



# Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries

## An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Resource Materials



**Prepared by:**

**The United Nations Office of the  
Special Adviser on Gender Issues  
and Advancement of Women**

**Department of Economic and Social Affairs**

**January 2004**





## **An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Resource Materials**

### **Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries**

This is an annotated bibliography of selected resource materials – books, guidelines, training materials, academic articles and case studies - on enhancing the participation of women in electoral processes with a focus on post-conflict countries. It is not exhaustive. The information specific to supporting women in elections was gathered through internet search and a selective review of academic literature. It has been produced as a background document for the Expert Group Meeting on “Enhancing the role of women in electoral processes in post-conflict countries” organized by the United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (OSAGI) of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the Electoral Assistance Division of the Department of Political Affairs. It can also be used as a ready reference guide for field-based actors on current literature and guidance on how to ensure women’s full participation throughout all stages of the elections process – pre, during and post elections.

This is a work in progress.

## Table of Contents

	<b>Page</b>
<b>A. General Election Resource Material on Women and Elections</b>	
1. International Electoral Standards. Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections	1
2. Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections in Southern Africa	2
3. Women's Campaign Manual	5
4. Women's Candidate Training Program. Training's Manual	5
5. Training of Trainers Manual. Nominating for change: Strengthening women's position in political parties	6
6. The Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) Electronic Publication	8
<b>B. Women and Political Representation</b>	
1. Women and Democratization	9
2. Quotas – A Jump to Equality? The Need for international comparison of the use of electoral quotas	10
3. Lessons for expanding women's representation - enhancing women's political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems	11
4. Stability Pact Gender Task Force Report	12
<b>C. Some Case Studies on Women and Elections</b>	
1. Lessons learned form the Asian experience with quotas	13
2. The Kosovo Action Plan for the achievement of gender equality	14
3. Getting it right? A gender approach to UNAMIK administration	16
4. Strengthening governance: The role of women in Rwanda's transition	17
5. Encouraging women's participation through voter education	17
6. Coalition building, election rules, and party politics: South African women's path to parliament	18
7. In Search of Political Power-Women in Parliament in Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon	19
8. Gender equality and electoral politics on the left: A comparison of El Salvador and Nicaragua	19
9. The 30 Percent Quota Law: A Turning Point for Women's Political Participation in Argentina	20
10. Quotas in Pakistan: A Case Study	21
11. Electoral Report Needs Assessment Mission – Jordan	22



## General Election Resource Material on Women and Elections

**1.**

**International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance/IDEA, "International Electoral Standards. Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections", 2002. URL: [www.idea.int/publications/pub\\_electoral\\_main.htm](http://www.idea.int/publications/pub_electoral_main.htm)**

This book sets out the basic legal components governing elections for the purpose of reviewing, drafting or amending electoral legislation. These Guidelines are an attempt at distilling such electoral standards as a means of contributing to uniformity, reliability, consistency, accuracy as well as professionalism in elections. (International IDEA, 2002). A summary of generic checklists that can be used to monitor the participation of women in the electoral process is provided below.

<b>Checklist 1. The electoral system</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Does the legal framework provide that all seats in at least one chamber of the national legislature are subject to direct or popular elections to be held at regular and reasonable intervals as provided by law?</li> <li>▪ Does the legal framework clearly provide an electoral formula for converting votes into legislative seats?</li> <li>▪ Has any adjustment to the legal threshold for securing a seat in the legislature been made which could benefit a party or parties at the expense of others?</li> <li>▪ Is the length of the term of the institution being elected acceptable?</li> <li>▪ Does the country have sharply divided political, religious or ethnic minorities, and does the existing electoral system accentuate such difference?</li> </ul>
<b>Checklist 2. The right to elect and to be elected</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Are all citizens of the age of majority guaranteed the right of universal and equal suffrage?</li> <li>▪ Does the legal framework ensure that suffrage rights are exercised in a non-discriminatory manner on the basis of equal treatment before the law?</li> <li>▪ Are there any limitations or restrictions on the right of suffrage and, if so, are they clearly justified by exceptional circumstances or based on recognized norms?</li> </ul>
<b>Checklist 3. Voter registration and voter registers</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Does the registration process provide for accurate voter registers? Is the process itself transparent?</li> <li>▪ Does the legal framework contain provisions for regular and timely updating of voter registers before elections?</li> <li>▪ Are the requirements for voter registration stated in clear and unambiguous language?</li> <li>▪ Does the law clearly identify what documents are necessary to register as a voter?</li> <li>▪ Are the provisions for challenging a registration decision stated in clear and unambiguous language?</li> <li>▪ Is the time period for challenging a registration decision clearly stated?</li> </ul>
<b>Checklist 4. Ballot access for political parties and candidates</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Are all political parties and candidates assured equitable treatment?</li> <li>▪ Are eligible citizens assured of the right to seek office as either candidates for a political party or independent candidates?</li> <li>▪ Does the legal framework provide a level playing field for registration and ballot access for all political parties and candidates?</li> <li>▪ Are the requirements and procedures for party and candidate registration based on relevant, reasonable and objective criteria? Are these criteria clearly stated in the law?</li> <li>▪ Does the legal framework provide for a timely appeal to expeditiously review the decisions made on party and candidate registration?</li> <li>▪ Does the legal framework provide for minor corrections of errors or allow further information to be added so that candidates' nominations are not rejected on flimsy grounds?</li> </ul>

**Checklist 5. Media access and freedom of expression**

- Does the legal framework for elections ensure that all political parties and candidates are provided access to the media and equitable treatment in media owned or controlled by the state?
- Does the legal framework establish a formula for media access and equitable treatment that is fair, understandable and capable of objective application?
- Does the legal framework provide for free expression during election campaign?
- Does the legal framework provide that no party or candidate shall be discriminated against in terms of access to the media or, where paid advertising is permitted, in being overcharged for political advertising?

**2.**

**SADC-ESN Electoral Support Network, "Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections in Southern Africa", 2002. Hard copies are available at the Office of the Special adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women/OSAGI.**

This guide provides a useful checklist for ensuring gender equality in free and fair elections. This is a gender responsive model that seeks to incorporate gender mainstreaming at every stage of an election that can be applied to post-conflict countries. In addition, the guide contains recommendations on registration of voters, voter education programmes, campaign processes, procedure for voting, and institutionalized monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Tables featuring the checklists suggested in the guide are provided below.

**Checklist 1. Policy: International, regional, sub-regional and national frameworks for gender equality in elections**

- Has the country signed, ratified, acceded to, or adopted international, regional, sub-regional and national instruments on gender equality? If not, ensure that the country sign, ratifies, accedes, or adopts these instruments as well as adopts a national gender policy instruments.
- Have these instruments been put into domestic laws? If not, ensure that these instruments are domesticated into national laws, popularized and made accessible to the general public, implemented and monitored.
- Is there an institutionalized mechanism for ensuring that international, regional, sub-regional instruments that have been signed by each government are domesticated within national policy framework?

