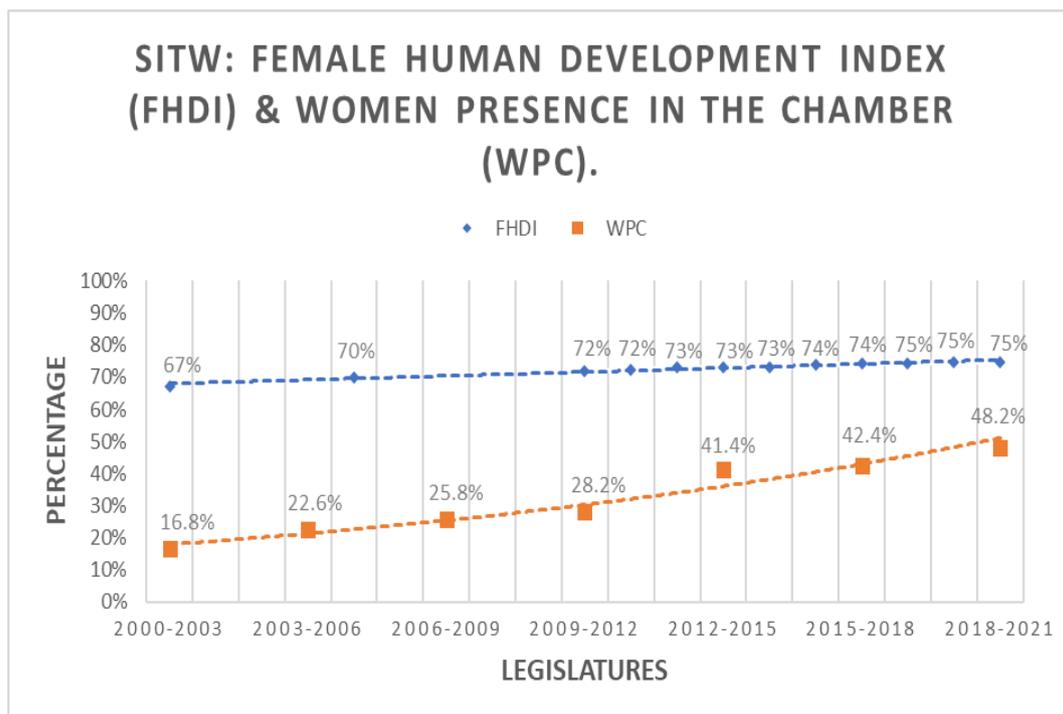
## 6 Analysis:

### 6.1 Straws in the Wind Test (SITW):

In the SITW test this research will try to show the possible existence of a relationship between the variables of Women Presence in the Chamber (WPC); Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII). The test will be conducted by looking for a shared behaviour between the WPC; FHDI and GII. If this shared behaviour were to exist, this test would be considered a pass.

#### 6.1.1 Female Human Development Index and Women Presence on the Congress

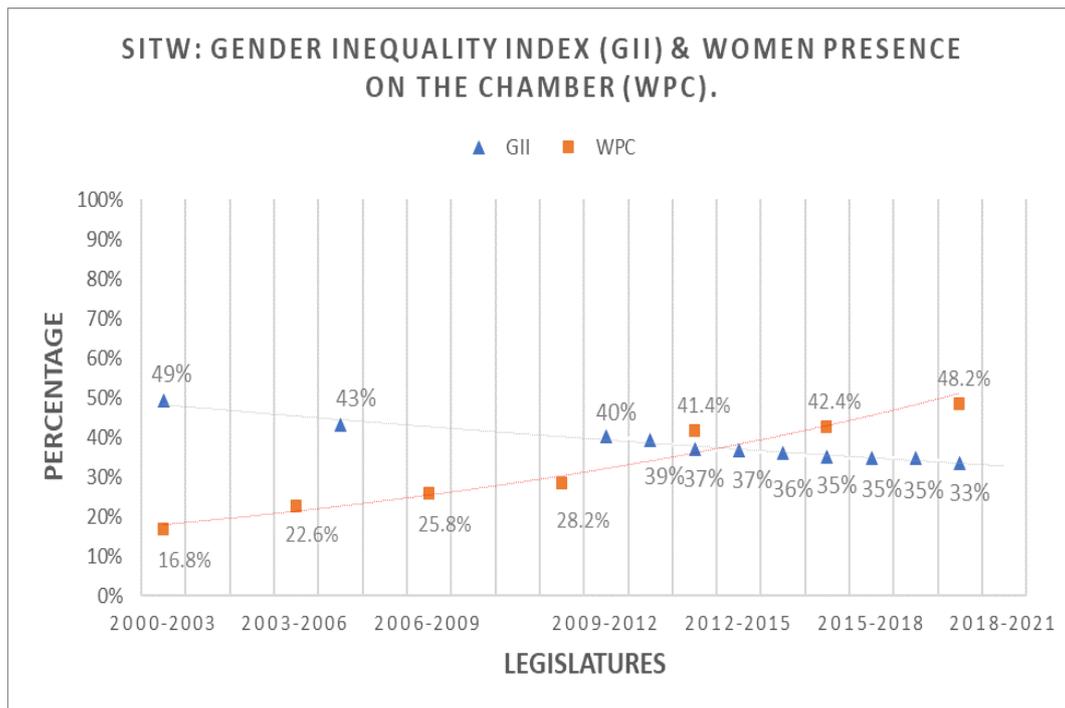
In the following graphic, we can observe that there is a shared tendency of growth with the number of Women Present in the Congress (WPC) and the Female Human Development Index (FHDI). However, it is also possible to observe that the growth is not equivalent, this is to say, that while the presence of WPC grows on average, 2.41% each electoral period the FHDI only grows and estimated 0.41% on average each year.



**Figure 1.** Straws in the Wind Female Human Development Index & Women presence on the Congress (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union; 2020 & UNDP 2020).

### 6.1.2 Gender Inequality Index and Women Presence on the Congress

It is possible to observe a similar situation on the comparison between the women presence on the congress and the Gender Inequality Index (GII); however, this time, this is an inverse relation. In the following graphic, we can appreciate how it is that meanwhile, the presence of the women in the chamber grows the GII degrowths. In percentage, this is translated into the following. Women presence in the chambers grows around 2.41% each electoral period the degrowth of the GII is approximately 0.7% each year. This is important because the way the GII works means that the lower it is, the more equality there is in the country.



**Figure 2.** Straws in the Wind Female Human Development Index & Women presence on the Congress (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & UNDP 2020)

### 6.1.3 Straws in the Wind result:

Both indexes, the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and the Gender Inequity Index (GII) share behaviour of growth/degrowth in relation to the presence of women in the chamber. This behaviour, the one shared by the indexes, is that the bigger the presence of women in the chamber, the more the FHDI grows meanwhile the GII decreases. This situation, the growth of the FDHI and the degrowth of the GII, could be explained by a multitude of reasons, as at the moment there is no clear way to confirm or deny causation between the presence of women in the chamber and the indicators. However, this information is enough to say that the proposed hypothesis passed the Straws in the Wind test and as a result it strengthens it.

## 6.2 Hoop test:

The Hoop test, if pass, will strengthen the possibility of the existence of the relationship between the Women Presence in the Chamber (WPC); Female

Human Development Index (FHDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII) variables, that has already been hinted to exist in the Straws in the Wind Test. It will do so by trying to show that the increased WPC has affected the behaviour of the Gender Committee, looking forward to an increment on the number of proposals made by the Gender Committee. After this change in behaviour has been proven or refuted, it will be compared to the behaviour of the FHDI and GII, looking forward to a shared behaviour similar to the one present in the previous test.

In continuation, we will show the analysis of this test.

