

REGIONAL STUDY ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP COUNTRIES



Programmatic Cooperation Framework for
Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus

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by the Council of Europe

Regional study on women's political representation in the Eastern Partnership countries

Council of Europe handbook
for civil society organisations

Council of Europe

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Ms Diane Bunyan, Director, Gender Equality Mainstreaming (GEM) Consultancy, wrote this report and conclusions, and Mr Doru Petruti, statistical expert from the Institute of Marketing and Surveys (IMAS), analysed data from the questionnaires.

The work on the questionnaires and interviews was carried out by six country researchers from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. On the basis of an open tender procedure the Council of Europe awarded a service contract to Promo-Lex, the non-governmental organisation (NGO) that co-ordinated the country researchers. Due to the sensitiveness of the information obtained, *inter alia*, through the interviews, it was decided that the names of the national researchers would not be disclosed.

The overall co-ordination of the study was ensured by the Division of Electoral Assistance and Census (DGII) of the Council of Europe with input from the Secretariat of the Gender Equality Commission of the Council of Europe and the European Institute of Gender Equality of the European Union.



Summary

The research has identified key facts and barriers that restrict women's political representation in the Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.

In all the countries women are less likely than men to stand for political office and to be elected both at legislative (national) level and at administrative (local) level.

Women hold less than 20% of seats in parliament in all the countries with the exception of Belarus where 30% of parliamentary seats are held by women.

An examination of the legal framework in each country shows that although there is a general legal basis for equality of women and men, in political life the reality is different. Where specific measures have been adopted they have not led to a substantial increase in women standing as candidates and getting elected, although there are signs of some progress. Lack of effective enforcement mechanisms weakens the very few specific measures in place.

However, stereotypical views and assumptions about the role women should play in society are major barriers to women's political representation in all the study countries. They affect women's position in the economy and the labour market, reducing women's likelihood of putting themselves forward as candidates, of being selected and of being elected.

Data from the United Nations Human Development Index and from the country researchers show that women participate in the labour market at lower levels than men and their estimated gross national income is less than that of men, from 77% of male income in Moldova to 50% of male income in Georgia.

Women are more likely to have higher education than men; however, they do not occupy positions in central administration at the same rates as men. They mainly work in occupations that are lower paid than men such as in the public sector.

The consequential lack of finance also plays a major role as a barrier to women, preventing or limiting their ability to stand as candidates or to run an effective campaign.

The study found evidence that the attitudes of citizens are changing in this regard.

The report has examined the role of political parties in supporting women's political representation and found, with few exceptions, that women do not play a major role in the policy-making bodies of parties and that women's issues and concerns are not visible in the policies and programmes presented to electors.

Nevertheless, there are examples of good practices, supportive measures and strategies, as well as recommendations, in some countries of the Eastern Partnership that could be adopted in the region to enhance women's political representation.



Introduction

REASONS FOR THE PROJECT

Gender equality is central to the protection of human rights and the functioning of democracy. It cannot be right that the experiences, skills and concerns of women are not fully represented or reflected in decision making about the laws and functioning of the societies in which they live.

International standards, such as the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the European Convention on Human Rights, are clear that women and men should have equal rights and opportunities to participate fully in all aspects of political life and the democratic process. The Council of Europe has reiterated this over a number of years in key conventions and through recommendations from the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly and from the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities.

Despite the recognition of formal equal political rights of women and men, participation in the political process, including membership of and participation in political parties, standing as a candidate, being elected and holding office with legislative or administrative bodies, remains dominated by men. The Council of Europe Recommendation Rec(2003)3 on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making noted that: "Men set political priorities, and political culture continues to be highly male orientated." The same situation exists still in 2016.

There remains a substantial under-representation of women as candidates and as elected representatives, at national and at regional and local levels, in the Eastern Partnership countries, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. There is also a lack of reliable, comparable official and non-official data on the situation of women in politics.

The Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2014-2017 has as one of its strategic objectives the better implementation of Recommendation Rec(2003)3 on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making, and the European Commission Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015 encourages Eastern Partnership countries to promote gender equality through policy dialogue and exchanges of experience.

AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to provide a qualitative and quantitative assessment with regard to the situation of women's political representation in each of the EaP countries with a view to suggesting evidence-based policies and examples of successful practice that can be shared by all.

