

# **Government Ideology and Women’s Legislative Representation: Is there Women-Friendly ODA?**

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## **Abstract**

Do political characteristics in donor countries affect women’s political representation in recipient countries? Do domestic political factors in donors strengthen or weaken the effectiveness of ODA? This study investigates whether and how partisan differences in donor countries influence women’s political presence in legislatures in aid-receiving countries. While causal mechanisms shaping the variation of women’s political representation are well understood within a nation, there are few attempts to link the political characteristics of foreign aid and women’s political conditions in developing countries. The effect of foreign aid provided by left/right government of five top donors—the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom and France—is tested across 156 countries from 1994 to 2014. Finding indicates that the ODA from left-wing government is likely to increase the level of female legislative representation in recipients than ODA from right-wing government, presenting different impact of ODA depends on government partisanship of donor countries.

*Note: Preliminary Draft, Please do not cite or circulate without authors’ permission*

## **Introduction**

Despite the rise in socio-economic status of women, women’s representation in parliamentary which is often used as an index to measure gender equality still remains low. As of March 2017, only just 23% of parliamentarians in the world are women (Inter-parliamentary Union, 2017), and it is relatively under-representation of women when it comes to think that half of world’s population are female. Some scholars put the greatest importance on gender balance in politics which is integral to produce a system of gender equality in society (Chafetz 1990; Moore and Shackman 1996). It can improve the quality of policy making in regard with women’s demand as well as ultimately increase women’s status outside of political sphere. Recent internationally attention has focused on the political approaches to find a fundamental problem. As stated on the United Nation’s

resolution on women and political participation, “women in every part of the world continue to be largely marginalized from the political sphere, often as a result of discriminatory laws, practices, attitudes and gender stereotypes, low levels of education, lack of access to health care and the disproportionate effect of poverty on women” (United Nation (UN), 2011). Political leadership and participation of women has long been limited both at transnational and national level and women are still largely underrepresented in most of countries. Not only each nation but also international donors have thus been concerned on gender equality and female empowerment to build up a foundation for equal opportunities in political participation in various ways. These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, followed by Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action held in 1995 which drew widespread attention. Most recently, in 2015, Sustainable Development Goal 5 was adopted, reflecting the continuous commitments of global community. In support of such transnational efforts, scholars have sought to explain the substantial cross-national variations at the level of female representation followed by the pioneer work of Maurice Duverger’s *The Political Role of Women* (1955) by conducting numerous case studies as well as large-N studies. Through these analyses, they identify the factors largely converged around three categories: political, socio-economic and cultural factors. Political variables (or institutional variable) are demand-side factors such as electoral system, the strength of left-wing parties or the level of democracy. Socio-economic variables are considered to influence the supply of female candidates such as levels of economic development, the education levels of women, the proportion of women in the workforce, especially their presence in highly valued positions in the labor force (Blumberg 1984; Chafetz 1984) or the strength of women’s movements. Moreover, the perceptions or societal attitudes toward gender equality and general egalitarianism or dominant religion in a country or its geographic region influence the political opportunity for women which are theorized to cultural factors. Based on the rich traditional literatures that the presence or dominance of left-oriented political parties (Kenworthy & Malami 1999; Reynolds 1999; Erzeel & Celis 2016) and left party ideology such as social equality have been found to increase levels of female representation, it can thus be assumed that

the foreign aid provided by donors with left government is more women-friendly in terms of achieving gender equality than those with right government.

This advances an argument that foreign aid from left governments<sup>1</sup> is more likely to promote the women's political participation in recipient countries than that from right ones. While there may be many other factors which affect women's political participation, this analysis focuses on the Left-Right distinction based on the various literatures on women's representation and in the belief that development assistance has always been framed depends on the conflicted forces of left and right. Although there has been contrasting views on whether the women issues are of leftists' concerns, left-wing is more likely to support social equality through which marginalized and vulnerable groups will be the main beneficiary. Considering the neglected role of women causes disparities and inequalities between the sexes, it is undeniable to regard gender equality as the main agenda of left governments. This article is expected to examine whether leftist's foreign aid actually contributes to improving women's presence in legislative required to achieve the political advancement of women in the sense of social justice and equality by conducting time-series cross-sectional analysis.