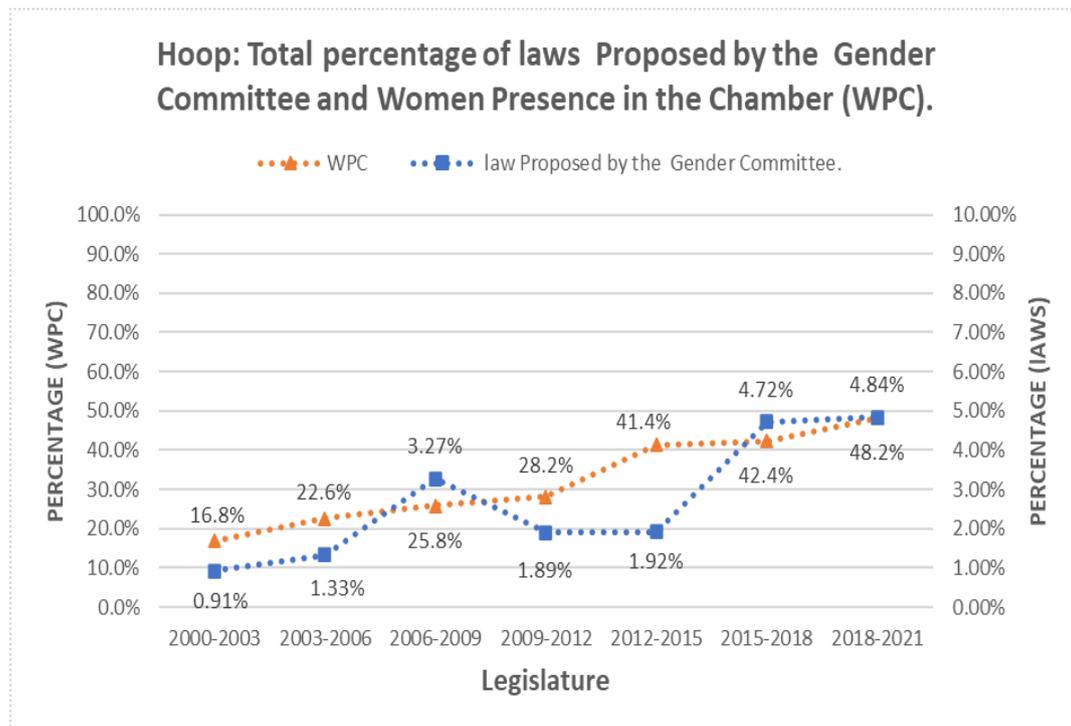
### 6.2.1 Hoop test first part: Change of behaviour in the Gender Committee.

In the following figure<sup>4</sup>, we can observe the total number of laws, in number and percentage, that the Gender Committee proposed during the different periods. After that, this research work will present a graphic comparing the Women Presence in the Chamber (WPC) and the percentage of laws proposed by the Gender Committee (Figures 3 & 4). In these figures it is possible to observe that on average there is a tendency on the rise from the part of the Gender and Equality Committee to propose more laws the higher the Women Presence in Chamber is. However, there are two moments in the legislature that are important to remark. The first moment to remark is that even though the WPC first achieves a critical mass, above 30% of the total representatives, on the periods from 2009 to 2015 the number of laws presented are lower by more than two percentage points when compared to the 2003-2006 period. This, the lowering of the number of proposals during a Critical Mass period could point out that there might not be a strong relationship between the WPC and the behaviour of the Gender Committee. However, this assumption can be contested by the second moment. In the second moment it can be seen that in the last two legislatures, 2015-2018 & 2018-2021, where the women's presence in the chamber is above 40%, the Gender Committee made close to 52.9% of all its proposals. This amount of proposals made by the Gender Committee has never been seen in the history of the lower chamber in

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<sup>4</sup> The same information in a table format can be seen in the annex.

Mexico. This situation added to the 2003-2006 legislature, when the WPC and the number of laws increases, gives credibility to the existence of a positive correlation between the WPC and the proposals made the Gender Committee. As such it could be said that this part of the test was pass.

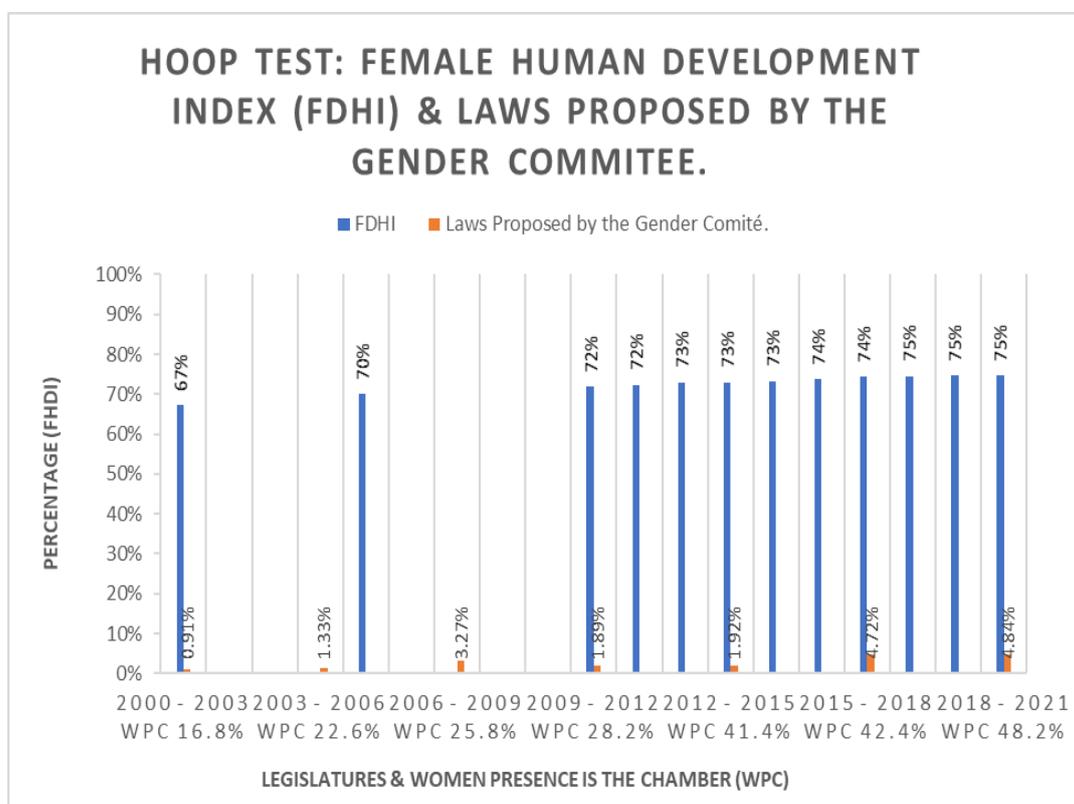


**Figure 3:** Hoop test: Total in Percentage of laws proposed by the Gender committee laws and Women Presence in the Camber. Chamber (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020).

### 6.2.2 Hoop Test second part: Comparing the behaviour in the Gender Committee and the behaviour of Female Human Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index.

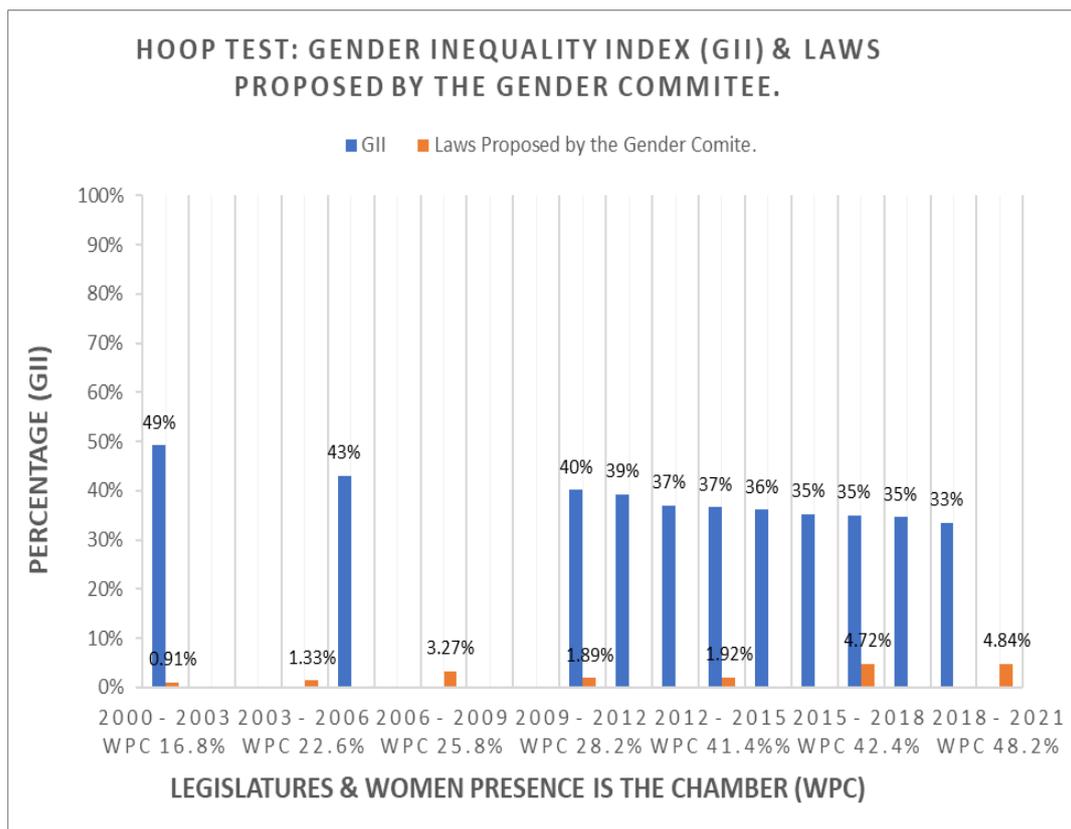
In the following graphics will show and compare how the Gender Committee in the lower chamber; the Female Human Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index behaved from 2000-2020. The first graphic shows that while the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) increased the number of laws presented by the Gender Committee also did. When the growths are compared, it can be appreciated that the FDHI had an average growth of 0.41% per year