**Checklist 2. National constitutions**

- Have constitutional provisions that guarantee women's equality before the law and protections for women to vote been incorporated in the national constitution and enforced accordingly? If not, ensure the revision of the national constitution to incorporate equality between women and men in the social, economic and political activities of the country.
- Does the national constitution have statements on equality between women and men in matters pertaining to elections: the right to vote, the right to stand for public office, the right to have access to information related to elections and the right to participate in all activities pertaining elections? There should also be clearly defined mechanisms to ensure that these rights are protected. If not, ensure the revision of the constitution to incorporate specific sections on equality between women and men in political activities.
- Is there a conflict between customary law and the national constitutional framework? If so, ensure that the constitution provides that statutory law supersede customary and religious law in situation where two or more are applicable.
- Does the national constitution incorporate a provision mandating affirmative action for women in political and decision-making positions at all levels? If not, ensure such provisions are constitutionally recognized.
- Does the national constitution allow for independent candidates and an independent law commission? If not, ensure that the national constitution allows for independent candidates to contest political office as well as mandating the existence of an independent human rights commission.

<p><b>Checklist 3. Legal framework: Election act/law</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Does the election act that establishes the independent electoral body or structure provide for equality in opportunity between women and men in the selection and appointment of office bearers and decision-makers at all positions within the organization and at all levels? If not, ensure the amendment of the law to incorporate equality of opportunities in appointments and employment, to policy and decision-making positions within the body or structure and to short-term employment opportunities during pre- and post-election processes.</li> <li>▪ Does the election act provide the right to every woman and man to participate in all activities of the election process? These include the right to vote, to stand for public office, to choose a political party, to access information on registration, campaigning, election procedure, and to freedom of association.</li> <li>▪ Does the electoral act make provisions for political parties to register a gender positive constitution and manifesto to be eligible for registration as a political party? If not, this requirement should be added to guidelines for registering political parties.</li> <li>▪ Does the election act or law make provisions for timely release of political party manifestos and candidate lists? If not, ensure that it stipulates that political party manifestos and candidate lists be publicly released before the voter registration period begins.</li> <li>▪ Does the election act prohibit sexual harassment and gender violence in all matters related to elections and contain a mechanism for enforcement of such a provision? If not, provisions on the prevention of sexual harassment should be included in the law.</li> <li>▪ Does the election act provide for clear and easily accessible means for both men and women candidates to contest an election result when their rights have been violated? Does this provision allow for gender discrimination to be one of the criteria for contesting an election result? If not, ensure the amendment of the act to adequately protect the rights of men and women candidates to contest an election</li> </ul>
<p><b>Checklist 4. Political Parties</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Have the constitution, manifesto, policies and structures of each political party incorporated gender equality and women's empowerment objectives to ensure equal representation and participation of women and men in decision-making at all levels? If not, ensure all political parties incorporate objectives to achieve gender equality into their constitutions.</li> <li>▪ Do the procedures to select candidates for decision-making positions within the party structures, as well as for the nomination to presidential, parliamentary, provincial and local government positions, allow for gender equality between women and men? Are the party leadership and nomination structures democratic, transparent, gender balanced and gender sensitive?</li> <li>▪ Do the political parties have programmes to ensure an increased number of women in party decision-making structures at all levels and for the nomination to parliamentary provincial and local councils so that a minimum target of at least 30% of women in such bodies is achieved? If not, ensure such programmes are put in place and that the party actively supports the election of their women candidates during the campaign process.</li> <li>▪ Do political parties include commitments to promote gender equality as a priority issue in their manifestos and campaign platforms? If not, the document and agenda should be reviewed to ensure that gender issues are mainstreamed.</li> <li>▪ Do political parties have awareness raising, training and capacity building programmes, specifically for women members, aimed at enhancing their capacities and competences? If not, ensure political parties develop such programmes aimed at the political empowerment of women.</li> <li>▪ Have the political parties set norms and standards aimed at promoting the position of women and preventing physical, sexual and verbal harassment of women?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Checklist 5. Institutional framework: Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ What are the decision-making structures of the IEC? Do the selection procedures and appointments of decision-makers and other personnel at all levels provide for equal opportunity between women and men? If not, ensure that criteria for selection and appointments contain a clause on equal opportunity between women and men in all appointments and selections.</li> <li>▪ Advertisements for the positions should include an equal opportunity phrase and should encourage women to apply.</li> <li>▪ Planned activities coordinated, implemented and/or monitored by the independent electoral commission should take into consideration the following:</li> </ul>

#### Registration of voters

- Ensure that information on registration, dates, timing and registration centers is made public for a minimum of three months and known to all eligible women and men voters in all localities.
- Ensure that eligible women and men voters in the locality of the registration station write registration forms in the language that is easily readable and understandable.
- Ensure that registration centers will be easily and safely accessible to women and men with physical disabilities, women with children, pregnant women and aged women and men (a maximum of five kilometers distance).
- Ensure that time and season for registration takes into consideration the busy work schedule of women and that it will be flexible enough to allow for either early or late times for registration.
- Ensure that the person registering voters is acceptable within the local community.
- Ensure that there are mechanisms to be followed that ensure the right of illiterate women and men, or those with difficulty in communicating, to register to vote.
- Ensure that the register indicates the sex of the registered voters.
- 

#### Voter education programmes

- Ensure that the different voter education and training programmes conducted by the IEC, non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and civil society groups, government departments, and political parties are gender responsive and target women, men and youth at all levels. These programmes should be conducted on an on-going basis.
- Ensure that the IEC conducts an intensive gender-responsive campaign to raise awareness of the voters of the registration and voting procedures, beginning at least one year before the election.
- Ensure that there are mechanisms and indicators to monitor implementation of such activities and that women are among the actors.

#### Procedure of voting

- On the voting day, ensure that special provisions are made for women and men with physical disabilities, pregnant women and those with children. Aged women and men should spend the shortest time waiting in line to vote.
- Ensure that voting centers are close to the majority of people to ensure that the categories mentioned above have easy access to those centers.
- Ensure that voting papers are clearly printed and contain clear photographs of the persons to be voted for.
- Ensure that the right to vote in secret is preserved for all citizens regardless sex.

#### Institutionalized monitoring and evaluation mechanisms

- The IEC should ensure that the set targets for gender equality are achieved. Monitoring indicators and mechanisms should be set for each activity pertaining to the election processes as criteria for declaring the elections to be free and fair. Gender and/or women's activists groups, civil society and the national machineries responsible for gender equality and women's empowerment should be involved in this process.
- Ensure that monitoring is a continuous process that is done prior to elections, during and after.
- Ensure that mechanisms are put in place to ensure that internal and external monitoring reports are synthesised into a summary report that is broadly disseminated for public discussion and action. The recommendations, including those based on gender concern, should be highlighted for action by relevant authorities.

#### **Checklist 5. Roles of other civil society actors**

##### 1. The media

##### Do the media have a code of conduct that:

- Recognizes gender equality as an important aspect of democracy and is committed to report on gender equality in relation to an election?
- Includes a commitment to reporting on all women candidates at least as frequently as it reports on men candidates?
- Provides for women and men to be accorded equal opportunity to present their campaign messages?
- Recognizes gender issues, such as domestic violence and discriminatory customary laws and practices, as important electoral issues?