To achieve this aim, the study has looked at factors which hinder and which support women's participation in the political process from the perspective of two political decision-making levels: legislative (national parliaments) and administrative (local and regional self-government bodies).

AREAS FOR THE STUDY

The ability of women to take full advantage of their human rights and to participate fully in political life depends on the societal and legal situation in their country. In societies where women are generally unequal – legally, economically and culturally – they are more likely to be at a disadvantage in taking part in the electoral process and getting elected.

The study set out to examine the key factors, barriers or positive interventions that hinder or support women's participation at different points in their progress to become an elected representative at national (legislative) level or at local (administrative) level in the study countries.

These key points have been summarised¹ as:

- ▶ where eligible women aspire to stand for elected office;
- ▶ where those who aspire to office get selected as candidates;
- ▶ where candidates are successful in getting elected by voters.

The study has focused on three key areas:

- ▶ 1. women's place in society as measured by information on the economic, social and cultural situation in the countries;
- ▶ 2. the political context, particularly how political parties act as barriers or supporters to women standing as candidates and getting elected;
- ▶ 3. the legislative framework and the electoral systems that detail women's rights and how far they are realised.

REASONS FOR FOCUSING ON THESE SELECTED FACTORS

1. Economic, social and cultural factors

Women are affected by the prevailing cultural assumptions and stereotypical views of the distinct roles of women and men in society. Men are assumed to have primary responsibility for activities in the public sphere – economy and political life – and women have primary responsibility for the private sphere – home and family.

These stereotypes are used to justify and maintain historical relations of the power of men over women as well as sexist attitudes that are holding back the advancement

1. Krook M.L. and Norris P. (2014), "Beyond quotas: strategies to promote gender equality in elected office", *Political Studies* 62, 1, pp. 2-20.

of women. The Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2014-2017² has set the fight against gender stereotypes and sexism as its first priority.

Women who might consider standing as candidates have to overcome the stereotypes within themselves, within those who select them as candidates and among citizens who vote and might not see politics as the place for women.

In order to understand the impact of these factors on women in the study countries, information has been examined in the following areas.

- ▶ While women's participation in the labour market is not a direct correlation with their participation in political life, it is an indicator of their role in society. The study also looked at women's share of income in relation to that of men.
- ▶ The type of work women do affects their own perception of their capabilities to run for elected office and also the perception of their suitability by those who select them as candidates. The study covers university graduates, women working in central administration and, where possible, information on women working at management level.
- ▶ "The most pronounced expression of the uneven balance of power between women and men is violence against women, which is both a human rights violation and a major obstacle to gender equality"³ The way violence against women is perpetrated is a clear indicator of how women are perceived in society. The study has looked at the evidence that is available on the prevalence of violence, whether there are laws punishing violence against women specifically and how effectively these laws are implemented.
- ▶ Active and effective NGOs focusing on women's equality issues can be important in bringing about and supporting change. They can act as a catalyst for change at legislative level and by promoting understanding and acceptance of the importance of women's equality they can change the perception of citizens. They can also provide a useful monitoring mechanism to ensure that existing policies are effective in their application and outcome. They can also play an important practical role in raising awareness and recruiting and training potential women candidates.
- ▶ Other pressures on society which may have an impact on women's political representation are: the existence of minority populations where, due to prevailing stereotypes, the position of women may be even more difficult than in the majority population, and the levels of migration out of the country.
- ▶ The study also looked at the role played by the media in reinforcing or challenging stereotypes in relation to women candidates.
- ▶ The study sought the views of women who had stood as candidates and had been successful in getting elected. It also sought the views of those who were not successful in both national and local elections to see how far they felt that stereotypical views played a part in their decision to stand, in the campaigns and when they were elected.

2. Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2014-2017.

3. Ibid.

- ▶ The views of voters and their attitudes towards women candidates and political representatives are key indicators of change. Despite international evidence which shows that voters cast votes for women at equal or greater rates than for men,⁴ those who select candidates are often influenced by a view that women will not be viable candidates.

2. Political factors

The role of political parties is crucial in the political representation of women. They are the gatekeepers for women who aspire to be candidates to move to being selected. They can act as barriers to prevent, or enablers to secure, an increase in women's political representation. Their role in the selection of candidates has been the focus of research such as that done by the United Nations Development Programme and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in 2011⁵ which identified various good practices by political parties in encouraging women to stand as candidates and supporting them in campaigns. Some of these are included in the section "Supportive measures" (see Chapter 3) where those identified by the study researchers are also included.

The Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life⁶ suggests that they can support the political representation of women in a number of ways by:

- ▶ promoting and passing legislation, for example quotas that put in place measures to increase the number of women on candidate lists;
- ▶ adopting such arrangements voluntarily;
- ▶ promoting women to decision-making roles within their internal structures;
- ▶ promoting women's equality in their policies and in society as a whole;
- ▶ recognising women's issues and concerns in their party programmes;
- ▶ using positive images of women's political representatives in their campaigns and in the media;
- ▶ ensuring that the behaviour of their own members is in line with the values of equality and respect for women.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has set out a range of measures in its resolution on political parties and women's political representation.⁷ These include:

- ▶ women in leadership roles within the party;
- ▶ women's organisations and their influence;
- ▶ women's issues in the manifesto/programme for the most recent election;

4. Murray R., Krook M.L. and Opello K.A.R. (2012), "Why are gender quotas adopted?", *Political Research Quarterly* 65, 3, pp. 529-43.

5. United Nations Development Programme and National Democratic Institute (2011), "Empowering women for stronger political parties", UNDP and NDI, New York.

6. Available at: www.ccre.org/docs/charte_egalite_en.pdf.

7. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Resolution 1898 (2012) "Political parties and women's political representation". Available at: <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=19134&lang=en>.

- ▶ women in the media in the last election;
- ▶ any arrangements to support women or encourage them to stand for election.

A further barrier to women is the cost of being selected as a candidate and fighting an election campaign. The IDEA Handbook on Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns⁸ also suggests that the greatest difficulty is experienced by women candidates from new political parties or those not represented in parliament, who are often unable to access public funding. In this case women often have to finance the campaign themselves.

Women are more likely than men to work in the public sector such as in education and healthcare, and in the private sector in hotel and catering and in retail. As these sectors are not well paid, women are less likely to have savings that they can use to fund a campaign; and cultural norms indicate that women are less likely to raise funds on their own behalf and, if they do, to see that finance as belonging to the family.⁹

All these measures and the information provided by the researchers are the focus of the study.

3. Legal framework

The legal framework sets out the basis for establishing women's constitutional rights and freedoms, including the rights to participate equally in elections as candidates and voters and to hold electoral office. This includes looking at the international obligations that the study countries have accepted, as well as their national constitutions and any specific legislation that may impact positively or negatively on women.

The Venice Commission 2009 report on the impact of electoral systems on women's representation in politics¹⁰ states that electoral systems have an effect on women's chances of being elected. List systems lead to more women being elected, and those that adopt enforced quotas of women in winnable positions on the lists are the most successful of all. The study examined the electoral systems for local and national elections to see if this is evidenced in the study countries.

In particular the study examines the success, or otherwise, of any systems of legislative quotas or affirmative actions which have been adopted in each of the countries for elections at both the legislative and administrative levels. The aim is to see what impact these measures have had in increasing the number of female political representatives, and what lessons can be drawn from their implementation.

Other issues that may impact on women putting themselves forward are the requirements for candidates to declare income and particularly the requirements for a financial deposit or registration fee, especially if these are to be met by the candidates themselves, as is the case for independent candidates not standing for a political party.

8. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2014), see Chapter 9: Ballington J. and Kahane M., "Women in politics: financing for gender equality", IDEA, Stockholm.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

10. Available at: [www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD\(2009\)029-e](http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD(2009)029-e).

Research¹¹ has shown that women are more likely to stand as candidates and to be elected at local, district level where there is less power, influence and financial reward than at national level, and the study looks at the evidence on this.

The working conditions of political institutions can also present women with problems. A global survey of members of parliaments found that women perceived the traditional working practices of parliaments to be problematic¹² and another study by the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 2011¹³ highlighted “work–life balance” issues as the greatest challenge when serving in parliament. The study explores how far parliaments and local and regional government institutions have addressed these issues.

The report has also identified supportive measures that have helped women to see themselves as potential candidates, to run successful campaigns and to fulfil their roles as elected representatives. The examples in the report are from the study countries and, where relevant, examples have been included from elsewhere.

11. Council of Europe (2009), “Parity democracy: a far cry from reality. Comparative study on the results of the first and second rounds of monitoring of the Council of Europe Recommendation Rec(2003)3 on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making. Strasbourg.