meanwhile the number of proposals made by the Gender Committee grew on average of 2.61% per electoral period.



**Figure 4:** Hoop Test: Female Human Development Index & Laws proposed by the Gender Committee Gender (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union; 2020 & UNDP 2020)

In the second graphic is possible to appreciate the increase on the number of proposals made by the Gender Committee and the decrease of the Gender Inequality Index (GII). As already stated, the way the GII works means that the lower it is the most equality the country is regarded. As such it could be say that meanwhile the Gender inequality in Mexico reduced by 0.7% on average each year the number of laws presented by the Gender Committee grew by a 2.61% per electoral period.



**Figure 5:** Hoop Test: Gender Inequality & Laws proposed by the Gender Committee Gender (Cámara de Diputados; 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & UNDP 2020)

Finally, it could be argued that this data, the comparison between the Female Human Development Index (FDHI); the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and the amount of proposals made by the Gender Committee, does strengthen the previous supposed relationship signalled during the Straws In The Wind Test. And as such, it could be possible to say that the hypothesis passes the second part of the hoop test.

### 6.2.3 Results of the Hoop test:

The data is certainly pointing towards the hypothesis passing the Hoop Test, however, before a verdict is given this research work will go through the three pieces of data that will validate the decision of whatever or not the hypothesis passed this test.

There are two significant pieces of data pointing towards the hypothesis passing the test. These pieces of data represent the objectives that were established for the hypothesis to achieve. The first objective looked forward to establishing a plausible link between the Women Presence in the Chamber (WPC) and the behaviour of the Gender Committee. This relationship, between the WPC and the Gender Committee (Figures 3 & 4), was proven by showing in the analysis that the number of proposals made by the Gender Committee increases the larger the WPC is. Meanwhile, for the second objective, the hypothesis had to prove a plausible relation between the increase of proposals and the improvement of the scores that Mexico has on the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and the Female Human Development Index (FHDI). The hypothesis achieved the objective when it was shown during the analysis (Figures 5 & 6) that the plausible relationship between the indexes and the actions lead by the WPC of the lower chamber was still present.

The third piece of data; however, could be interpreted in a way that would weaken the proposed hypothesis. This evidence was brought upon and expand upon on during the first part of the test (Figure 3&4). During the analysis, it was signalled that in two of the legislatures, from 2009 to 2015, the Gender Committee decreased its number of proposals despite the Women Presence in the Chamber (WPC) achieving critical minority. These two legislatures contradict the trend in behaviour established by the previous legislatures and recuperated by the following, 2015 – 2021, legislatures, that saw the Gender Committee proposing more laws, the bigger the WPC was. This situation, the reduced number of proposals made by the legislature, could be explained by several reasons.

However, there is a political event, that was expanded upon in the section of Women Representation in Mexico, that could be used as a plausible explanation for the 2009-2012 legislatures behaviour. During 2009 it came to the public attention that some of the female deputies renounced to their public charge in favour of their male replacement immediately after they have taken charge (La Jornada, 2009). These deputies gained the name of “Juanitas”, in reminisce of “Juanito” another candidate that did the same thing that during the previous electoral period (La Jornada, 2009). The behaviour of the deputies was interpreted as the way of the parties to get around the new electoral law, proposed in 2009, that forced the parties to have at least 40% of their candidates, including the proportional representation candidate, to be females. The result of this action was that around 12 female representatives resigned their post in favour of their male supplement heavily damaging the gender parity on the congress. As such, this event could be use as a plausible explanation for why the Gender Committee changed its behaviour on the 2009-2012 legislature (Murgía 2017).

There is no clear political event that could easily explain the behaviour of the 2012-2015 period. However, it could be said that the new and unfamiliar status quo, the Women Presence in the Chamber finally being enough to generate change, had something to do with it and this legislature was just an adjustment period. As such it could be said that even though this piece of evidence, the behaviour of the 2009-2015 legislatures, could be interpreted as weak spot on the hypothesis the supporting information, the case of “the Juanitas”, does point towards that at least the behaviour of the 2009-2012 legislature was artificial. This result, the possible artificial behaviour of the 2009-2012 legislature, strengthens the hypothesis as it could be interpreted that if WPC increase and is not manipulated by an external variable the most likely result of it is the increase of proposals made by the Gender Committee. To conclude, it can be say the hypothesis did pass the Hoop Test. And it is reasonable to say so because the hypothesis achieved the two previously stated objectives and one of the biggest arguments against it, the behaviour of the 2009-2015 legislatures, has supporting evidence that explains why it was different.

## 6.3 Smoking Gun:

The Smoking Gun test, if pass, will almost guarantee the existence of a correlation between the Women Presence in the Chamber (WPC); Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII) variables. This possible relationship has already been hinted to exist in the previous two tests that the hypothesis already passes. The Smoking Gun test will focus on trying to show that the increased rate of proposals made by the Gender Committee has not only been in numbers, but that has also been in relation to the areas present in the FHDI and the GII. In order to prove or disprove this, the increased amount of laws related to the FHDI and the GII, this research reviewed the content of the laws proposed by the Gender Committee from 2000 to 2020 and assigned them to their corresponding index related area. These areas that are stated on the methodology for the Indexes are the following (United Nations Development Programme 2020).

### **Gender Inequity Index (GII):**

- Empowerment (Studies/ Seats on the Parliament).
- Health (Maternal mortality/Adolescent Birth Rate).
- Labour Market (Presence).

### **Female Human Development Index (FDHI):**

- Long and Healthy life (Life span).
- Knowledge (expected years of education).
- Standard of living (Income; GDP per capita).

The following test will be divided into three parts. The first part will focus on establishing that the number of proposals related to the Indexes raised alongside with the number of general proposals. This will be done by comparing the total number of proposals related to the indexes and the total number of proposals made by the Gender Committee for each legislature. The second part will try to