The remainder of this article is structured as follows. As this study investigates the direct relationship between government ideology (independent variable) in donors and women's representation (dependent variable) in recipient countries, it closely examines the linkage between them. In the next section, established explanations of variation in female legislative representation, especially on left-party ideology will be reviewed and subsequently the previous studies on foreign aid in terms of Left-Right ideological predispositions will be investigated. Through this process, we assume that foreign aid from donors with left-government is more likely to increase the level of female political representation in recipient countries. Prior to reaching conclusion, the research design and the results are. The result supports our *ideology hypothesis* that the foreign aid from donors with

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, a term 'left governments' is used as the countries with majority of liberal orientation of political parties.

left-wing party is associated with higher level of female representation in parliament in recipient countries, but not in every country among top 5 donors: the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom and France)

### **Existing Explanations for Variation in Women's Legislative Representation**

A wealth of research has theorized the explanations of women's legislative representation which are largely divided into three categories: political, socio-economic, and cultural factors. Most studies emphasize a country's electoral rule found to be fundamentally important and consistent cause of women's representation (Duverger 1955; Currell 1974; Bogdanor 1984; Rule 1987; Welch & Studlar 1990; Caul 1999; Matland 1998; Kenworthy & Malami 1999; Paxton & Kunovich 2003; Norris 2004; Paxton and Hughes 2007). Political variables deal with demand-side factors that countries under proportional representation (PR) electoral systems tend to elect more women to parliament than countries with majority systems (Kenworthy & Malami 1999; Matland 1998; Norris 2004; Reynolds 199; Rule 1987). PR electoral systems which enable women to avoid direct competition with men often entail (1) larger district leading more women as total parliamentarians to be elected, and (2) closed party list where candidates' position on the list are decided by parties rather than voters under open party list rule. It also provides more favorable conditions to implement gender quota policies. Roberts et al. (2012) highlight the importance of this finding for explaining women's representation as "electoral systems can be consciously manipulated" in contrast to most other factors. While the relationship between PR electoral system and higher level of female legislative representation is found to be a significant in developed countries, recent studies, except for few (Viterna et al. 2008), argue that this finding is less solid in developing countries (Matland 1998; Hughes 2009; Krook 2010; Stockemer 2015). Moreover, the presence or dominance of left-oriented political parties has influenced to increase women's election to national legislatures (Kenworthy &

Malami 1999; Reynolds 1999). Recently, Erzeel & Celis (2016) reaffirm that left-wing ideologies in general provide favorable circumstance for women's substantive representation than right-wing ideologies, thus its influence still remains as an important and strong. They provide more refined ideological spectrum across parties by differentiating it as 'economic left/right' and 'post-materialist left/right' ideologies. Although substantive representations deal with "effects" of women in parliaments rather than presence itself, this result offers positive theoretical association between left-wing ideologies and female representation (whether it is descriptive or substantive). Along with left-wing ideologies, some literatures find that the expansion of the welfare state attracts more women to politics (Rosenbluth et al. 2006). They claim that the welfare state promotes female participation in legislatures "by partially socializing formerly housewife-dominated serve and by acting as a large-scale employer for women." Welfare state policies free women to enter the paid workforce, provide public sector jobs that disproportionately employ women, and thus an ideological gender gap is created due to the political interests of working women. They also find that the key link underlying the traditional association between left governments' and female representation is "government spending", rather than greater chances of left parties nominating women.

Socio-economic variables which deal with supply-side factors have also been taken into account. Socio-economic factors include the levels of economic development, proportion of women in the workforce, educational achievements of women, and the strength of women's movements. Some scholars claim that only the percentage of women in highly valued positions/professional occupations is consistently statistically significant factor among others (Kenworthy & Malami 1999). This is because higher levels of educational and professional experience are generally required in order to be in the pool of eligible candidates (Rosen 2013). Viterna et al. (2008), nevertheless, suggest that while economic development per se does not promote gains in women's legislative representation, it does matter in that the factors shaping variation in women's political representation in developing countries are significantly distinct from the factors shaping variation in women's political representation in

developed countries.

