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Evidence From Costa Rica
Theoretical Arguments and Women's Representation

Electoral System Effects on Women's Representation

Costa Rica's Political System

Costa Rica has the longest history of democracy of any country in Latin America. Costa Rica is the norm in Latin America. Costa Rica has a concentrated, professional political class, which candidates are drawn from. Political culture, party systems, and electoral systems produce different patterns of women's representation. Costa Rica's proportional representation system means that women's representation across countries. These patterns of representation in women's representation are critical factors in our findings.
THE COSTA RICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN

1. The Social Christian Party (PUSC) became the second major party in 1968. When the

2. The presidential elections in 1948 were won (see August, 1982) by the history

3. The National Assembly is composed of 24 representatives who are elected by the

4. The National Assembly is composed of 24 representatives who are elected by the

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Women's representation in legislative elections, it is possible, however, that the lower a party's name is on the list, the less likely it is to have women candidates. This is a pattern that has been observed in other parliaments as well. In the 1990 elections, women were underrepresented in the lower number of positions, even though they made up 14% of the candidates. In the 1994 elections, women were overrepresented in the lower number of positions, but this was due to the fact that there were more women candidates overall. It is possible that this pattern will continue in future elections.

### Table 1: Women's Representation in Legislative Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Women in &quot;Winnable&quot; Positions</th>
<th>Number of Women in &quot;Removable&quot; Positions</th>
<th>Total Number of Women in Party Lists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>12 (12.6%)</td>
<td>10 (9.8%)</td>
<td>22 (14.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>10 (9.4%)</td>
<td>10 (9.8%)</td>
<td>20 (12.8%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>8 (7.3%)</td>
<td>12 (11.4%)</td>
<td>20 (12.8%)</td>
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Note: Data for 1994 includes both provincial and municipal elections. Data for 1996 includes only provincial elections. Data for 1998 includes only municipal elections.

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Although the process appears democratic, the reality is quite different. Despite several attempts, the facade of assembly is not the real thing. The real power lies elsewhere. The façade of assembly obscures the power that is real, the power that is behind the façade. The real power is in the hands of those who control the system. The façade of assembly is a tool for maintaining control.

There are some important issues in this arrangement. While women and other groups have made some progress, there is still a long way to go. For example, women's representation in the assembly is still very low. Although there are some women in key positions, their influence is limited. Women's representation is still a significant issue.

In conclusion, the representation of women in the assembly is an important issue. While progress has been made, there is still much work to be done. The system must be reformed to ensure that all voices are heard and that women have a meaningful role in the decision-making process.
in the process, but the center strongly controls deputy candidate selection and it is closely tied to presidential candidate factions. Deputy aspirants identify themselves with a precandidate for president and their fortunes rise and fall with their candidate. The winner of the party’s presidential nomination can influence candidate selection because of the patronage benefits he can give to legislators if he wins the presidency (Carey, 1996). The unique Costa Rican rule of not allowing deputies to run for immediate reelection exacerbates this process (Carey, 1996; Taylor, 1992). Legislative careers are necessarily short and the probability of getting attractive positions, such as ambassadorships or cabinet posts, depends on one’s loyalty to the president. The provincial parties make recommendations about the deputy lists, but final say belongs to the whole national convention. Hence, even if the presidential nominee lacks support in a province, he can use support from other provinces to change any provincial list.

The Norwegian system provides a stark comparison. County parties decide whom to nominate and the central party has no power to interfere (Valen, 1966, 1988). The prime ministerial candidate is determined well before any party holds its caucuses, so there are no ties to a specific candidate. There is also very little patronage to be gained from supporting one faction or the other. Valen (1966, 1988) described the process as one of decentralized group representation. The process is decentralized because local county parties decide the list composition. Group representation is important as local party committees place great emphasis on balancing their lists in terms of gender, geography, occupations, age, and affiliation with relevant interest groups.