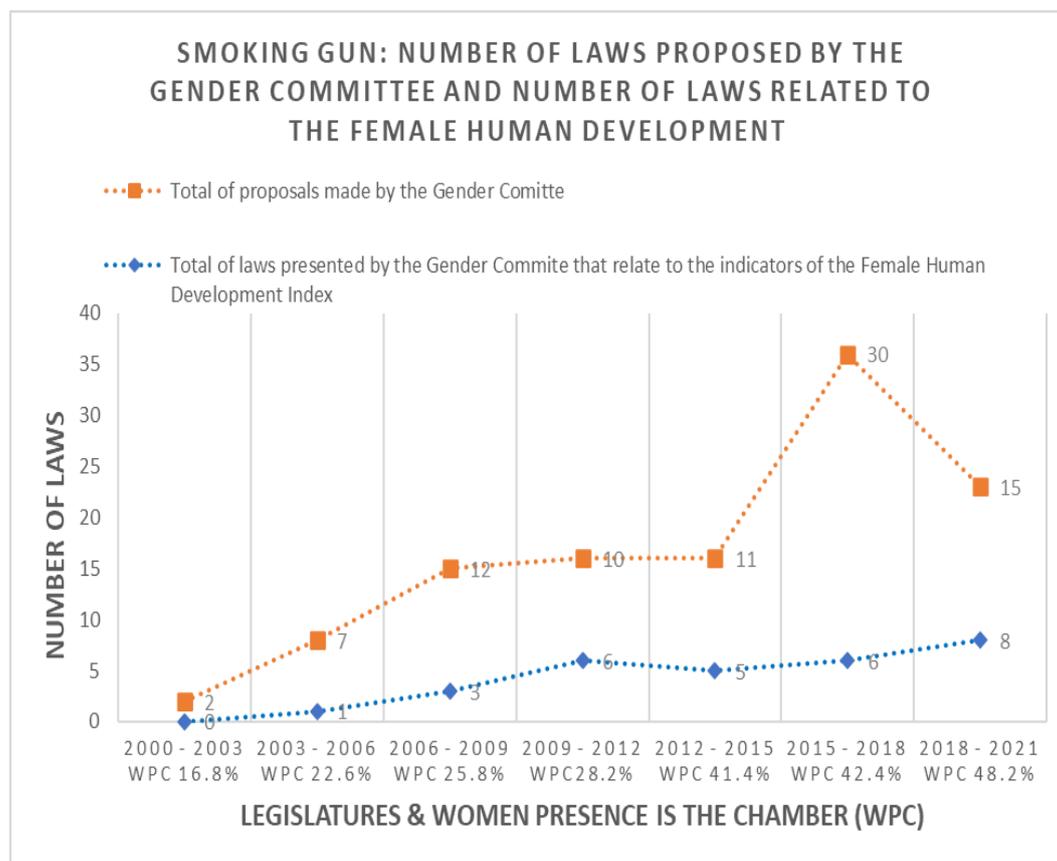
establish an intention by the Gender Committee to improve a specific area of the indexes, and this will be done by disaggregating the number of proposals related to the indexes for each period. The third part will focus on trying to establishing the intention of the Gender Committee in creating a support structure through the law proposals, and it will do so by comparing the number of proposals made related to this Support System for each period. If the hypothesis were to pass all of the three parts of the Smoking gun test, then the test will be considered a pass. In case the smoking gun test is passed it could be said that there is a correlation between the Women Presence in the Chamber and the indexes, meaning that the proposed hypothesis can be considered as a valid answer to the research question.

### 6.3.1 Smoking Gun: First part.

In the first part of the Smoking gun test, this research will try to establish an increase in proposals that are related to the items of the indexes. As such, the following graphics will focus on exposing the information related to the number of laws proposals made by the Gender Committee.

The following graphs show the total number of proposals made by the Gender Committee compared against the total number of proposals that are related to the Female Development Index (FHDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) for each legislature. The first graphic (Figure 6) shows the number related to the FHDI. Here it can be appreciated that the total number of proposals made by the Gender Committee it is maintained during the legislatures from 2003 to 2012 and then rises from 2012 until 2018 where it peaks with 30 proposals. Finally, it is possible to observe a decrease in the ongoing legislature, 2018-2021, with only 15 proposals. Saying that, this legislature, 2018-2021, does has the second-highest number of general proposals made. If it were to keep this behaviour, it could become the legislature was the Gender Committee made the most proposals since 2000. It is also possible to observe that there is a trend of proposals related to the FHDI. This trend could be described as positive as the majority of the legislatures have an increase in the proposals related to the FHDI. This positive trend is maintained from 2003-2010 to the 2009-2012 legislature, after this legislature it decreases by one during the 2012-2015 legislature. However, after the 2012-2015

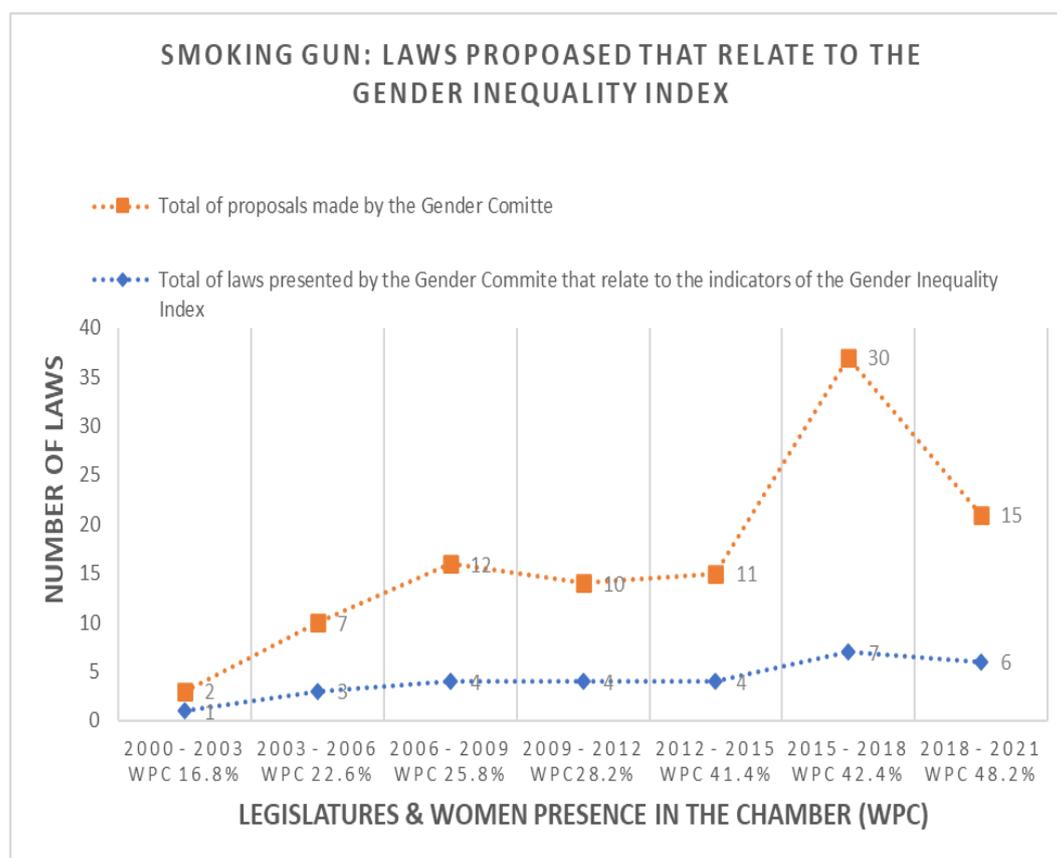
legislature, the trend starts again culminating in the 2018-2021 legislature where it achieves its highest point of 8 related proposals.



**Figure 6:** Smoking Gun Test: Number of Laws Proposed by the Gender Committee and the Number of Laws Related to the Female Human Development Index Gender Inequality & Laws proposed by the Gender Committee Gender (Cámara de Diputados; 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union; 2020 & UNDP; 2020).

In the next graphic (Figure 7), we can observe the same behaviour of the general proposals. However, the behaviour of the laws that relate to the Gender Inequality Index (GII) is different from the ones related to the Female Human Development Index. It is possible to appreciate a positive trend from the legislatures from 2000-2006, where the number of proposals related to the GII grew by 2. After that, the number of proposals made by the legislature was maintained at four from 2006 to 2015. Finally, it is possible to observe a growth from 4 to 7 in the number of proposals made during the legislature of 2015-2018 accompanied by a slight decrease from 7 to 6 in the current legislature from 2015-2018. The current legislature, 2018-2021, could be considered as a special case again as at the moment is the second-highest legislature in proposing general proposals and proposals related to the GII. If this behaviour would be maintained the legislature

of 2018-2021 could become the legislature was the Gender Committee did the largest number of GII related proposals.