## 2. NGOs and CBOs

- Have NGOs and CBOs put in place clear mechanisms to influence the government and political parties to adhere to national commitments to fulfill gender equality objectives? If not, they should institute such relevant mechanisms and monitoring structures.
- Have NGOs and CBOs instituted mechanisms to promote national commitments to gender equality within their democratization and election-related programmes? If not, these organizations should ensure that their programmes are coordinated and implemented in a gender-positive manner and that they have sufficient internal gender capacity to do so.
- Are these organizations sensitive to the need for gender balance of participants in their activities and, at times, the need for conducting programmes specifically targeted for women? If not, steps should be taken to ensure that women are able to participate freely in and benefit from such programmes.
- Do civic education programmes support the right of both women and men to be candidates and political leaders within the democratic process? If not, they should include these concerns within their programmes.
- Do these organizations have training programmes aimed at building the capacity of women candidates, regardless of party affiliation? If not, they should design relevant capacity building sessions in areas such as public speaking, lobbying, use of the media, developing gender-sensitive campaign platforms, fundraising, and others.
- For gender-focused organizations, do they play the role of supporting the efforts of governments, political parties, media and CBOs and NGOs to mainstream gender within their respective institutions? If not, they should develop programmes of action to analyze relevant policy instruments and build gender capacity of key actors working in the area of elections and democratization.

## 4. Donor/development partners

- Are donor and development partners that fund election and democratization processes including gender-sensitivity as a key variable in their assessments of programmes to support? If not, donors and development partners should ensure gender is included in their guidelines and becomes a prerequisite for election programme funding and impact monitoring.

3.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs/NDI, Nairobi Kenya  
"Women's Campaign Manual", 1997.

URL: [www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/election.htm](http://www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/election.htm)

With the specific purpose of assisting women candidates before and during a campaign, this manual gives guidelines on the following topics: Fundraising, budgeting, campaign planning, message development, projecting a positive image, techniques of public speaking, dealing with the media, volunteers, voter contract, scheduling, and calendar of events/activities.

4.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs/NDI/Nepal "Women's Candidate Training Program. Trainer's Manual", 2002.

URL: [www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/election.htm](http://www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/election.htm)

This manual was designed specifically for political party trainers for the training of women candidates. It is divided into eight sections, each addressing different issues. The content of the manual is summarized below.

### Trainer's Manual

#### Section 1: Local Government Overview

This lesson addresses the roles and responsibilities of the Village Development Office (VDC):

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ What is the VDC?</li> <li>▪ VDC/ward committee structure and meeting schedule.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Section 2: The Party Ticketing Process</b></p> <p>This lesson explores the party ticketing process:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ How does our party determine candidates?</li> <li>▪ How to approach the party for the ticket.</li> <li>▪ Tips for advancing within the political party.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Section 3: Building the Party Identity</b></p> <p>Through this lesson women will gain an increased understanding of party values:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Understanding the party manifesto.</li> <li>▪ Linking party values to message.</li> <li>▪ Learning about the party symbol.</li> <li>▪ Utilizing the party symbol.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Section 4: Election Codes of Conduct</b></p> <p>This lesson introduces women to the local election office/officer and explores election rules and regulations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Election offices as a resource.</li> <li>▪ Overview of election rules and regulations.</li> <li>▪ Explanation of nomination fees and candidates deposits.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Section 5: Campaign Planning</b></p> <p>The lesson addresses approaches to campaign planning, developing a plan and team:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Planning finances/assessing resources.</li> <li>▪ Developing a campaign schedule.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Section 6: Message Development</b></p> <p>This lesson takes candidates through the process of developing a strong campaign message:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The importance of developing a campaign message. Identifying local issues.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Section 7: Campaigning</b></p> <p>The lesson addresses approaches to campaigning in the village:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Planning finances/assessing resources.</li> <li>▪ Monitor the campaign schedule.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Section 8: Project Monitoring</b></p> <p>This lesson addresses the steps to project development and monitoring:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Why is project monitoring important?</li> <li>▪ Learning the steps of project monitoring.</li> <li>▪ Reviewing sources of revenue in the VDC.</li> </ul>

**5.** National Democratic Institute for International Affairs/NDI, *"Training of Trainers Manual. Nominating for change: Strengthening women's position in political parties"*, 2003 URL: [www.accessdemocracy.org/usr\\_search.asp](http://www.accessdemocracy.org/usr_search.asp)

This is a manual that was specifically designed for a 4-day workshop held in Jakarta, Indonesia in March 2003. However, according to the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), the manual can be adapted and used as a guide for other programs whose aim is to promote women's political participation. It contains 20 sessions divided in four days. A summary of the different topics tackled during the workshop is provided in the table below.

<p><b>Day 1</b></p> <p><b>Session 1: Barrier Identification</b></p> <p>Objective:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Identifying barriers (common/different) women experience in their political parties or in the political process.</li> </ul>
--

<p><b>Session 2: Facilitation Nightmares</b></p> <p>Objective:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifying any fears participants may have in terms of talking on the role of trainer/facilitator.</li> <li>Developing strategies to deal with identified fears.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 3: Confidence Building</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learning basic confidence building skills that can be used to deal with barriers faced in their parties and as trainers in upcoming workshops.</li> </ul>
<p>Session 4: Managing Group Dynamics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learning how to deal with group dynamics that may be faced as a facilitator or in the political process.</li> <li>Learning skills to manage participation and time in group settings.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 5: Behavior and Attitudes that affect women's participation in political parties</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifying negative behavior and/or attitudes that affect women's participation in political parties and process.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Day 2</b></p>
<p><b>Session 6: Election Laws and Processes</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participants will learn about specific election laws and processes from their own context.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 7: The Role/Responsibilities of State Institutions and structures</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participants will learn about specific roles and responsibilities of state institutions and structure from their own context.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 8: Strategies to prepare women as legislative candidates</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participants will learn about the specific roles and responsibilities of state institutions and structures from their own context.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 9: Developing information/support network within your party and community</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Developing strategies to create or strengthen party and community network for information and support.</li> <li>Identifying gaps in networks or knowledge that may affect their chances to be nominated and strategies to fill those gaps.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Day 3</b></p>
<p><b>Session 10: Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats (SWOT)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Develop SWOT analyses for each region and nationally (including material already produced in previous sessions).</li> <li>Identifying key areas to focus for the rest of the workshop and leading up to the nomination period.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 11: Giving and getting feedback</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learning how to manage feedback as a positive communication tool as part of one's role as a facilitator or as a politician interacting with others, including mass media.</li> <li>Learning how to give a constructive feedback as a facilitator.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 12: Nomination process stimulation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learning how to give short and clear public presentations within tight time constraints.</li> <li>Practicing giving and receiving constructive criticism (feedback).</li> <li>Reinforcing retention of material from earlier presentations.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 13: Steps in self-promotion</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Developing a policy platform preparing written and oral presentation.</li> <li>Developing a personal profile.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 14: Knowledge of institution (government and political) structures</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reviewing and strengthening knowledge of government and political institutional structures.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 15: Psychological (mental) preparation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learning tools to mentally prepare for the nomination and facilitation process.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Day 4</b></p>
<p><b>Session 16: Planning for follow-up workshops</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Completing a detailed agenda for follow-up workshops that participants are being trained to deliver.</li> <li>Identifying gaps in skills and/or knowledge that still need to be addressed.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 17: Follow-up workshop session development</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Using skills and knowledge gained in previous sessions/activities to design at least one complete session that will be used in follow-up workshops.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Session 18: Applying skills through a practice session</b></p>

- Practice training and facilitating skills through the delivery of the session designed in session 17.

**Session 19: Next action steps**

- Planning what needs to be done before the implementation of the follow-up workshop(s).

**Session 20: Final evaluation and closing**

- Learning what has been effective and not effective to help improve the curriculum.
- Giving participants a sense of accomplishment and closure.