Existing descriptions of the Costa Rican deputy nominating process emphasize its strong patronage orientation and do not suggest an emphasis on ticket balancing. Nevertheless, any political party in an open democracy needs to be concerned with getting voter support. Thus representational balance is possibly still relevant to Costa Rican parties. Therefore, on the basis of the findings in the Norwegian case, we predict that women’s representation will be positively correlated with party magnitude, after women start to actively press for greater participation in the system.

Picking a specific point when women become a significant power is never easy, but a good starting point would be the 1986 election. As discussed above, the early to mid-1980s brought increasing activism by Costa Rican women. In 1986, PLN presidential candidate Oscar Arias made a conscious effort to woo women voters by promising both greater representation and substantive policy changes. Thus we predict that before 1986, party magnitude will not affect women’s representation, but starting in 1986, its effect will be positive. Costa Rican women clearly have not become so powerful that they are on equal footing with men, so party magnitude’s effect should still appear in the most recent election.

Empirical test of a party magnitude’s relevance. To test whether party magnitude influences women’s representation in Costa Rica, we collected data on all candidates for all party lists for the six national elections from 1974 to 1994. The unit of analysis for our regression is provincial party lists. Because our concern is with women’s representation in the national legislature, and not just women candidates, we limit our consideration to candidates and lists with at least one winnable seat. As described above, positions on a party list are either mandate, fighting, or ornamental. We sum mandate and

4. To determine whether positions are mandate, fighting, or ornamental we vary the vote totals for one party while holding the totals for the other parties constant. We then see if the new voting results would change the seat distribution. Parties that won less than 1.6% of the vote in a province were not considered, because even with a 50% increase in their vote totals they would not receive enough votes in any province to win representation. Parties that won between 1.6% and 6.0% had their vote total expanded by 50% in our hypothetical example and then seat changes were estimated. Parties with between 6% and 10% of the vote had their vote total increased by 25%. Parties with between 10% and 20% of the vote had the present election plus the immediately past election averaged together and then had 20% added to this total. Finally, parties above 20% of the vote (after 1974 this is exclusively the PLN or PUSC) had the present election and the immediately past election results averaged and 10% was added to their vote. All seats that the provincial party would not have won, even with these additions to their totals, were considered ornamental seats (i.e., seats the party had no chance of winning). Those that the party did not win but would have won with their improved vote total were labeled as fighting seats.

The same formulas were then used, but the extra factor was subtracted from the actual vote totals. Any seat that a party had won but would have lost if they had suffered this worse election result was also considered a fighting seat. Any seat the party would continue to hold even with this worse result was considered a mandate seat. For example, in 1990, Pueblo Unido got 4.5% of the vote in San José and won one seat in the Assembly. If we increase their vote total by 50%, they would have received 6.75% of the vote and would have won two seats. If we decrease it by 50% to 2.25%, they would have received zero seats. For Pueblo Unido in 1990 there are therefore 0 mandate slots, 2 fighting slots, and 24 ornamental slots. This method does a couple of things. First, it recognizes that there is a much greater chance for a comparatively large proportional jump in party support from one election to another when a party starts at low levels of support. Second, the consequence of the decreasing percentage change as a party’s vote total grows is to create relatively stable outcomes. There is in most cases only one seat in the smaller provinces, and slightly more seats in the larger provinces, which are identified as seats where the outcome is truly indeterminate before the election. This strikes us as reassuring because Costa Rican election results have been very stable. The two dominant parties have a tradition of trading off power from one election to the next (this is why results from the previous election are included in the calculations for the largest percentages).
effect on the expected direction of the predicted position in the 1996 PPIC poll. This suggests that the effect of the 1996 election on the predicted position is in the expected direction to our predicted position in the 1996 PPIC poll. This suggests that the effect of the 1996 election on the predicted position is in the expected direction to our predicted position in the 1996 PPIC poll.

The party membership analysis (number of winnable seats) shows that the predicted position is in the expected direction to our predicted position in the 1996 PPIC poll. This suggests that the effect of the 1996 election on the predicted position is in the expected direction to our predicted position in the 1996 PPIC poll.

The column confirms my analysis (number of winnable seats) shows that the predicted position is in the expected direction to our predicted position in the 1996 PPIC poll. This suggests that the effect of the 1996 election on the predicted position is in the expected direction to our predicted position in the 1996 PPIC poll.