Cultural norms including perceptions of gender equality and general egalitarianism and the dominant religion in a country are also an important factor that may influence on women's political participation (Norris & Inglehart 2001; Paxton & Kunovich 2003; Kenworthy & Malami 1999; Norris 2004). According to Paxton (1997), Muslim and Catholic countries have lesser proportion of women in politics than Protestant countries. More recent models employ measures from the World Values Survey to explain cultural factors, yet samples are insufficient due to data limitation (Inglehart & Norris 2003; Inglehart et al. 2002; Norris & Inglehart 2001; Paxton & Kunovich 2003). Other recent scholarship has introduced new independent variables such as income inequality, corruption, and conflict. Stockemer (2017) reveals that the women's legislative representation in high-income inequality countries grow at a 20 percent lower rate than in low-income inequality countries, which implies income disparities influence beyond nation's economic area. Some scholars find the correlation between corruption and women's representation, suggesting that quality of government or regional governance have a great influence on women's [local] political representation (Sung 2003; Sundström & Wängnerud 2014). Hughes (2009) finds that longer, larger-scale wars that contest the political system and reorganization of institutions increase the number of female parliamentarians in low-income countries by conducting both qualitative and quantitative analysis.

In this article, we expand on the women's representation literatures based on foreign aid literatures in order to examine the quality of foreign aid presented in gendered dimension. Most of studies find the positive association between the presence or dominance of left-wing ideologies and women's legislative representation. Moreover, factors deemed leftist's concern in general such as perception of egalitarianism, the expansion of the welfare state, income equality are also found to be the possible variables to explain the levels of female representation. Foreign aid is one of the efficient ways that can achieve both radical and substantial improvements of political or economic conditions in aid-receiving countries. Therefore, it is of great importance to investigate the linkage between

government ideology in donors and aid's effect in regard with political opportunity for women.

### **Theory: Government Partisanship and Foreign Aid**

The vast majority of scholarship on foreign aid emphasizes the important role of politics to explain aid allocation decisions (Alesina & Dollar 2000; Boone 1996; Burnside & Dollar 2000; Clemens et al. 2004; Maizels & Nissanke 1984; McKinlay & Little 1977). Main focus of research, however, touches upon political variables in recipients such as political stability and levels of democracy, often neglecting domestic politics in donors. When it comes to partisan politics, some argues government partisanship or ideology has only a marginal impact on aid effort. In contrast, several scholars who examine the role of US domestic politics in aid allocation disagree. Fleck & Kilby (2006) find that government ideology even appears to matter for allocation criteria; more conservative US governments put more weigh to commercial concerns, giving more aid to trading partners, while more liberal governments mostly considers recipient's need. Noël & Thérien (2010) also strengthen the idea that changes in domestic political ideology could bring about changes in foreign aid effort which is likely to decline as governments become more conservative. Likewise, the extant empirical studies indicates the crucial role of political variables at home in shaping aid policy (Fleck & Kilby 2001, 2006; Irwin 2000; Lancaster 2007; Milner & Tingley 2010; Noël & Thérien 1995; O'keefe & Nielson 2006; O'Leary 1967; Rieselbach 1966; Ruttan 1996; Thérien & Noël 2000).

According to the definition from Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which is by far the most prevalent (Browne 1990; Burnell 1997; Lancaster 2000), aid or official development assistance (ODA) refers to “those flows to countries and territories on the DAC List of ODA Recipients and to multilateral institutions which are 1) provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies; and each transaction of which: a) is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing

countries as its main objective; and b) is concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25 per cent.” Despite its wide range of applications, this article only covers the bilateral aid between nations to focus the political aspect in donor countries.