12. Ballington J. (2008), “Equality in politics”, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva.

13. Palmieri, S. (2011), “Gender-sensitive parliaments”, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva.

Chapter 1

Methodology

CHOICE OF THE METHODOLOGY

The choice of methodology for the study was agreed during a two-day seminar held by the Division of Electoral Assistance and Census (DGII) of the Council of Europe in Tbilisi on 25 and 26 July 2015 with independent researchers from each of the study countries, Ms Diane Bunyan, the leading gender expert, and Mr Doru Petruti, the statistical expert. Ms Tania Verge, a Council of Europe expert from the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, and Dr Anna Rita Manca, Statistics Officer at the European Institute for Gender Equality also attended and provided expert advice.

The seminar discussed and agreed the key issues which impact on women's political representation: economic, cultural and social factors; political factors; and the legal framework.

The choice of the methodology took into consideration the researchers' opinion on the information that they could reasonably obtain from official sources within the timescale available.

1. Questionnaire template

A questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was drawn up in order to provide a structure to the study for the researchers and to ensure that the data and information collected allowed, as far as possible, for comparisons to be made between the different countries.

In addition to covering the key areas affecting women's political participation it also asks the researchers to identify key outcomes and particular difficulties that they faced in completing the study. The researchers had three months to complete the questionnaire. Following receipt of the completed questionnaires further questions for clarification were sent and returned in December 2015. In total, the data collection lasted from August 2015 to February 2016 and the analysis and drafting exercise lasted from February 2016 to May 2016.

2. Interviews

The second aspect of the project was to capture the experiences of women who had stood as candidates and either been successful or not in getting elected at national level as well as regional and local level. It also included the experiences of a senior woman in a political party. The aim was to identify examples of the actual experiences of women to test our assumptions about the constraining factors on women and to inform the conclusions and recommendations of the report. A template was drafted for these questions (see Appendix 2 below).

Due to the restricted timescale and capacity of the researchers the number of interviews was limited, but as far as possible covered a range of newly elected officials, experienced politicians, female members of the ruling party groups and those in opposition and unelected.

3. Research method of work

The country researchers identified sources of information, where possible, to complete the questionnaires and also made comments on what they considered were the main barriers to women's participation.

The choice of who to interview, within the template provided, was left to the researchers and was often restricted by time and by those who were willing to participate. Most researchers carried out the interviews face to face but some were conducted by telephone. Not all of the questions were relevant to all of the interviews. In total, 53 interviews were carried out and these have provided a valuable insight for the study.

4. Limitations and constraints of the study

During the analysis of the information it was found that some assumptions were not substantiated by the data. In some cases, numbers or available information did not sustain the opinion and observations of the national consultants.

The difficulty of analysing the information was also caused by inexact and often incomplete information provided in the questionnaires. There were also different interpretations of the data; in some cases consultants gave different answers to the same question as a result of misunderstanding what was being requested. Some of this was addressed when clarification was sought.

For several indicators or data, consultants used different references and ways of calculating and there were major difficulties in accessing robust gender-disaggregated data. This made comparisons between countries difficult, particularly with economic and electoral aspects. In order to overcome this, the study has used international data where that is available such as the United Nations Human Development Index.

The country researchers were able to select, within constraints, those they interviewed. It is felt that this subjectivity is balanced by the country knowledge that they bring to the study. Their views and comments, as well as the data, have been very helpful in formulating the report and the conclusions and recommendations.

The number of interviews was limited to 10 for each country. In some cases there were no women willing to be interviewed, for example in Belarus where no women who had been elected to the parliament from the ruling party were willing to be interviewed; and in some cases there are no elected women mayors. The Council of Europe issued a letter for each researcher to show interviewees in order to facilitate the conduct of the interviews. The letter stipulates that any examples used from the interviews will remain anonymous.

The specific issues identified by each researcher are as follows.

In Armenia, there are no elected women mayors and only two women candidates for mayor, neither of whom were willing to be interviewed. Similarly, there are only two women MPs elected by the majoritarian system and neither was willing to be interviewed.

In Azerbaijan, there is no data on women's political participation. A lot of data is not disaggregated by sex and official data is not always reliable. There were difficulties conducting the interviews as there were parliamentary elections on 1 November 2015.