**6.**

**The International Foundation for Election System (IFES), the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) and the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), "*The Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) Electronic Publication*"**

**URL: <http://www.aceproject.org/>**

The Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) Electronic Publication is a comprehensive generic guide that covers all aspects of elections: Electoral system, legislative framework, electoral management, boundary delimitation, voter education, voter registration, voter operations, parties candidates, vote counting, media and elections, election integrity, election and technology. The guide includes some country case studies experiences of elections and sample of electoral materials. A checklist on polling station is provided below.

# B.

## Women and Political Representation

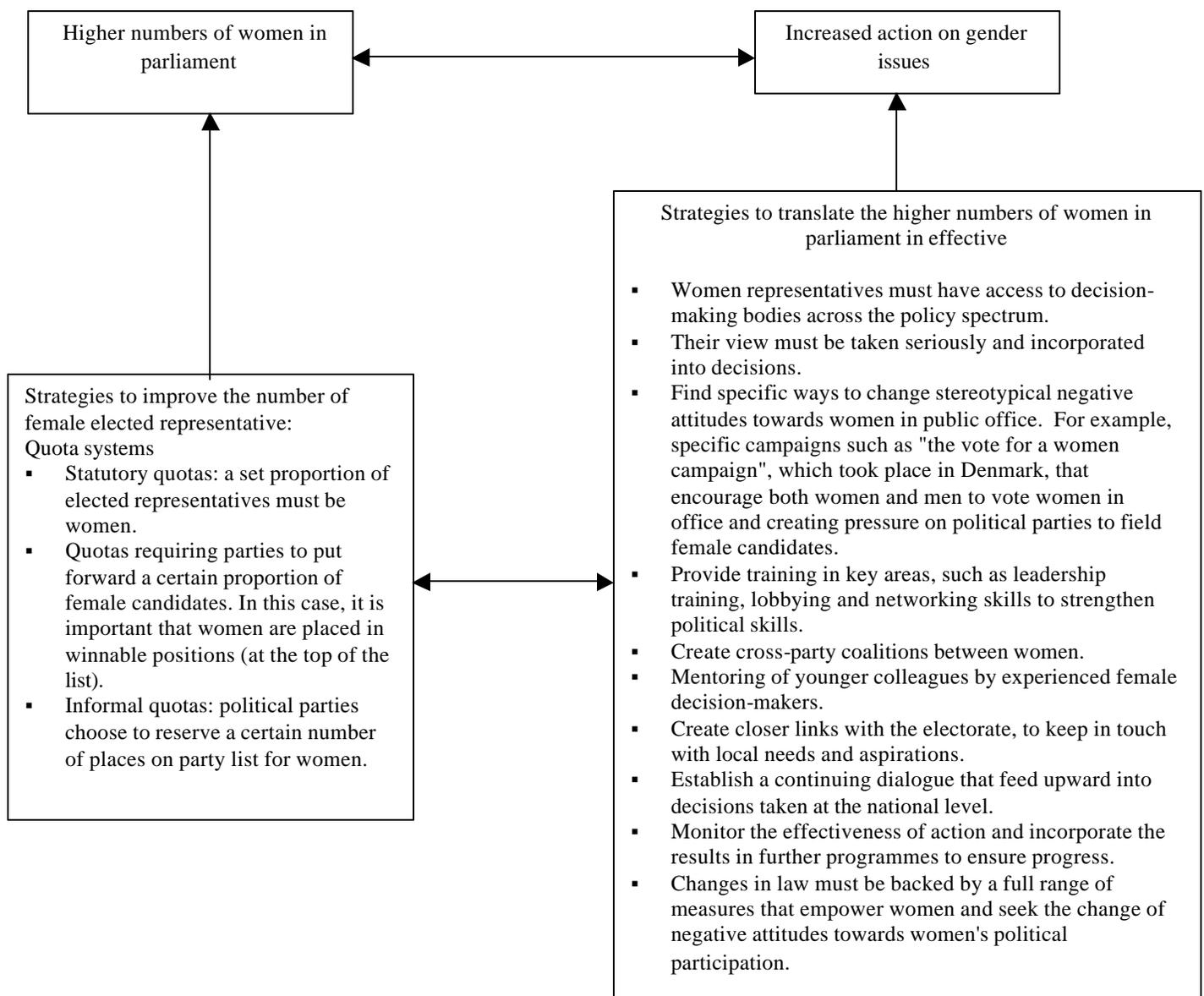
### 1.

Organization for security and Cooperation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights/OSCE-ODIHR, "Women and Democratization", 1998

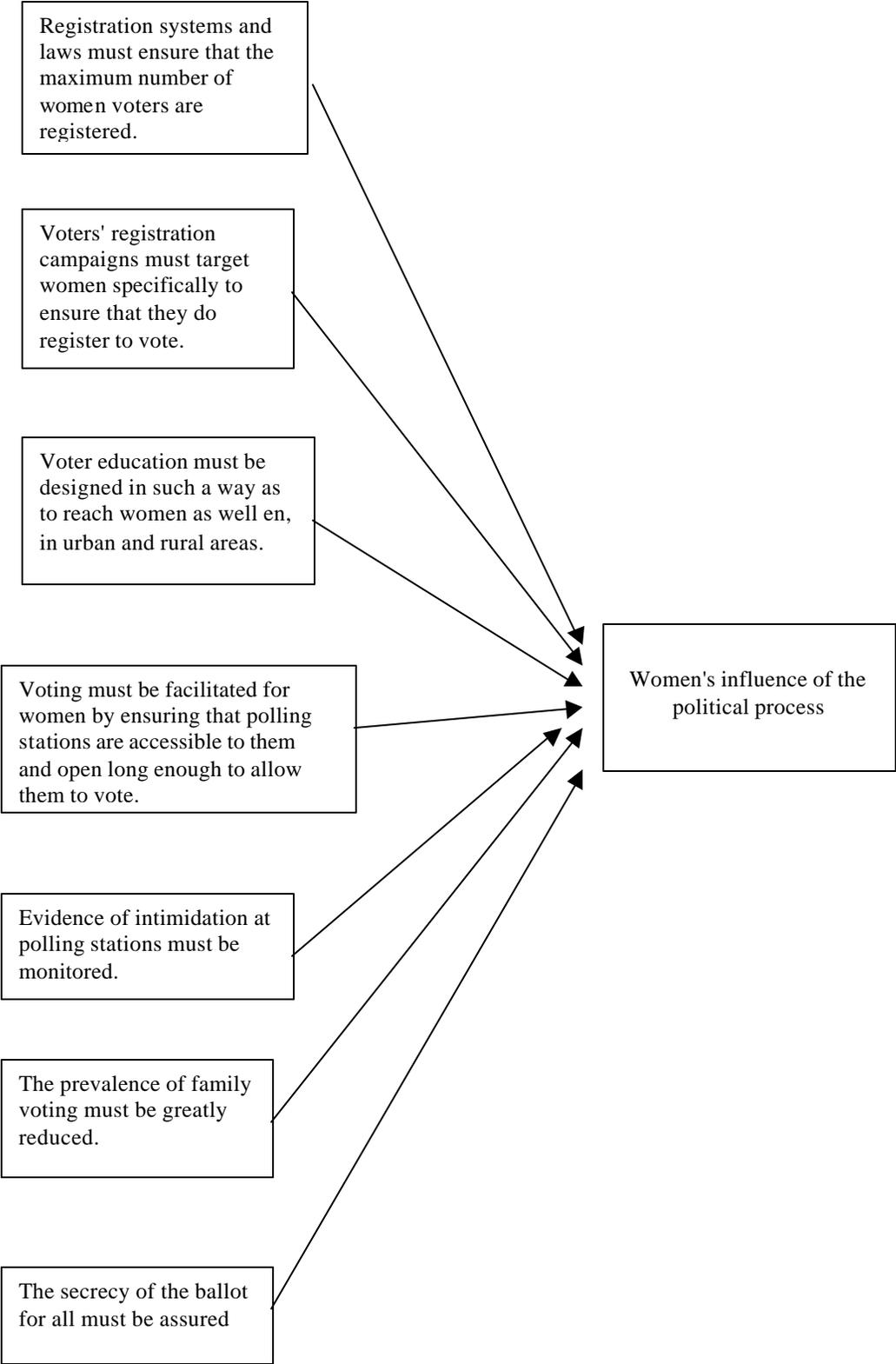
URL: [www.osce.org/odihr/democratization/gender/](http://www.osce.org/odihr/democratization/gender/)

The report describes some key issues concerning women and the democratization process. Two diagrams summarizing the strategies suggested to improve the situation of women as both candidates and voters are provided as reference.