While some argues blurred distinction between left-right views, it is commonly believed that left-wing government is more favorable than the right-wing government to foreign aid owing to its belief in high government intervention expected to reduce social inequality through income redistribution. The left-right debate on foreign aid support diverges from the different issues they concern: the left-wing emphasizes on moral principles, whereas the right-wing on the issue of results (Thérien 2002). According to rightist’s perspective, aid is not as efficient as it supposed to be. They regard aid support as unnecessary and even detrimental to the local market economy, for it engenders the economic dependency. The left, however, stands their views upon the principle that ‘aid is a moral issue (Riddell 1987, p.74).’ They believe the long-term effectiveness of humanitarian assistance as welfare state does at domestic level. Moreover, they held the strong beliefs on the development assistance which has contributed to reducing extreme poverty in developing countries. Based upon the analysis above, Thérien finds that the left is more supportive than the right to development assistance since it considers aid a key tool for promoting greater international equality, emphasizing left-right distinction can be an effective lens for understanding the contrasting perspectives that structure the debate on development assistance. Fleck & Kilby (2006) examine the role of domestic politics in aid allocation in US, suggesting that development concerns receive more weight when the president and/or Congress are liberal than conservative in distribution of US bilateral aid. They emphasize that political conditions matter not only in determining the amounts of aid but the motivation for providing that aid. Milner & Tingley (2010) underscores domestic political conditions in American aid foreign policy decision that ideological preference of electorate is largely taken into account when voting on aid in Congress. They find that legislators from liberal districts are more supportive of economic aid from conservative ones; whereas this relationship is reversed on military aid, which shows left-wing’s

predisposition to egalitarianism. Although this conventional relationship between ideological classification and aid effort seems little obscure when executive branch and relevant institutions in government are considered, it is generally accepted that the impact of government ideology on aid effort is still effective.

This analysis varies in existing studies that it directly links the ideological orientation of donor and women's political representation of recipients. Moreover, this study attempts to reveal whether the left government in donor countries contribute more to promote women's political right in recipient countries, examining the quality of foreign aid rather than the amount of it. Whereas donor support has contributed to reducing maternal mortality and gender gaps in education to a great extent, actions on improving women's employment, asset ownership and participation in key governance structures such as national parliaments still need much more improvement. As most of women are still left behind, donor attention in these areas is of great importance. Women's political representation has a strong impact on decision making process in political sphere (Koch & Fulton 2011). Until recently, a little study has been done regarding women's political representation, for they have largely ignored in this area and evidence linking the female representation, and policy decision has been found mostly at domestic level (Randall 1987; Thomas 1991; Conway et al. 1997; Atkeson & Carrillo 2007; Kittlsom 2008; Wängnerud 2009; Bolzendahl 2011). In domestic policy decision making process, women are more likely to favor welfare policy than men (Poggione 2004), and they also display more favorable attitudes than men on women, children, and family issues that "it appears that greater numbers of women are associated with greater levels of feminist legislation as well as legislation traditionally of interest to women" (Thomas 1991). Building on the aforementioned discussion, Lu and Breuning (2014) suggests that the impact of women's increased prominence in political life may depend on other factors such as the dominance of particular parties in the political system.

Hence, if left government in donor countries place more importance on foreign aid policy and are likely to concern issues promoting equality, and if higher female political representation is

contingent upon dominance of certain parties, we should find a statistically significant relationship between the government ideology in donor countries and foreign aid and proportion of women in parliament.

The above studies lead to following hypothesis:

*Hypothesis: ODA from donors with left government are more likely to increase the proportion of women in parliament in recipient countries than ODA from donors with right government.*

## **Data and methods**

To test the hypothesis, we use a time series cross sectional design. We include data for the period 1994-2014 and employ time-series cross sectional data that covers 156 recipient countries, all of which are members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD. The measures of the all of variables are shown in Table 1. The dependent variable is the measure of proportion of female in parliament which is the percent of women in the lower house of the legislature from the IPU. The major independent variable is called “foreign aid by government partisanship”(logged). This variable is created by bringing together total ODA net commitment and government partisanship (left/right) of five top donors (2006-2013) according to OECD Statistics which are United States, Japan, Germany, United Kingdom and France. The measurement of foreign aid is divided by two: commitments and disbursements. Commitments measure donors’ intentions thus fluctuate as aid policies change, reflecting how donors’ political commitments translate in to action, while disbursements indicate actual payments in each year.<sup>2</sup> In this model, total ODA net commitment data is employed, for this study attempts to investigate donors’ political intention by government ideology that affects women’s political representation in recipients and donors’ political characteristics at the