In Belarus, the expert found it difficult to complete the survey for a variety of reasons, in particular:

- ▶ mayors are not elected but appointed by the president;
- ▶ there is no opposition in the Belarusian Parliament;
- ▶ problems reaching current MPs and local councils partly due to the timing of the interviews coinciding with the presidential elections (11 October 2015) and suspicion over the Council of Europe's request for information;
- ▶ some party representatives have only participated nominally in campaigns.

In Georgia, some gendered statistical information was not available and it was difficult to find and arrange interviews with the politicians.

In Moldova, not all the information was available for local elections due to the number of candidates. The information on age and profession was not available.

In Ukraine, the expert had difficulties with data not always being collected on a gender-disaggregated basis.

Chapter 2

Current situation of women's representation in political life in the EaP region

The United Nations produces an annual assessment of human development, the Human Development Index, which is a summary measure of achievements in the key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. The 188 countries included are categorised into very high, high, medium and low human development.

Out of the 188 countries assessed, the top three are Norway, Australia and Switzerland and the lowest are the Central African Republic and Niger.

Belarus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine and Armenia are categorised as having high human development and Moldova is in the medium human development category.

One of the measures included in the analysis of human development is the Gender Inequality Index (GII). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) describes the GII¹⁴ as being designed to show the loss in potential human development due to disparity between female and male achievements in empowerment and economic status, and reflects a country's position relative to normative ideals for the key dimension of women's health. Overall, the GII reflects how women are disadvantaged in these dimensions.

The three dimensions are measured by:

- ▶ *reproductive health*: maternal mortality and adolescent birth rates;
- ▶ *empowerment*: the proportion of parliamentary seats held by women and the proportion of women over 25 who have secondary education;
- ▶ *economic status*: labour market participation.

There is no country with perfect gender equality – hence all countries suffer some loss in achievements in key aspects of human development when gender inequality is taken into account. It can be interpreted as a combined loss to achievements in reproductive health, empowerment and labour market participation due to gender inequalities. The GII ranges between 0 and 1 and higher GII values indicate higher levels of inequalities.

14. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII>.

Table 1: Human Development Index highest ranking and study countries, and GII

Country	HDI rank out of 188 (2014)	GI (2014)
Norway	1	0.067
Australia	2	0.110
Switzerland	3	0.028
Denmark	4	0.048
Netherlands	5	0.062
Germany	6	0.041
Belarus	50	0.151
Georgia	76	0.382
Azerbaijan	78	0.303
Ukraine	81	0.286
Armenia	85	0.318
Moldova	107	0.248

The GI measures the percentage of seats in parliaments held by women.

Table 2: Position of the study countries relative to the top six countries in Europe; percentage of seats held by women

Country	Percentage of seats in Parliament held by women (2014)
Sweden	43.6
Finland	42.5
Belgium	42.4
Iceland	41.3
Norway	39.6
Denmark	38
Belarus	30.1
Moldova	20.8
Azerbaijan	15.6
Ukraine	11.8
Georgia	11.3
Armenia	10.7

The figures for women's participation in parliament are low compared to the highest in Europe and the study seeks to examine the reasons for this in more detail.

COMMENTS FROM ELECTION OBSERVATIONS

Election observers have reported concerns about women's political representation. For example, during the conduct of the 2014 early parliamentary elections in Ukraine the OSCE/ODIHR EOM¹⁵ noted that amendments to the law on political parties adopted in 2013 introduced a 30% quota for women on party lists but the law is silent on the ranking of candidates on party lists and there are no enforcement mechanisms in place.

The OSCE/ODIHR EOM recommended that:

Notwithstanding possible changes to the electoral system, women's under-representation in parliament should be addressed through stricter enforcement mechanisms and/or additional special temporary measures that could create more equitable conditions for all candidates.¹⁶

During the 2012 parliamentary elections in Ukraine, the OSCE/ODIHR EOM noted that despite gender equality being included in the constitution there was a lack of interest among parties to promote female candidates and that few women were included in top and other eligible positions on parties' candidate lists.