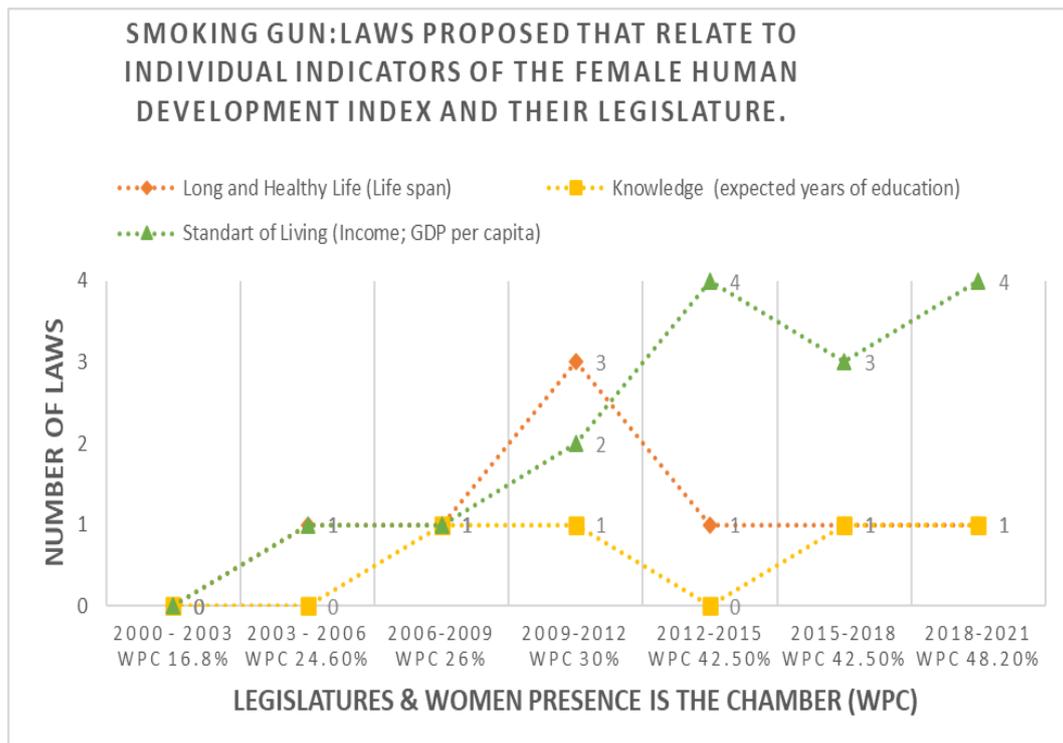
**Figure 7:** Smoking Gun Test: Number of Laws Proposed by the Gender Committee and the Number of Laws Related to the Gender Inequality Index & Laws proposed by the Gender Committee Gender (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & UNDP 2020).

### Smoking gun: first part results.

The analysis made to the data shows that there is a plausible surface connection between the Gender Committee and the Indexes. It is possible to state this as it is shown (Figure 7 & 6) that out of the total 88 proposals made by the Gender Committee at least 37 (42.52%) are directly related to the Female Development Index (FHDI) and 29 (31.0%) are directly related to the Gender Inequality Index (GII). It is important to remark that none of the indexes goes beyond 50% and as such is why the connections cannot be considered strong. On the other hand, as none of them goes below 30%, it could not be considered an accidental. However, it is possible to say that there is a surface connection. To conclude the proposed hypothesis did pass this part of the test as it is possible to establish a surface connection between the Gender Committee behaviour and the Indexes through the number of laws related to them.

### 6.3.2 Smoking gun: Second part.

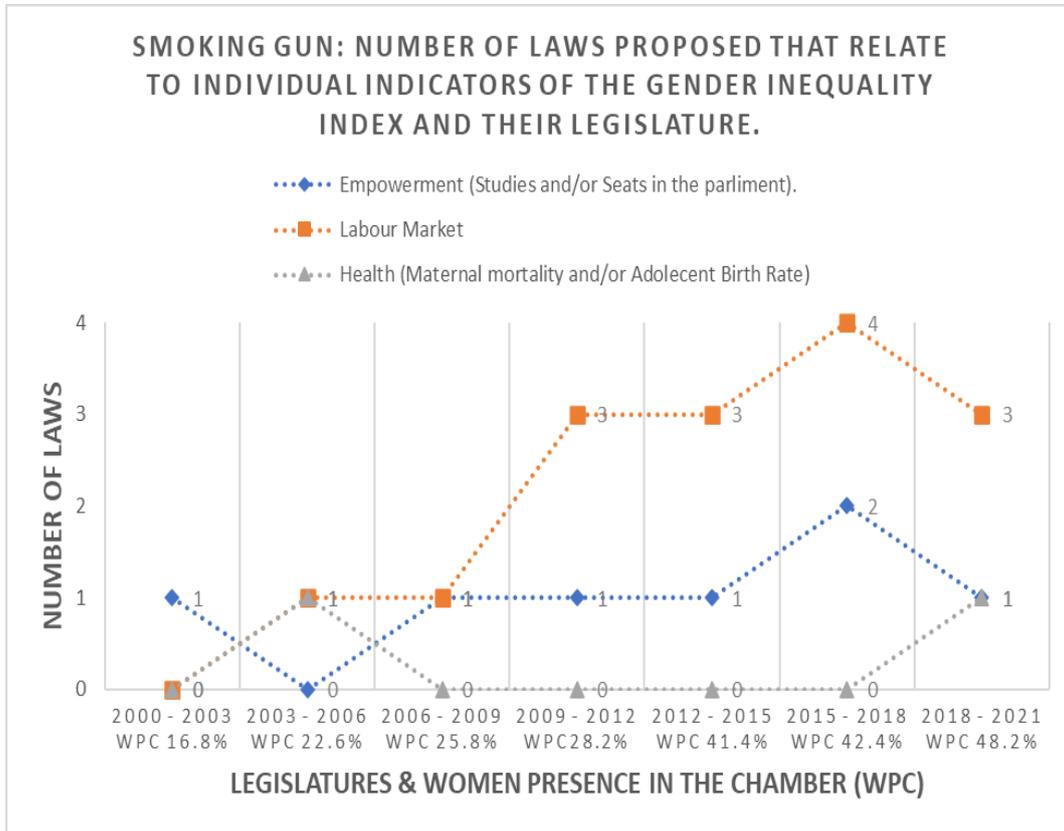
The second part of the test will aim to establish a connection between the proposals and the specific indicators from the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII). The following graphics (Figure 8 & 9) will focus on showing how much priority was given to the different items of the Indexes. The first graphic (Figure 8) will focus on the FDHI, and it shows how many laws were related to its three areas of Long and Healthy Life; Knowledge and Standard of Living. It is possible to observe that the area that received the most attention was Standard of Living as in it has a total of 15 proposals related to it during the legislatures from 2000-2020. Following this, the second-highest item is the Long and Healthy Life having 8 laws that are directly related to the item. Finally, the item with less attention is the one related to Knowledge as it only has 4 proposals associated with.



**Figure 8:** Smoking Gun Test: Number of Laws Proposed that relate to individual indicators of the Female Human Development Index and their Legislature (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & UNDP 2020).

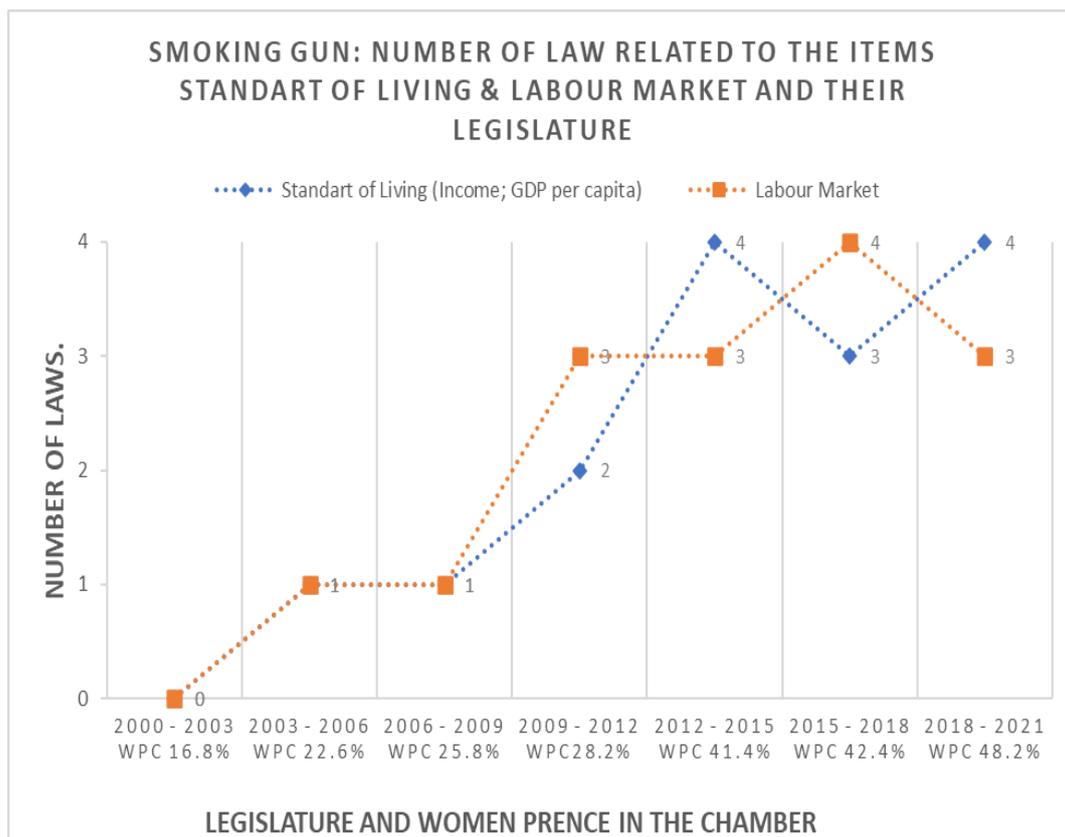
In the next graphic (Figure 9) it is possible to observe that the items related to the Gender Inequality Index (GII) have a similar behaviour than the ones related to the Female Human Development Index. The item with the most related modifications is the Labour Market with 15 modifications. Afterwards, the second