### Workflow of women as candidates



# Workflow of women as voters



**2.**

**Drude Dahlerup, "Quotas – A Jump to Equality? The Need for international Comparison of the Use of Electoral Quotas to obtain Equal Political Citizenship for Women", in "The Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences. Quota Workshops Report Series" (IDEA, 2002).**

**URL: [http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas/Asia\\_Report.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas/Asia_Report.pdf)**

Stressing the fact that it is political parties "that constitute the real gatekeepers to elected offices", this brief article puts emphasis on the need for more international cross-country studies in order to fully understand the impact of quotas on women's representation in politics. In addition, the main objective of the project on quota systems being conducted by Prof. Dahlerup in the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, together with The Swedish Research Council and International IDEA, investigates the implementation process of quotas. The main hypothesis is that quotas that rest on previous mobilization and integration of women into all parts of society have a better chance of succeeding than those without this precondition, leading to permanent empowerment of women with equal political citizenship.

**3.**

**Richard E. Matland, "Lessons for Expanding Women's Representation", in "Enhancing women's political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems", International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance/IDEA**

**URL: <http://www.idea.int/women/parl/ch3d.htm>**

In order to enhance the representation of women in the public arena, the following recommendations are suggested by the author:

**Enhancement of women's participation in the political sphere:**

- Women should organize themselves inside and outside political parties.
- Women should urge parties to set down clear rules for candidate selection.
- PR systems are better than majoritarian systems for increasing women's representation.
- Some PR systems are preferable to others. Systems that guarantee high party magnitudes through a combination of high district magnitudes and electoral thresholds are expected to be superior for women. Systems which utilize two "tiers" of representation, combining national lists with regional or local constituencies, have often proved to be amongst the most effective in maximizing women' representation (Sweden, Denmark, Germany, New Zealand).
- Women should keep in mind all variables and alternatives with regard to electoral system design. Existing research suggest that the more seats in the national legislatures the better it is for women, because this will increase party magnitude. The fewer districts created the better for women, again because this will increase party magnitude. Women should be watchful when the number of seats in each voting district is determined. Often this process results in the over-representation of rural districts and the under-representation of urban districts, where women have far more resources at their disposal to be used to enter the political sphere.
- While PR systems are better in the long run, immediate results cannot be guaranteed. A positive effect will appear only if the group, in this case women, is sufficiently organized to take advantage of the situation. If not, the institutional arrangements can have no effect on outcomes.
- Changing the electoral system is only one part of a more comprehensive strategy for improving women's representation. Women will need to become active and effective voices within their individual parties and within society as a whole to be able to take advantage of the institutional advantages certain electoral structures provide.

**4.**

**Stability Pact Gender Task Force Report, 2003.**  
**URL: <http://www.stabilitypact.org/gender/default.asp>**

The Gender Task Force is an inter-governmental organization dedicated to advancing gender-balanced sustainable development in South Eastern Europe. Here are some highlights on the regional project update on women and political participation as well as measures taken to enhance women's political participation in Eastern Europe.

<p><b>Women Can Do It II (<i>Mainstreaming Gender Equality in Party Politics</i>)</b>          Serbia and FYR Macedonia marked the most dynamic improvements, with a 30% Quota measure for minority gender on candidate lists passed through parliament, while in Serbia for the municipal level in the new electoral legislation. Elections in Southern Serbia increased women’s participation in Local Councils to approximately 30%, up from 2%, while in FYR Macedonia 18% women were elected, up from 6%. In Slovenia, The first pre-electoral women’s campaign with cross party support was initiated with the goal of promoting women candidates regardless of party affiliation.</p>
<p><b>Women Voters Can Do It (<i>Get out the Vote Targeting Women Voters</i>)</b>          The project included indirect voter motivation through a nationwide media campaign, including TV spots, radio jingles, billboards, postcards, posters, etc. in the Macedonian and minority languages. Theme: “My vote is my future, Choose hope and dignity, For Equal Opportunities”</p>
<p><b>Women Can Do It in Trade Unions</b>          The Pilot Project in two Cantons of BiH accomplished a number of key steps:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ opened the social dialogue in two BiH cantons with women’s perspective integrated</li> <li>▪ strengthened existing and encouraged new women trade union leaders</li> <li>▪ developed and tested useful training materials; experienced trainers prepared to implement</li> <li>▪ brought “a regional perspective into a local environment” through Montenegrin participation in both cantons established strong working relationship with the ICFTU Regional Office in Sarajevo</li> </ul> <p>Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina plan to implement the full follow-up project jointly in late 2003 – 2004, pending donor support.</p>
<p><b>Gender Equality Public Awareness Campaigns</b>          Serbia and Montenegro has completed a campaign focusing on lobbying for economic and social women’s rights. The Gender Task Force in Croatia has started a series of media trainings and is preparing a National Pre-electoral Campaign on Gender Issues as well.</p>
<p><b>Gender Equality Machinery</b>          Establishment of the Montenegro Government Office for Equal Rights</p>
<p><b>SEE Women’s Parliamentary Caucus</b>          The Gender Task Force has begun a project linking women MP’s from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia (FYRoM) and Montenegro (Serbia and Montenegro). The project also involves the opening of resource centers for Women MPs in their parliaments, and two such centers have already been opened in Skopje and Podgorica.</p>
<p><b>Women Can Do It III</b>          This new project is targeting 50 communities in 12 countries and territories of SEE for exploring ways to improve gender equality in local governance.</p>

# C.

## Case and Comparative Studies on Women and Elections

### 1.

**Julie Ballington and Cecilia Bylesjo, "Conclusion: Lessons Learned from the Asian Experience with Quotas, in "The Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences. Quota Workshops Report Series", International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance/IDEA, Jakarta, Indonesia, 2002**

**URL: [http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas/Asia\\_Report.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas/Asia_Report.pdf)**

The article lists important lessons learned from the implementation of quotas in Asia. The countries observed are: India, East Timor, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Indonesia. A Summary of the main conclusions is provided below.