The OSCE/ODIHR EOM recommended that:

Political Parties could be encouraged to promote gender equality and to take resolute actions to put forward gender-balanced candidate lists, to increase the visibility of female candidates during election campaigns and to integrate gender issues into their platforms. The introduction of a gender requirement for nomination of party lists could be considered as a temporary measure.¹⁷

OSCE/ODIHR EOM parliamentary elections in Armenia in May 2012 found that:

The strongest temporary special measure undertaken to date is the requirement that proportional candidate lists have both genders represented among each integer of five candidates, starting with candidate number two. However, the effectiveness of the quota is limited as candidates may withdraw after the list has been registered and there is no requirement for the original gender proportions to be maintained ...

and

... that while women have the right to stand as a candidate, realization of this right and opportunity to stand is problematic. Furthermore, 3 of the 12 female majoritarian candidates reported no campaign expenditures, which casts doubt on the genuineness of their candidacy.¹⁸

15. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Election Observation Mission.

16. OSCE/ODIHR EOM Final Report of the 2014 Early Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine, p. 32.

17. OSCE/ODIHR/EOM Final Report of the 2012 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine, p. 37.

18. OSCE/ODIHR EOM Final Report of the Parliamentary Elections, 6 May 2012, p. 10.

OSCE/ODIHR EOM media monitoring found that:

... [the state broadcaster] devoted 4 per cent of its election-related news programs to female candidates and party representatives, and public radio 5 per cent. This is disproportionately low, given that around 21 per cent of all registered candidates were female, and given Armenia's stated target of 30 per cent women in the legislature.¹⁹

GENDER POLICIES AND ACTION PLANS

All the study countries have national policy programmes for gender equality and action plans for delivery, but it is not easy to find public documents demonstrating how these plans and programmes have been delivered.

Armenia: The 2011-2015 Strategic Programme for Gender Policy for the Republic of Armenia aims to mainstream gender into government plans and policies. Most activities require resources which are all funded by external donors.

Azerbaijan: In 2012, Azerbaijan 2020: Vision for the Future included a chapter entitled "Guarantees for gender equality and the development of the family institute". Some work has been done on children and families but nothing specifically on women.

Belarus: The National Action Plan for Gender Equality 2011-2015 included goals for creating the conditions for full-scale gender parity in all areas of life. Except for feasibility studies, there are no budgets or resources assigned to delivering the plans.

Georgia: The EU–Georgia Association Agenda for 2014-2016 seeks to ensure women's representation on equal terms with men in parliament and local government. The 2014-2016 Action Plan on the Implementation of Gender Equality Policy includes developing measures to support women's political participation and also suggests mechanisms for defining women's participation in companies as the criteria for funding businesses.

Moldova: The National Programme for Gender Equality 2010-2015 has budgets assigned for delivery and includes training organised for candidates for political office and specialists in gender budgeting.

Ukraine: The State Programme for Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men 2014-2016 includes actions for 2014 to submit a draft law on 30% quotas for women candidates and to introduce gender monitoring of parliamentary elections. Budgets are allocated to deliver these actions.

¹⁹. Ibid., p. 17.

Chapter 3

Findings of the study

A. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

Economic data

1. Employment rates

Table 3: Participation in the labour market²⁰

Country	Participation in the labour market aged 15 years and over (2013)	
	Women	Men
Azerbaijan	62.9	69.6
Georgia	56.5	75.1
Armenia	54.2	72.6
Ukraine	53.2	66.9
Belarus	50.1	63.1
Moldova	37.6	44.2

Table 4: Participation rates in the labour force for the European countries with the highest percentage of women holding seats in parliament²¹

Country	Participation in the labour market aged 15 years and over (2013)	
	Women	Men
Sweden	60.3	67.9
Finland	55.7	64
Belgium	47.5	59.3
Iceland	70.5	77.4
Norway	61.2	68.7
Denmark	58.7	66.4

With the exceptions of the low rate in Moldova and the high rate in Iceland, women's participation in the labour force is not very different in the EaP countries and in those with the highest percentage of women holding seats in parliament.

20. Source: UNDP Gender Development Index, available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GDI>.

21. Ibid.

The European Union has adopted a target of a 75% rate for participation in the workforce of women aged between 20 and 64 for the purpose of counteracting the shrinking workforce and boosting growth. None of the countries with the highest numbers of women represented in parliament reach this figure, as do none of the study countries.

Table 5: Female labour force participation rates (percentage of female population 15+ years) modelled on International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates²²

Country	1990	2014
Armenia	60	55
Azerbaijan	54	63
Belarus	60	50
Georgia	55	57
Moldova	61	38
Ukraine	56	54

The World Bank estimated figures show a decrease in women's participation in the workforce, with the exception of a 9% rise in Azerbaijan and a 2% rise in Georgia which has taken place since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the countries gaining independence.