item with the most related modifications is the Empowerment Item with 7 modifications. Finally, the Health Item is the one that has the least attention from the Gender Committee only having 2 related modifications during the legislatures from 2000-2020.



**Figure 9:** Smoking Gun Test: Number of Laws Proposed that relate to individual indicators of the Gender Inequality Index and their Legislature (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & UNDP 2020).

The next table (Figure 10) shows the total of modifications related to the items of Standard of Living (FHDI) and Labour Market (GII) made by the legislatures from 2000-2018. In this graphic, it is possible to appreciate that the legislature made 15 modifications or proposals to the laws regarding these items. This graphic also shows that there is a general increase in the number of proposals, the largest the women presence in the chamber is. This, the increased number of proposals, can be seen after the 2009-2012 legislature when the number of proposals regarding the items never goes below 3.



**Figure 10:** Smoking Gun Test: Number of Laws related to the Standard & Labour Market (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & UNDP 2020).

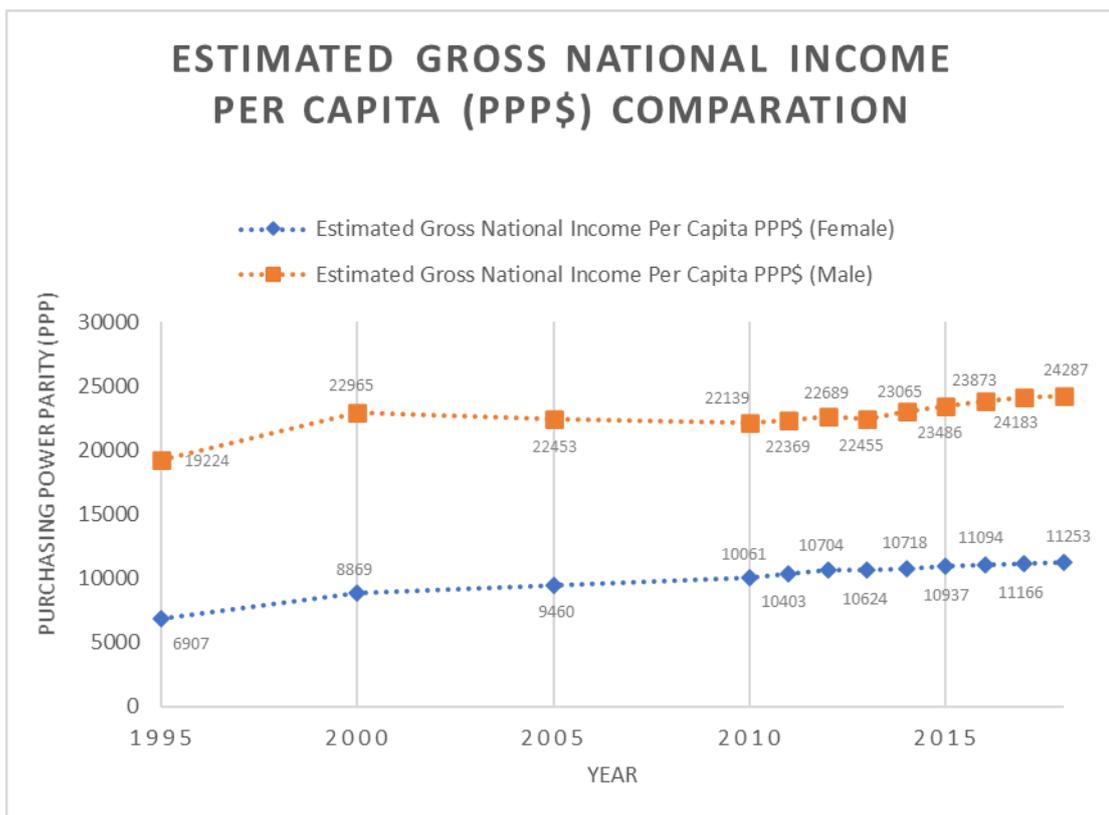
### 6.3.3 Smoking Gun: Second part results.

After this analysis, it could be possible to say that there is a clear intention from the Gender Committee to improve the economic income related items. This, the claim about the intention shown by the Gender Committee is back up by the fact that the Standard of Living Item from the Female Human Development Index (FHDI) and the Labour Market item in the Gender Inequality Index (GII) are the items with the most modification proposals related to them from 2000-2020. In order to strengthen this claim this research work will now present a comparison between the evolution of the Female Gross National Income per Capita growth and the Male Gross National Income Per Capita from 1995 to 2018 (UNPD; 2020).

In the following two graphics it is possible to appreciate the behaviour of the Female Gross National Income per Capita (FGNIPC) and how this behaviour

compares with the Male Gross National Income Per Capita (MGNIPC) from 1995 to 2018 (UNDP;2020) (Figures 10 & 11).

In a general view both FGNIPC and the MGNIPC show a positive trend as both of them improved over the years; however, doing a more detailed analysis, it shows that the FGNIC has had a more stable development. Over the time both of the indexes have had some degrowth, and this can be seen especially on the MGNIPC as it falls three times over the years, the first fall is on 2005, by 512 (PPP) Purchasing Power Parity, the second one is on 2010, by 314 PPP, and the third time is on 2013 by 234 PPP. In comparison, the FGNIPC had only one degrowth in 2013, losing a total of 80 PPP. This shows that FGNIPC is more stable than the MGNIPC as it only falls one time and by a total of 80 PPP, while the MGNIPC falls three times by a total of 1060 PPP.



**Figure 11:** Smoking Gun Test: Estimated Gross National Income Per Capita (PPP) Comparison by Sex (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020 & UNDP 2020).

The reason why the Female Gross National Income Per Capita (FGNIPC) is so stable could be related to the proposals and modifications made by the Gender Committee as the majority of their proposals over the years have been related to this indicator. It is also worth calling the attention that is after 2014 when the FGNIPC starts growing uninterrupted, and this is also the same period when the legislature has done the largest number of law modifications and proposals related to the indicator (Figure 10).

To conclude this section. It is possible to say that the hypothesis has passed the second part of the Smoking Gun test as the intention by the Gender Committee to improve the Standard of Living item (FHDI) and the Labour Market item (GII) has been proved.

#### 6.3.4 Smoking Gun: third part.

The purpose of the third part of the Smoking Gun test is to try to establish the intention of the Gender Committee to create a support structure that guarantees that Women in Mexico will increase and maintain their Quality of life. As such, this section will focus on analysing the structure laws that comprehend the Ley General de Acceso de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia<sup>5</sup>; the Ley General para la Igualdad entre Mujeres y Hombres<sup>6</sup> and Modifications that affect the Mexican Constitution from 2000 to 2020. At continuation a brief explanation of these laws.