<p><b>1. Quotas open the door to women in politics</b> When properly implemented, quotas are an effective means to fast-tracking women's access to decision-making bodies.</p>
<p><b>2. Quotas are controversial</b> East Timor is an example of the arguments often used by those opposing quotas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Unqualified women will be elected.</li> <li>▪ Candidate selection is a party prerogative is best base on merit.</li> <li>▪ There is a shortage of "willing" women to contest the poll.</li> </ul>
<p><b>3. Sharing power with men</b> An important strategy is to develop arguments that convince men of the merits of power sharing and that their power will not reduced. In order to make room for women in politics, traditional concepts of merits as synonymous with men's experience must be challenged.</p>
<p><b>4. Reserved seat MP's versus political party MP's</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Parties demonstrated no political commitment to share general seats with women. In this way, quotas may act as a "glass ceiling" for women, as parties become less willing to address gender issues because women have "their seats".</li> <li>▪ Who do women legislators in reserved seats represent? By and large, women in Bangladesh have not served as advocates of women's rights. If a woman is elected through special measures she is not seen as full members of parliament, and, with no constituency behind her, she might lack a power base of her own.</li> </ul>
<p><b>5. Quantity versus Quality: Do quotas empower women?</b> While quotas ensure women a presence in parliament, there is no guarantee that women will be able to use their power effectively.</p>
<p><b>6. Training and skills development</b> Quotas and skills training can be used as simultaneous strategies for the empowerment of women (The case of Pakistan).</p>
<p><b>7. Are quotas a temporary measure?</b> Should quotas be introduced as a temporary or permanent basis? The case of Bangladesh illustrates that timing is extremely important and that quotas should not be abolished until the political playing field is truly even.</p>
<p><b>8. Women's network and mobilization</b> A strong women's network and civil society support are key to successful introduction of quotas. For the implementation of quotas, pressure should not only come from above but also be supported from below.</p>
<p><b>9. The rules of implementation are important</b> Extensive research is required to about the introduction, implementation and enforcement of</p>

quotas in different political and social contexts and in different electoral systems. Other issues to consider:

- Are there sanctions for non-compliance?
- Are there agencies that enforce compliance?
- Are quotas temporary or permanent?
- How many different kinds of quotas exist?

#### **10. Country contexts are important**

If quotas are being implemented in countries with a limited history of women's mobilization and women's integration in political life, the type of quota intervention needs to be chosen carefully and determined by the social and cultural context contexts and political climate in the country.

#### **11. The need for further research**

Need for comparative study in order to generalize about successful strategies and to present "best cases" of how quotas can be implemented.

**2.**

**United Nations Development Fund for Women, "The Kosovo Action Plan for the Achievement of Gender Equality", no date provided.**

**URL: [www.womensnetwork.org/english/resources.html](http://www.womensnetwork.org/english/resources.html)**

The National Action Plan (NAP) for the Achievement of Gender Equality presents recommendations to address specific problems and conditions of gender disparity in different areas in Kosovo. The report suggests specific measures that should be taken by key actors, namely government, political parties and civil society, in particular women's non-governmental organizations, to increase the number of women in politics and government, especially in key decision-making structures. Objectives and recommendations are provided below.

#### **Strategic Objective 9: On Women in Politics**

75. The representation of women in elected office has been ensured through changes in Kosovo's electoral laws. Positive measures such as the gender requirement for candidates' lists in elections, and trainings specifically designed for women in politics, are helping to reshape the political landscape of Kosovo.

76. Nevertheless, the continuing reality is that women remain seriously underrepresented at all levels of government and are largely absent from key decision-making positions.

77. Where inequality persists in political decision-making, it is also likely to persist in governmental policy-making. In this regard, when women increase their role in politics, their participation serves as leverage for increased equality in governmental decision-making. Ultimately, women's equal participation in political life is essential to securing the advancement of women and their equal representation in government and the formulation of public policies.

79. The following proposed actions are framed by the key question: How can the Government of Kosovo use the available resources (including human resources and governmental and nongovernmental institutions) to promote the participation of women in politics and increase the number of women in government, especially in key decision-making positions?

80. More specifically, the goal of the proposed actions is: To increase the number of women in politics and in government, especially in key decision-making positions.

#### **Strategic Objective 9.1: Empower women in all roles and at all levels within political parties.**

81. The socialization and negative stereotyping of women and men reinforces the tendency for political decision-making to remain the domain of men. As a result, women have had limited and

unequal access to the traditional avenues to power, such as the decision-making bodies of political parties.

Actions to be taken

**82. By political parties:**

- (a) Examine party structures and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women.
- (b) Develop initiatives that allow women to participate fully in all internal policy-making structures and in nominating processes for appointed and elected positions.
- (c) Incorporate gender issues into political agendas, taking measures to ensure that women can participate in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.

83. By the Government of Kosovo (including the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government under the authority of its transferred powers, and UNMIK under the authority of its reserved powers), and the Central Election Commission:

- (a) Change electoral rules to improve the accountability of elected officials to their constituents. This action should involve public participation and input from civil society, including women's NGOs.
- (b) Maintain the gender requirement for candidates' lists in all public elections.
- (c) Increase the number of women serving on the Central Election Commission.

Strategic Objective 9.2: Increase the number of women in politics and in government.

84. Although women make up at least half of the electorate, they continue to be seriously underrepresented as candidates for public office and as members of the civil service. The traditional working patterns of many political parties and government structures continue to be barriers to women's participation in public life. Women in politics and in decision-making positions in government contribute to redefining political priorities, placing new items on the political agenda that reflect and address women's gender-specific concerns, and providing new perspectives on mainstream political issues.

Actions to be taken

**85. By political parties:**

- (a) Take positive measures to encourage, train and prepare women to run for public office. This includes collaborating with women's NGOs and the media to increase the visibility of women in politics, and to promote the public's awareness and support for women candidates in elections.
- (b) Strengthen cooperation between women in politics and women's NGOs, for the purpose of advancing the gender perspective and the status of women in Kosovo.

86. By the Government of Kosovo (including the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government under the authority of its transferred powers, and UNMIK under the authority of its reserved powers), with corresponding actions by municipal authorities and Municipal Gender Officers:

- (a) Monitor and evaluate the representation of women through the regular collection, analysis and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative data on women and men employed at all levels and in all arenas of the public sector.
- (b) Consistent with paragraph 38(a) above, establish a gender requirement for the recruitment, hiring and retention of women for a minimum of 30% of the decision-making positions in the public sector.

**By civil society institutions, including women's NGOs, and the media:**

- (a) Take positive measures to encourage women – regardless of political affiliation – to run for public office. This includes collaborating with political parties to increase the visibility of women in politics, and to promote the public's awareness and support for women candidates in elections.

- (b) Strengthen cooperation with women in politics, for the purpose of advancing the gender perspective and the status of women in Kosovo.
- (c) Increase contacts between women in politics and the electorate.
- (d) Actively assist in the mobilization of financial support from the electorate and donors, for women candidates in elections.

**3.**

**The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, "Getting it Right? A Gender Approach to UNAMIK Administration in Kosovo", 2001.**

**URL: [www.womensnetwork.org/english/resources.html](http://www.womensnetwork.org/english/resources.html)**

The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation addresses the needs of women in areas affected by war and armed conflict. The aim of this report is to investigate the international community's efforts to include women in the reconstruction and institutional building in Kosovo after the armed conflict in 1998-1999. The study outlines the successes and challenges faced by UNMIK, as well as provide an analysis on how to improve the access of women in the political arena.

#### Electoral quotas

In the regulation on the municipal elections it was formulated that "Each candidates' list shall include at least thirty percent of female candidates in the first fifteen candidates. Within the first fifteen candidates on each candidate's list, at least one female shall be placed among the first three candidates, and at least one female shall be placed in each full set of three candidates thereafter. This rule shall not apply to those lists comprised of less than three candidates".