The regression results—Dependent Variable: Percentage of Winnable Seats

Table 2

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R-squared = 0.89 (Adjusted R-squared = 0.86)
10. To begin, I would like to stress the importance of the Electoral System. The Electoral System, as a whole, is crucial for the functioning of any democracy. It ensures that the will of the people is translated into policy decisions, and that representatives are held accountable for their actions. This is why it is essential to understand and analyze the Electoral System in detail.

In 1990, the Electoral System was revised to ensure a more representative and equitable distribution of seats. The new system aimed to address the issues of over-representation and under-representation that were prevalent in the previous system. The revised system introduced a new method of calculating the number of seats each party or candidate would receive, based on the proportion of votes they received in the election.

The key features of the revised system are as follows:

1. Proportional representation: Seats are distributed proportionally to the number of votes each party or candidate receives. This ensures that larger parties receive a greater number of seats, while smaller parties are not excluded from representation.
2. Threshold: A minimum percentage of the vote is required to secure a seat in parliament. This prevents the formation of small, extremist parties.
3. Multi-member constituencies: Each constituency elects multiple representatives, which reduces the influence of single candidates and ensures a more diverse representation.
4. List systems: In many countries, the Electoral System operates on a list system, where candidates are elected based on the strength of the party list rather than individual votes.

These changes were implemented with the aim of promoting a more representative and inclusive political process. The revised system has been successful in achieving its goals, as evidenced by the increased representation of minority groups and the reduction of gerrymandering.

In conclusion, the Electoral System is a crucial component of any democracy. Understanding its workings and evaluating its effectiveness is essential for ensuring that it serves the interests of all citizens. It is important to continually monitor and adapt the system to reflect the changing needs of society.

For Further Reading:
anywhere a seat is moved from the Psu's candidate to the third party, it shows that electoral competition in the districts is not yet fully operationalized for new parties. This means that the parties are able to influence the electoral outcomes to a large extent, which may indicate a lack of competition.

The one-party system in the regions is not yet fully operationalized for new parties. This means that the parties are able to influence the electoral outcomes to a large extent, which may indicate a lack of competition.

Disproportionality: In every case the threshold results in a system with a significant disproportionality between the PUSC having a winning majority in the legislature of not.

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<tr>
<th>Party</th>
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<th>Chancellery's Index</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
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<td>PUSC</td>
<td>1,061</td>
<td>1,061</td>
<td>Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>1,061</td>
<td>Candidates</td>
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The flawed threshold, which only the PUSC has to meet, results in the PUSC being favored in the first round. This means that the PUSC can win the election with a minority of the votes, which is a clear violation of the principle of proportionality.
The effects of some logic would apply for other poorly represented groups. The effects of some logic are likely to be less pronounced among women, whose representation is already less than perfect. Women are more likely to be underrepresented in the private sector. However, there is some evidence that women's representation in the private sector is improving. Women are more likely to be underrepresented in the public sector. However, there is some evidence that women's representation in the public sector is also improving.

In conclusion, the effectiveness of gender policies is crucial for women's representation. Women's representation is not only limited to the private sector, but also in the public sector. Therefore, it is important to develop effective gender policies to improve women's representation in both sectors. The effectiveness of gender policies is not only limited to the current generation, but also to future generations.
REFERENCES

CONCLUSION
Author's Note: Funded from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of
Canada.

Andreas Pickel

The Study Reexamines East Germany's Postcommunist Transformation

From a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective. With few exceptions, the East German case has typically disappeared from the agenda of comparison. The lack of research on this topic may stem from a combination of methodological and substantive reasons: East Germany's postcommunist transformation was not as experimentally successful as the Central European revolutions. Part of the explanation may be that East Germany did not experiment with a wide range of economic systems, and instead pursued a more controlled approach to economic reforms. This was partly due to the persistence of a centrally planned economy, which limited the scope for experimentation. Despite these limitations, the East German case offers a valuable perspective on the challenges and opportunities of postcommunist transformation.