- **Ley General de Acceso de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia (LGAMVLV):** This law, first introduced in 2007, focuses on guaranteeing a life free of violence for all the women in Mexico. In order to do so, this law establishes the concepts and types of violence that the Mexican state recognizes. It is involved in the planification of the development of the country. And, finally, this law is the basis for the procedures that deal with the cases of violence in the country.

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<sup>5</sup> The General Law for Women to Access a Life Free of Violence

<sup>6</sup> The General Law for the Equality between Women and Men

- **Ley General para la Igualdad entre Mujeres y Hombres (LGIMH):** This law, first introduced in 2006, is responsible for assuring that women and men have access to the same opportunities. In order to do this, the law defines the different types of Discrimination; Equality and other concepts related to its goal. It is also the basis for the procedures and rules that solve any case of discrimination that were to happen in the country.
- **Modifications to the Mexican constitution:** The modifications to the Mexican constitutions were that the Gender Committee was involved from 2000-2020 were related to guarantee and protect the different political rights of women.

The following graphic shows the amount of modifications made to this laws. It is possible to observe that the law that has been modify the most is the Ley General de Acceso a las Mujeres a Una Vida Libre de Violencia (LGAMVLV), specially during the 2015-2018 legislature. It is also possible to observe that the Ley General para la Igualdad entre Mujeres Y Hombres (LGIMH) is the second most modified law having a maximum of modifications of 6 during the 2018-2021 legislature. Finally, the less modify structure law is the constitution as it has only been modify one time in order to achieve true parity in the government during the period of 2000 to 2020.

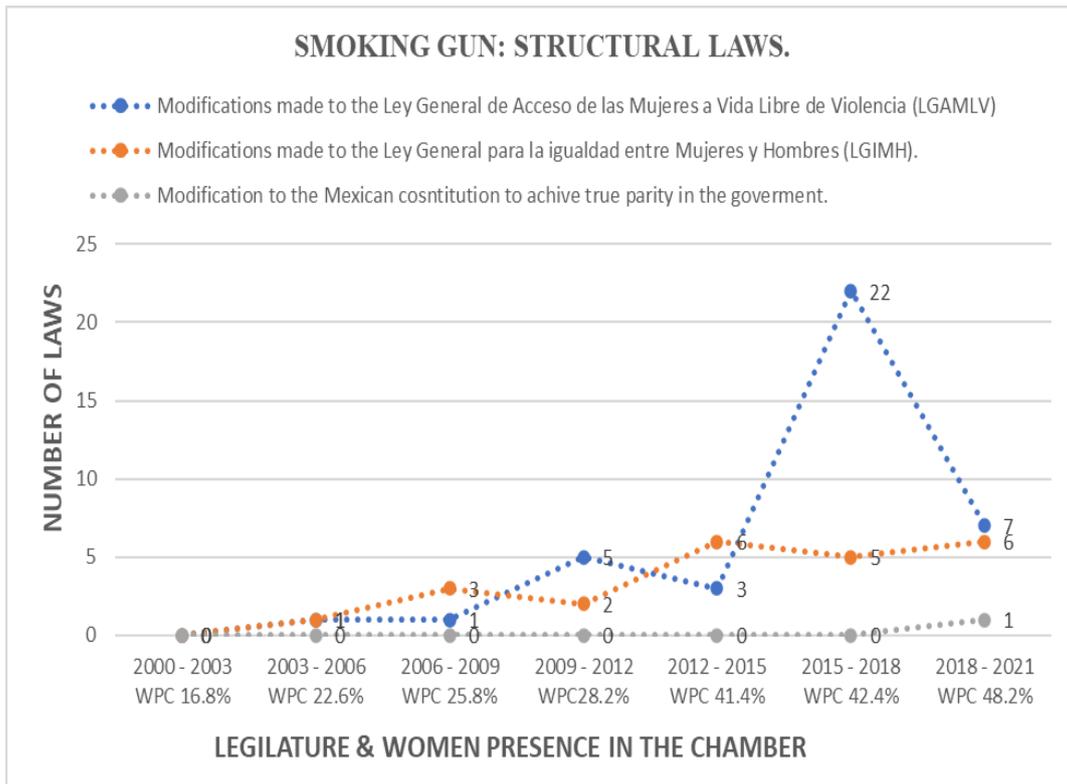


Figure 12: Smoking Gun Test: Structural Laws (Cámara de Diputados 2020 & Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020).

### 6.3.5 Smoking gun: results part three.

After analysing the data, it is easy to observe an intention from the lower chamber to create a structure that will foment the continuous improvement of the quality of living for the women of Mexico. This can be seen as the two main structural laws the Ley General de Acceso de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia and the Ley General para la Igualdad entre Mujeres y Hombres are constantly being updated. This update varied from just updating the name of a state to a complete reform of the constitution in order to achieve parity in the government (Camara de Diputados 2020). As such, it is possible to say that the hypothesis does pass the third part of the Smoking gun test proving that the Gender Committee does have the intention to create a Structural law that will ensure the Quality of Living of the women in Mexico.

### 6.3.6 Smoking Gun Results:

After applying the three-parts of the test, it can be said that the hypothesis has passed the Smoking Gun test. As such, an intention by the Gender Committee to improve the quality of living of the women in Mexico is established. This affirmation, of the Gender Committee, actively trying to improve the quality of living of the women in Mexico is backed up by the results of the tests. The first part of the tests proves that from the 87 proposals made by the Gender Committee, from 2000 to 2020, 29 are related to the items belonging to the Gender Inequality Index (GII). Another 37 of the proposals are related to the Female Human Development Index (FHDI). This means that there is a plausible correlation between the behaviour of the Gender Committee, that is enhanced by the Women Presence in the Chamber, and the improvement of Mexico in the FHDI and the GII. The second part of the test established that the Gender Committee has focused on solving the Gender Wedge Gap problem in Mexico by continually updating and creating laws in order to strengthen the women purchasing power and access to the market labour and. This is further established after comparing the Female Gross National Income per Capita (FGNIPC) and the Male Gross National Income Per Capita (MGNIPC). The comparison proves that the FGNIPC have had a more stable growth than the MGNIPC from 1995 to 2018 and even though it would be impossible to say that the only reason why this happened is the behaviour of the Gender Committee it would also be hard to prove that Gender Committee behaviour is not one of the reasons why. The final test establishes that the Gender Committee has also tried to create a support structure to guarantee that the quality of women will keep improve and maintain. This was done through the creation and modification of laws and the constitution. Is because of the results of this test that is possible to say the hypothesis passed the Smoking gun test.

## 6.4 Results.

After running the proposed hypothesis through the test that comprehends the methodology of Process Tracing it is possible to say that a configurational causality can be established and as such it can be said that there is a positive correlation between the Women Presence in the Congress (WPC) and the Quality of Living for the women in Mexico. This affirmation that the higher the WPC is the better quality of living the women in Mexico can achieve is back up by the hypothesis, passing all of the different tests planned for it. In the Straws in the Wind Test, that had the objective to confirm the possibility of a relationship between the variables, it was confirmed, that meanwhile, the Women Presence in the Chamber increased Mexico improved its scores on the Female Human Development Index and the Gender Development Index. This, the results that were obtained thought comparing the behaviours of the indexes and the WPC pointed towards the possibility of the existence of a positive relationship between the variables. During the Hoop test, that had the objective to strengthen the possible relationship between the variables pointed on the results of the Straws in the Wind Test, it was established that the higher the WPC, the more the Gender Committee increased its participation on the legislature. This result, that was obtained after comparing the WPC, and the number of proposals made by the Gender Committee from 2000 to 2020, confirmed that the variables shared a positive correlation. The Smoking Gun test that had the objective to confirm the positive correlation of the WPC and indexes by reviewing and comparing the 86 laws proposed by the gender committee confirmed that the Gender Committee had been actively trying to solve the social problems that hinder the development of women in the country. This possible relationship was further strengthened, especially regarding the items related to Labour Market and Economical Empowerment, when this research work made a comparison between the Female Gross National Income per Capita (FGNIPC) and the Male Gross National Income Per Capita (MGNIPC). In this comparison between the FGNIPC and the MGNIPC it was established that the FGNIPC has a more stable growth than the MGNIPC pointing towards the possibility that the actions of the Gender Committee, while not entirely responsible, did play a role on achieving this

growth. All of this data points towards the existence of a positive correlation between the Women Presence in the Chamber and the quality of life of the women in Mexico, at least according to the Female Human Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index. However, before a final result is given on whatever or not the hypothesis is a possible answer to the research question, it is worth checking the possibility of an inverse causality.