#### Negative Consequences

- Use of an open list, where the voter gets to mark one candidate of his or her preference who will then move upwards on the list. Conversely, closed lists show only the names of the party and there is no possibility for the voter to interfere with the order of the candidates as determined by the party. In this specific case of open lists, both male and female voters preferred to choose male candidates.

#### Recommendations

- In order to avoid the negative consequences of an open list system, it is suggested that preferential votes can only affect the ranking of candidates with respect to others with the same sex, but cannot, as it did in October 2000, push forward male candidates to the detriment of female candidates.
- It is also stated that a quota will never be effective when it is introduced as a single measure with a short-term perspective. Instead, it has to be introduced with a long-term perspective as well as within a broader plan including activities such as public awareness campaigns, networking between political women, education etc..
- It is also important to take into account the effects of widespread family voting on the election of women candidates. This aspect, as the report emphasizes, was overlooked in the case of Kosovo.

**4.**

**Elizabeth Powley, "Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition", 2003, Women Waging Peace Policy Commission.**

**URL: [www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/themes/reconstruction.asp#gov](http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/themes/reconstruction.asp#gov)**

As the author argues, the report examines the significance of gender to governance, explores the new structures created by Rwanda's transitional government to increase women's participation in

the political arena, and highlights women's contributions to promoting peace through good governance. The ballot system used during the 1999 elections and its advantages are briefly summarized below.

**The triple ballot system**

In the 2001 sector level elections, each voter used three ballots: a general ballot, a women's ballot, and a youth ballot. Voters selected one person on each ballot, thus picking a general candidate (frequently, but not necessarily) a man, a woman, and a young person. Through subsequent indirect election, a district council was chosen from among candidates who won at the sector level.

**Advantages**

- The system was successful in guaranteeing the election of at least 20% of women district-level leadership.
- The system gave the opportunity to many women who felt uncomfortable competing against men, to run for elections and compete instead against women.

**5.** Julie Ballington "Encouraging Women's Participation through Voter Education", in Glenda Fick, Sheila Meintjes and Mary Simons (eds.), *One Woman One Vote: The gender politics of South African Elections*, EISA, Johannesburg, 2002.

In the South African Elections of 1994, voter education programs, conducted by both NGO's and political parties, proved to be necessary mechanisms for the outreach of women voters, especially in rural areas.

<b>Goals of voter education programmes</b>
▪ Educate voters about democracy
▪ Explain the secrecy of the ballot
▪ Teach citizens how to vote and motivate them to participate to the elections.
<b>Measures taken to promote women's participation in the voter education programmes</b>
▪ Recruitment of women trainers
▪ Organization of separate workshops with only women participants, so that women could voice their opinions and concerns without interruption by men.
<b>Some of the techniques used in the workshops</b>
▪ Staging voting exercises and rehearsal of the voting process to reduce intimidation
▪ Use of documentary films disseminated by means of mobile video units in rural areas
▪ Hiring theatre groups performing voter education play
<b>Main critique</b>
▪ Very few programmes explored in depths the correlation between the women's votes and their empowerment. In other words, few programmes focused on the concept of women's empowerment the long-term

**6.** Hannah E. Britton, "Coalition Building, Election Rules, and party Politics: South African women's Path to Parliament", *Africa Today*, Vol. 49, Winter 2002

The article's main argument is that the creation of a strong women's movement served as a catalyst to the post transition success in constitutional reforms, party politics and election of women to public office.

<b>The South African Model</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The Women's National Coalition (WNC) developed a national platform for action, collaborated on policy issues and raised awareness on the status and role of women nationally.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ From the foundation of the WNC, women formed cross-party bargaining teams to pressure their way into the constitutional negotiations. Women were, therefore, able to incorporate their needs in the constitution.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Because of the great national impact of the women's movement, women were able to pressure their parties for internal affirmative action measures and demand quotas (the African National Congress introduced a list of candidates with a 30% gender quota) and/or recruitment and training of women candidates.</li> </ul>

**7.** Gehan Abu-Zayd, *"In Search of Political Power-Women in Parliament in Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon"*, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), <http://www.idea.int/women/parl/studies1a.htm>. No date provided.

This study analyzes the restrictions to political participation Arab women face and some of the tactics utilized by women to get access to the political sphere.

<b>Summary of measures taken outside Parliament</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Providing women-only transportation to polling stations enabled some tribal women to vote.</li> <li>▪ Women have used moderate behavior in presenting their opinions and positions so that they do not conflict with society's traditions. This includes the way they talk, the way they dress, and their personal and public relations.</li> <li>▪ Co-operating with women's organizations that work on raising women's legal awareness regarding their voting rights. For example, in Jordan, women MPs understood the importance of women's votes and are working to lobby women's organizations.</li> <li>▪ Co-operating with male leaders in local communities in order to persuade them to support their position. Egyptian women MP's have used such techniques.</li> <li>▪ Using all available means of communication/media to expand their support in local communities.</li> <li>▪ Using statistics and other data to carefully plan their campaign.</li> <li>▪ Learning about experience of other women and using these lessons to improve their performance.</li> <li>▪ Standing their ground against personal attacks and attacks based on ideology or gender.</li> <li>▪ Stressing the positive values and strengths inherent in society, especially when they have been calling for change. That is, they have indicated that what they are calling for is in harmony with society's basic values and a continuity as opposed to importing alien cultural norms and patterns.</li> </ul>
<b>Summary of measures taken within Parliament</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Learn and become familiar with the rules and guidelines of the political game, formulating strategies on this knowledge. And, undertake targeted lobbying.</li> <li>▪ Learn more about women's position within the relevant religions and legislation in order to be able to defend women's rights. An Egyptian Christian woman MP has argued that she had to understand Islam and Christianity to defend the law on childhood and motherhood.</li> <li>▪ Lobbying other women MPs or sympathetic men MPs in order to gain support for their bills in parliament.</li> <li>▪ Increase access to information and skills in putting their points across also help women to participate in public life and open up new fields to them.</li> </ul>

## 8.

Llja A. Luciack, "Gender equality and electoral politics on the left: A comparison of El Salvador and Nicaragua", *Journal of Inter American Studies and World Affairs*, Spring 1998, Vol. 40 Issue 1.

This comparative study analyzes the representation of women in party structures, candidate lists for public office, legislative assemblies as well as strategies employed by women to increase female representation in El Salvador and Nicaragua. More specifically, the paper examines the 1996 Nicaraguan and 1997 Salvadoran parliamentary elections from a gender perspective.