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/faq.htm>

time policies are implemented. Moreover, this analysis includes government partisanship using The Ideological Complexion of Government and Parliament (CPG) in Party Government Dataset. CPG dataset is coded as 1 to 5 by share of seats in government and supporting parties in parliament held by right/left parties (1: Right-wing dominance, 2: Right-center complexion, 3: Balanced situation, 4: Left-center complexion 5: Left-wing dominance). We created the dummy variable which is coded as 1 if larger than 2.5 (left-government) and 0 if smaller than 2.5 (right-government). By bring two indicators together as a main dependent variable, the quality of foreign aid rather than quantity can be scrutinized that contributes to promoting women's political right in recipient countries. The major control variables include GDP per capita, Trade (measured as exports + imports divided by GDP), Regional group (Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Middle East), Democracy Level and Political Stability. GDP per capita and Trade variables are taken as they are major economic factors which may have impact on the dependent variable. Considering various literatures supporting socio-economic factors for explaining women's representation, controlling those variables would prevent from hindering the effect of main independent variable. A natural log is also taken in order to account for possible skewedness. The other possible independent variable can be the democracy and political stability (Political factors). As stated in literature section, democratic quality and conflict have significant association with increases in women's political representation. Therefore, Democracy Level and Political Stability variables are taken in order to capture the other possible political conditions of recipient countries. Last but not least, we separate the regions among developing countries for controlling cultural differences (Cultural factors). According to cultural and religious distinct, groups were categorized into four: Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa and Middle East. Asia region is comprised of diverse religious groups including Muslims, Muslims, Buddhist, Christians, and folk or traditional religions (As of 2010). Confucian culture in this region is considered to have influence on women's right as well. 63% of total population in Sub-Saharan Africa is Christians and 30% is Muslims. In the North Africa and Middle East, more than nine in ten were Muslims while only 4% of the region's total population is Christians which is the next largest

religious group (As of 2010). Due to considerable difference in historical and cultural aspects in Sub-Saharan African and North Africa that belongs to Islamic and Arabic cultural area rather than to the Africa Continent, they are classified separately (Pew Research Center 2002).

**Table 1 Data description**

Variable name	Definition	Measurement
Proportion of female in parliament	Share of female parliament members in a parliament	Female MPs/total number of MPs in a parliament
Foreign aid by government partisanship	Foreign aid provided of each year by left/right dominance	ODA net commitments * government partisanship (=0 if right, =1 if left)
Wealth	GDP per capita	GDP/total population (log)
Trade	Total trade volume of a country	Exports + imports/GDP
Regional group		Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Middle East
Democracy	Democracy Level measured by Freedom House	Scale: 0-10 (0: not free, 10: free)
Political Stability	Political Stability	Scale: -2.5-2.5 (-2.5: least stable, 2.5: most stable)

## Result

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for all variables. It indicates that the dependent variable, the proportions of women, ranges from 0% to 63.8% with a standard deviation of around 10.25. The measure shows that, on average, 11% of the MPs are female across 156 recipient countries over 20 years.

**Table 2 Descriptive statistics**

Variable name	observation	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Proportion of female in parliament	3,120	10.96	10.25	0	63.80
Foreign aid by France (log)	2,820	2.035	1.730	0	7.622
Foreign aid by Germany (log)	2,820	2.278	1.794	-0.0619	7.648

Foreign aid by Japan (log)	2,820	2.563	1.846	0	8.489
Foreign aid by UK (log)	2,820	1.408	1.589	-1.966	8.069
Foreign aid by US (log)	2,820	2.696	2.019	0	9.186
Total aid by left government	2,679	5.970	4.941	-1.889	26.49
Total aid by right government	2,679	5.001	4.120	0	23.81
Foreign aid by left (France)	2,679	0.702	1.365	0	7.277
Foreign aid by left (Germany)	2,679	2.259	1.772	-0.0619	7.648
Foreign aid by left (Japan)	2,679	0.437	1.247	0	8.110
Foreign aid by left (UK)	2,679	1.039	1.518	-1.966	8.069
Foreign aid by left (US)	2,679	1.481	1.977	0	8.149
Foreign aid by right (France)	2,679	1.327	1.719	0	7.622
Foreign aid by right (Germany)	2,679	0	0	0	0
Foreign aid by right (Japan)	2,679	2.122	1.925	0	8.489
Foreign aid by right (UK)	2,679	0.358	0.970	-1.022	5.898
Foreign aid by right (US)	2,679	1.194	1.916	0	9.186
GDP per capita	3,120	2,199	3,307	0	22,109
Political Stability	3,120	-0.225	0.845	-3.324	1.543
Trade	3,120	75.88	48.22	0	531.7
Level of Democracy	3,120	5.800	3.164	0	10
Asia	3,120	0.126	0.332	0	1
Sub-Saharan Africa	3,120	0.301	0.459	0	1
North Africa & Middle East	3,120	0.103	0.303	0	1