An inverse causality would happen if it were to establish that it was the increased quality of living of the women is the responsible for the Women Presence in the Chamber (WPC) rather than backwards as this research work proposes. The argument for this reasoning is that it could be possible because the increased quality of living the women would make it easier for women to participate in politics and as such, increasing their presence in the Chamber. The primary evidence towards this reasoning would be that there is some legislatures where the indexes, especially the Gender Inequality Index, do not improve considerably; meanwhile, the WPC does. However, the majority of the data suggest the contrary. This, the data that refutes the inverse causality argument is possible to observe on the analysis made to the number of proposals and the WPC and during the analysis done in order to establish an intention from the part of the Gender Committee. During the analysis related to the number of proposals related to the WPC is shown that the majority of the laws that are tied to the improvement of living were created after the WPC achieved certain level. This further supported as it is seen during the research that before the WPC increased in the legislature of 2000 to 2003, the Gender Committee only made two laws proposals. This is not to say that the WPC is responsible for the increased quality of living of the Mexican women, as there are many other variables involved in this process; however, the modifications and updates made to the laws by the gender committee probably played an essential role on achieving this.

Hence, looking at the data above, the hypothesis passing the three test and the lack of data supporting an inverse causality, it can be stated that this research proposed hypothesis, *The increased women presence in Mexican legislature has positively affected the quality of life of the women in Mexico*, is an acceptable answer to the research question of *To what extent has the increased presence of women in the*

*Mexican legislature, from 2000 to 2020, affected the quality of life of the women in the country?*

## 7 Discussion.

The results that this research presented aligns to the proposed hypothesis as it points towards that strong women presence in a legislature can become a crucial element into improving the quality of living for the women in a developing country similar to Mexico. However, before this research moves to its final parts it is pertinent to admit the limitations that it has.

The most important limitation of this work is that it does not go in deep into all the possible effects that the laws have on the indexes. And this, the lack of in deep analysis, does limited the research capability to prove a stronger correlation, or even causation, between the increased Women Presence in the chamber and the quality of living of the women in Mexico. However, this situation, the lack of deepness in the analysis, is by design as the main intention of this research was to confirm a correlation between the variables rather than to explore the effectiveness of the “new” gender-sensitive policies. The reason this research was conducted like this was due to the lack of previous research work regarding the effects that an increased presence of women in the legislatures have in the development of a country and to establish the groundwork for future research. The other limitation of this research is the bias that affects the design of the analysis. This bias takes shape in the decision made of just analysing the laws and the results of the indexes and not doing a parallel analysis on sources that better reflected the social reality as perceived by the women in the country. And because of this, the lack of sources that compare the perceived social reality of the women, it could be the case that the data used for the indexes is tailored to achieve better scores and the research was not aware of it. However, due to the lack of resources and the lack of previous research on this topic, it was decided that the research would focus on these data sources, the indexes and laws, in order to first try and establish a correlation.

Going back to the results of this research. The result is not entirely a surprise as the literature and the theory related to this topic remark on the importance of women being present at the moment of creating laws and policies that deal with the development of the female population. It is possible to observe that the higher the presence of the women in the legislature, the more inclusive and effective in aiding in the developing of the women of Mexico the legislature becomes. And this, the laws becoming more efficient in adding in the development of women in the country, can be seen by reviewing the proposals made by the Committee through time. Before the women started to have a considerable presence in the chamber, most of the laws did not attempt to be inclusive in their language or in their objective. However, after the women presence became larger the modifications to the laws regarding the type of language and how they interacted with women started to increase. This, the introduction of laws that were preoccupied on how the government dealt with the female population, can be observed on the creation of the structural laws that actively recognized the problem of violence that women in Mexico are facing. These laws were first proposed on the 2003-2006 legislature, that coincidentally is the first time that the women have a presence in the chamber above the 20%, and after that, the number of modification and proposals related to creating a gender-sensitive government keeps increasing.

All of this, how the increased women presence in the legislature has started to change the gender sensitivity in the government, strengths the claim of the theories, who argue that the only way to achieve an equal development, and good quality of democracy, is by making sure that everyone is recognized and participating. It is possible to observe this, the theories being apply, during the case. Starting with Quality of Democracy is possible to observe how the Procedures concept was utilize, especially during the application of the mechanism to bring women into the chamber. Meanwhile, the Content concept can be observed during the laws proposals made by the gender committee as the content of the laws became more and more gender-sensitive. It is, also possible to observe the Results concept by analysing the improvement of the country scores in the Gender Inequality Index and the Female Human Development Index. At the same time, it is possible to observe the concept of Agency from the Capabilities

approach theory, at the moment when the political participation of the women takes shape in the increased number of proposal made by the Gender Committee. To conclude, it is possible to observe how the Gender and Development theory was fundamental for this to happen, as the evolution of the institutions of the country would have, probably, been much more slower without the recognition and integration of the women in to the parliament. This also supports the prime argument of the Gender and Development theory as even though it was never explicitly said that women should not be able to achieve representation it was not until the applications of the gender quota that women had access to appropriate representation.

On the practical level, the effects of the larger presence of women in the legislature through time can be observed on different areas. However, this research focused on comparing the Mexican Gross National Income Per Capita by sex as it was the area were the Gender Committee made the larger number of proposals. In comparison, it was discovered that the Female Gross National Income Per Capita had a more stable growth than the Male National Income Per Capita from 1995 to 2018. This is said because the Female Gross National Income Per Capita only fell one time from 1995 to 2018. Meanwhile, the Male National Income Per Capita fell three times in the same period. This situation, the different behaviour of the Incomes Per Capita, can be explained by a multitude of factors; however, it could be said that the modifications made by the Gender Committee to the laws in order to improve the women economic rights was one of the main factors. This, the role that the Gender Committee plays on improving the economic power of the women in Mexico is a good proof of the impact that having women participating in the creation and modifications laws can have on the developing of a country.

Finally, this proof, that a higher Presence of Women in Legislature affects positively the developed of the women in Mexico, is also the main apport that this research offers to the scientific and public administration society. As now this research can be used as a steppingstone towards the creation of more in deep research that can deal with the topics that this research could not approach.

## 8 Conclusions.

This research objective was to establish the extent of the impact that the female presence on the legislature had on the development of the female population of Mexico. To do so, the research studied 20 years of laws proposals made by the Gender Committee in the lower chamber of the Mexican legislature and then compared with the scores of the country in the Gender Inequality Index and the Female Human Development Index. The results of the analysis pointed towards the existence of a positive correlation between the women presence in the chamber and the development of the women in Mexico through the legislative work done by the Gender Committee in the lower chamber of the Mexican legislative power. These results go inline towards what the theories used in research establish. This is to say, that for the theories that comprehend the basis of this research in order to achieve development and good quality of democracy in the country is necessary to guarantee the participation of all the sectors of the population. This is better exemplated during the research when the comparison between the Female Gross National Income Per Capita and the Male National Income Per Capita was made. This comparison was made to establish a relation between the legislative work of the Gender Committee and the development of the women in Mexico. This comparison, points towards that the legislature work that gender committee has done over the years on fortifying the economic rights on the women in Mexico was in part responsible for helping the Female Gross National Income Per Capita have a stable growth from 1995 to 2015.

To conclude, it can be said that the research work did achieve its objective as it did establish a correlation between the women present in the Mexican legislature and the improvement in the quality of living of the women in the country. As the research was able to establish, through the use of the process tracing methodology, a causality between the actions of the Gender Committee and the development of the women in the country.

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## 10 Appendix.

Figure 13. Number of Total proposals made by the legislatures.

Legislature	Total of proposal published on the Gaceta Parlamentaria	Total of laws presented by the Gender Committee	Percentage of the Gender Committee
2000-2003	219	2	0.91%
2003-2006	526	7	1.33%
2006-2009	367	12	3.27%
2009-2012	528	10	1.89%
2012-2015	572	11	1.92%
2015-2018	635	30	4.72%
2018-2021	310	15	4.84%
Global totals	3157	87	2.76%