### 1. Women's efforts within and outside the party structure

<b>El Salvador: Women within the FMLN party structure</b>	<b>Nicaragua: Women within the FSLN party structure</b>
The Women's Secretariat established within the FMLN party pressures and obtains the party leadership to elect women in one-third of the positions on the national decision-making bodies.	The FSLN women fight for the introduction of a quota of 30%, which is approved.
The women fight for the introduction of a quota of 35%, which is approved.	Female militants are supported by the Asociacion de Mujeres Nicaraguenses (AMNLAE), the Sandinista women's organization.
The party gives the female candidates complete autonomy in conducting their campaigns.	
The women succeed in getting the party leadership to incorporate a women's fights agenda into the FMLN's Socio Economic Proposal, a document outlining the party's policies.	
The FMLN women set up the Commando Electoral de Mujeres (Women's electoral Command) to coordinate their efforts and represent female candidates.	
<b>Outside the FMLN party structure: Autonomy versus Cooperation among women with different backgrounds</b>	<b>Outside the FSLM party structure: Autonomy versus Cooperation among women with different backgrounds</b>
Members of the Commando reached out to other women's organizations to put women's issues on the electoral agenda.	AMNLAE evolves into a nonpartisan movement and becomes part of the Coalicion Nacional de Mujeres (Women's Coalition). The idea is to unite women with different backgrounds and ideologies to fight together against women discrimination in society.
Some women's organization, i.e. Las Dogmas, thought party militancy as incompatible with maintaining autonomy as an activist in the women's movement. The conflict is not resolved.	Women are divided on the issue of whether to support individual female candidates or to promote women's participation in the elections.
Because of the great difficulty of reaching an agreement between different women's organizations, efforts to reach a common agenda took a long time and, in the end, were <b>not</b> successful. Political parties, in fact, refused to sign the final version of the document.	The conflict is not resolved. Nevertheless, women are successful in creating a united/comprehensive alliance in time to prepare for elections (have time to lobby political parties on women's issues).
The women do not receive financial support from external donors.	The women receive financial support from external donors (Scandinavian governments and NGO's as well as USAID).

## 2. Strategies employed to promote women' representation during elections

FMLN Strategies in El Salvador to increase women participation in the 1997 elections	FSLN Strategies in Nicaragua to increase women's participation in the 1996 elections
Introduction of a quota system	Introduction of a quota system
To ensure that all delegates vote for at least three women, the leadership of the <b>department</b> of San Salvador agrees that any ballot that did not include the names of three female candidates would be declared invalid. The rank order of the candidates is based on the total number of votes received.	Lack of safe positions on party list seriously undermines the election of women at the <b>departmental level</b> .
Women decide to nominate fewer candidates in order to concentrate the vote. Fewer women nominated would than have higher chance of being elected. The strategy proves to be successful: 4 female candidates among the first seven positions.	.
At the <b>national level</b> , women propose the introduction of the so-called "trenza" (the braid), where males and females alternate on the list. This proposal is not approved. Instead, the voting occurs in several rounds. Candidates are elected in slates of five, with separate ballots for men and women. Of the five top positions, two are allocated to female candidates.	Introduction of the braid system at the <b>national level</b> , where males and females alternate on the party list.
Women fight for one-third of the safe positions and are not satisfied with securing the quota in terms of the total number of candidates and substitutes.	Women do not insist on securing one-third of the safe positions.
<b>Main critiques</b>	<b>Main critiques</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Women failed to gather support at the local level, with only few exceptions as in the case of the department of San Salvador. This is mainly due to the refusal on the part of many women to be nominated at the local level because of cultural prejudices and strong traditional gender relations that relegate women in the private sphere.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Nicaragua was not as successful as El Salvador in increasing women's representation in parliament.</li> <li>▪ Guaranteeing a quota is not enough and more energy needs to be devoted to securing safe positions on the lists.</li> <li>▪ As in El Salvador, women in Nicaragua failed to reach voters at the local level, making the enhancement of the role of women in electoral processes mainly an urban phenomenon.</li> </ul>

It is evident that much work needs to be done in order to convince women to run for elections at the local level. In both countries, with only a few exceptions, the number of women elected was minimal. However, as it was the case in El Salvador, women's perseverance in securing top positions on the party list combined with the strategy of nominating fewer women to concentrate the vote, seems to be an effective mechanisms to increase the chances of women candidates being elected.

9.

**Gloria Bonder and Marcela Nari, "The 30 Percent Quota Law: A Turning Point for Women's Political Participation in Argentina", in "A Raising Public Voice. Women in Politics Worldwide", edited by Alida Brill, 1995. The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, New York.**

The chapter discusses the introduction/challenges/effects of the quota system in Argentina. The law was implemented March 8, 1991 and was enforced during the national elections in October 1993. The quota stipulates that "the list of candidates must include at least 30% of women candidates for public office, in proportion which will make their election possible".

<b>Strategies employed by women in public office to have the quota law passed:</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Inter-party alliance was essential for approval of the law.</li> <li>▪ The Peronist Party women organized several women's meeting to present and discuss the law, inviting male politicians as speakers. Using this strategy, they tried to induce the men to make a public commitment before mass assembly.</li> <li>▪ The women took advantage of all existing political links, such as having worked together in the same committees, personal affinities, shared political and professional experience etc...</li> </ul>
<b>Positive Effects</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Since the enforcement of the law joint attempts have been made to promote laws on reproductive health, violence, the incorporation of women into armed forces and living the standards.</li> </ul>
<b>Recommendations</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The law is a tool, which must be defended and to do so we must create awareness among women and find a ways to overcome fear when women confront men.</li> <li>▪ Women need to confront male members of the political group and negotiate with them.</li> <li>▪ Enhance alliances among women.</li> <li>▪ Enhance women's leadership.</li> <li>▪ The quota is not the point arrival but departure.</li> <li>▪ Take into account the fact that the fears women politicians face everyday are those of sliding back, of the manipulation of their efforts, of being trapped in structures which cannot be change, of "not making a difference".</li> </ul>

10.

**Socorro L. Reyes "Quotas in Pakistan: A Case Study", in "The Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences. Quota Workshops Report Series" (International Democratic Electoral Assistance/IDEA, 2002).**

**URL: [http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas/Asia\\_Report.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas/Asia_Report.pdf)**

The so-called Devolution of Power Plan, which was approved in March 200 by Pakistan, contains a provision of 33 per cent quota for women on the district, tehsil and union councils, the local legislative bodies mandated to approve by-laws, taxes, long-term and short-term development plans and annual budgets. The article proposes a cardinal framework to promote equal participation of women in decision-making structures. The framework is provided below.

<b>1. Awareness-raising</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ A nationwide information campaign to highlight the importance of the representation and participation of women in the decision-making, the transformational politics of women, and the political participation of women as a human right.</li> </ul>

## **2. Capacity-building**

- A three-phase programme which will encompass the whole range of women's citizenship information as voters, candidates and elected officials. It will include: rights awareness of voters; young women's leadership training; how to run and win; and skills-building for women who got elected to local councils, and provincial and national assemblies. These skills include developing a policy agenda, articulation and negotiation, influencing and shaping policy decisions, and allocation of resources.

## **3. Research and Documentation**

- To show that women make a difference, their work in regard to shaping the institution's rules, practices and norms, as well as its policy decisions, should be documented.

## **4. Policy analysis and advocacy**

- Three important areas for policy advocacy to enhance the political participation of women are democratisation of political parties, quotas as temporary special measures to achieve gender balance, and campaign finance reform.

**11.**

**Sean Dunne, "Electoral Report Needs Assessment Mission" Electoral Assistance Division Department of Political affairs (UN), 2003**

Elections were held in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in June 2003. For the first time, the election included a quota of six seats reserved to women who gained the highest percentage of vote within their electoral district.

### **1. Paradox of this quota system**

- This system favoured candidates that came from smaller rural districts, where the percentage of votes was high. However, the total number of votes was disproportionately small compared to urban areas. In sum, the quota favoured women candidates who came from a small electoral district influenced by tribal politics, which is not necessarily an indicator for the increase of women in decision-making power. For example, in many cases, the election of a woman at the district level occurred because there was not sufficient numerical advantage to elect a male candidate.

### **2. Main effect**

- Over representation of women at the rural level/tribal communities, where they are more likely to encounter barriers to their active involvement in the public sphere. By active involvement, it is meant their ability to introduce a gender perspective in politics.