The result (Table 3) is as follows. For the main independent variable, aggregate ODA of top five donors (US, Japan, Germany, United Kingdom and France) from left government largely exceeds that from right government, indicating that ODA from left government contributes more than that from right government to promoting women's political rights in aid-receiving countries. The result demonstrates statistically significant result that the proportion of female MPs in parliament increases 3.3% under left-oriented government and 1% under right-oriented. This indicates that left government is likely to have foreign policy that is more favorable for promoting women's right. By country

analysis shows the consistent result in general except for the United States'. In the United States, ODA from left government's effect on increase in female legislative representation in recipient countries is found to be less strong than the effect of ODA from right government. Surprisingly, ODA from Japan's right government and female representation in recipients have negative and statistically significant association. In other words, ODA provided by right government in Japan aggravate the level of women's descriptive representation in recipient countries. The relationship between right government and female representation turns out to be statistically insignificant in the UK and France. No result is shown for "Germany with right government" variable since no rightist government is coded in this model (see Appendix 2). Furthermore, both of control variables for economic factors, GDP per capita and Trade is found to have positive and statistically significant impact on the women's presence in legislative bodies in aid-receiving countries. Political Stability variable also shows positive and strong impact on female representation in recipient countries, while Democracy variable is found to be statistically insignificant. The Asia and North Africa & Middle East region variable have negative and statistically significant impact on dependent while Sub-Saharan African region has no significant impact on it.

**Table 3 Result**

Women's representation in parliament	
<b>Total</b>	
Left-government	0.658*** (0.0448)
Right-government	0.250*** (0.0522)
<b>Top 5 Donors</b>	
US with left-government	0.287* (0.164)
US with right-government	0.908*** (0.163)
Japan with left-government	1.189*** (0.215)
Japan with right-government	-0.783*** (0.155)
Germany with left-government	1.160*** (0.200)

Germany with right-government		-
UK with left-government		0.956*** (0.178)
UK with right-government		0.389 (0.250)
France with left-government		0.394** (0.190)
France with right-government		0.211 (0.167)
Political Stability	0.926*** (0.275)	1.536*** (0.282)
GDP per capita	0.000106* (6.23e-05)	0.000132** (6.32e-05)
Trade	0.0187*** (0.00422)	0.0141*** (0.00416)
Democracy	0.0321 (0.0718)	-0.00695 (0.0705)
Asia	-3.452*** (0.660)	-2.308*** (0.705)
Sub-Saharan Africa	-0.493 (0.476)	-0.677 (0.518)
North Africa & Middle East	-6.595*** (0.683)	-6.507*** (0.702)
Constant	6.317*** (0.727)	7.427*** (0.727)
Observations	2,679	2,679
R-squared	0.125	0.167

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## Conclusions

The finding shows that foreign aid from donors has different impact on women's political representation in recipient countries. In this article, an interaction term between foreign aid and government partisanship is set as a main independent variable, and the result indicates its positive and statistically significant impact on female representation, our dependent variable. We find that the foreign aid from left government is likely to increase the level of female legislative representation foreign aid from right government. The test by country presents consistent result in general, nevertheless, not for the United States. The overall result indicates that partisanship in donors matters when giving foreign aid for promoting women's political representation in legislatures in recipient countries. The factors explaining the variation in women's legislative representation in foreign aid

studies have been unexplored. Our finding suggests several initial directions in foreign aid for promoting women's political empowerment.

Most centrally, we find that partisanship is one of the key determinants to increasing women's descriptive representation in recipient countries when providing foreign aid. Although recent efforts made by right-wing parties to reflect women's concerns raises questions whether partisanship still held to be valid indicator for women's representation, it is found to be reliable in our model. Secondly, we attempt to reveal the quality of foreign aid provided by disparate partisanship government in promoting women's political rights. Unlike previous research focus on examining foreign aid effectiveness by the amount of aid, investigating the quality of foreign aid is hitherto neglected. Foreign aid has contributed to overcoming extreme poverty in many developing countries but women's status remains relatively low. Increasing the aid amount does not guarantee improving women's lives, for women are tend to be the last one to be beneficiary. Therefore, it would be important to find the explanations for determining the quality of foreign aid. Finally, we find the little support for some of control variables including the level of democracy and regional groups. In contrast with generally accepted notion that democracy has led the improvement of women's rights, it is found to be statistically insignificant in our model. However, more specified indicators should be included in further studies to better analyze the quality of democracy such as regime type.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1. Countries in dataset.

Bahamas	Panama	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mali	Kenya	Seychelles	Tajikistan	Brunei Darussalam
Cuba	Colombia	Slovenia	Senegal	Burundi	Morocco	Kyrgyzstan	Philippines
Haiti	Venezuela	Cyprus	Benin	Rwanda	Algeria	Uzbekistan	Indonesia
Dominican Republic	Guyana	Bulgaria	Mauritania	Somalia	Tunisia	Kazakhstan	Timor-Leste
Jamaica	Suriname	Moldova	Niger	Djibouti	Libya	China	Papua New Guinea
Trinidad and Tobago	Ecuador	Romania	Ivory Coast	Ethiopia	Sudan	Mongolia	Vanuatu
Barbados	Peru	Russia	Guinea	Eritrea	South Sudan	Korea, North	Solomon Islands
Dominica	Brazil	Estonia	Burkina Faso	Angola	Iran	India	Kiribati
Grenada	Bolivia	Latvia	Liberia	Mozambique	Turkey	Bhutan	Tuvalu
St. Lucia	Paraguay	Lithuania	Sierra Leone	Zambia	Iraq	Pakistan	Fiji
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Chile	Ukraine	Ghana	Zimbabwe	Egypt	Bangladesh	Tonga
Antigua and Barbuda	Argentina	Belarus	Togo	Malawi	Syrian Arab Republic	Myanmar	Nauru
St. Kitts and Nevis	Uruguay	Armenia	Cameroon	South Africa	Lebanon	Sri Lanka	Marshall Islands
Mexico	San Marino	Georgia	Nigeria	Namibia	Jordan	Maldives	Palau
Belize	Malta	Azerbaijan	Gabon	Lesotho	Saudi Arabia	Nepal	Micronesia
Guatemala	Albania	Cape Verde	Central African Republic	Botswana	Yemen	Thailand	Samoa
Honduras	Montenegro	Sao Tome and Principe	Chad	Swaziland	Kuwait	Cambodia	
El Salvador	Macedonia	Guinea-Bissau	Congo	Madagascar	Bahrain	Laos	
Nicaragua	Croatia	Equatorial Guinea	Congo, Democratic Republic	Comoros	Afghanistan	Vietnam	
Costa Rica	Yugoslavia	Gambia	Uganda	Mauritius	Turkmenistan	Malaysia	

## Appendix 2. Government Ideology in 5 top donors

Year	France	Germany	Japan	UK	US
1995	Right	Left	Right	Right	Left
1996	Right	Left	Right	Right	Left
1997	Left	Left	Right	Left	Left
1998	Left	Left	Right	Left	Left
1999	Left	Left	Right	Left	Left
2000	Left	Left	Right	Left	Left
2001	Left	Left	Right	Left	Right
2002	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
2003	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
2004	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
2005	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
2006	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
2007	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
2008	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
2009	Right	Left	Right	Left	Left
2010	Right	Left	Left	Left	Left
2011	Right	Left	Left	Right	Left
2012	Left	Left	Left	Right	Left
2013	Left	Left	Right	Right	Left
2014	Left	Left	Right	Right	Left