2. Income

Table 6: Study countries estimated gross national income (GNI) per capita (2011)

Country	Estimated GNI per capita (2011) in US dollars		Women's GNI as a % of men's
	Women	Men	
Belarus	12 922.3	21 009.7	61
Azerbaijan	10 120.3	22 814	44
Ukraine	6 518.3	10 120.2	64
Armenia	6 042.1	10 089.4	59
Moldova	4 599.2	5 915.5	77
Georgia	4 887	9 717	50

22. Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS>.

Table 7: Estimated GNI per capita: countries with highest percentage of women in parliament

Country	Estimated GNI per capita (2011) in US dollars		Women's GNI as a % of men's
	Women	Men	
Sweden	40 221	51 084	78
Finland	31 644	45 994	68
Belgium	31 879	50 845	62
Iceland	28 792	41 486	69
Norway	57 139	72 825	78
Denmark	36 439	51 726	70

Overall the figures show that women are at an economic disadvantage compared to men in all the study countries, and while the same is the case in the countries with the highest level of women's political representation, the gap between the income of women and men is less pronounced.

3. Type of work

A World Bank study in Belarus²³ found that women are at a disadvantage in the labour market. On average they earn less than men even when corrections have been made for occupation and human capital.

Also, despite better educational qualifications women are less likely to be represented in top levels of private and public institutions.

A similar study in Moldova²⁴ found that the labour market is characterised by gender segregation by sector, occupation and leadership position. Seventy-five per cent of women work in public administration and education, agriculture and trade and hotel work.

An International Labour Organization (ILO) publication on "Women in business and management"²⁵ surveyed ILO member states. Information from the study countries, with the exception of Armenia, shows that women are present in management.

23. Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/518041468201598756/pdf/763250ESWOP1320r0Assessment0020140.pdf>.

24. Available at: wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2014/04/16/000442464_20140416103813/Rendered/PDF/760770ESWOP1310r0Assessment0020140.pdf.

25. "Women in business and management: gaining momentum", ILO (2015). Available at: www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_316450.pdf.

Table 8: Women in all types and levels of management (public and private sector)

Country	Rank out of 128	Date of data	% women
Belarus	6	2009	46.2
Moldova	10	2012	44.1
Ukraine	22	2012	39.9
Azerbaijan	41	2012	34.2
Georgia	42	2012	34

The same study²⁶ identified from a survey of 130 000 firms in 135 countries those with women in top levels of management. The results for the five countries are shown in the table below.

Table 9: Percentage of firms with female top managers (2013)

Country	% women
Belarus	32.8
Azerbaijan	2.4
Georgia	32.1
Moldova	26.3
Ukraine	18.9

These figures can only show an indication as the sample sizes and sectors surveyed vary and are therefore not necessarily a true representation of a country's situation.

Social and cultural data

The table below shows that despite the higher percentage of women that graduate from university at least in four countries, the percentage of women in higher/central administration is quite low.

1. University graduates

Table 10: University graduates

Data on situation		Armenia	Azerbaijan	Belarus	Georgia	Moldova	Ukraine
women/men							
University graduates	W	58%	47.7%	19.9%	28%	60.6%	No info
	M	37%	52.3%	17.6%	26.8%	39.5%	No info
Women in higher/central administration	W	11%	unknown	52.9%	29.3%	30%	16.1%
	M	89%	unknown	68.5%	70.7%	70%	83.9%

Women are more likely to graduate from university than men with the exception of Azerbaijan. However, there is some evidence that women are more likely to pursue

²⁶. Ibid.

particular courses which direct them to public service jobs, for example education and health which are generally lower paid.

The lowest percentage of women in higher/central administration is recorded in Armenia and Ukraine. The highest women's participation in local administration is reported in Belarus.



2. Violence against women

This is a critical indicator of the way women are regarded by society. The information is patchy as statistics are not collected in the same way in the study countries.

One measure is the countries that have signed and ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (also known as the Istanbul Convention).²⁷

Table 11: Signatories to the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention

Country	Signature	Ratification	Enforcement
Armenia	-	-	-
Azerbaijan	-	-	-
Georgia	19 June 2014	-	-
Moldova	-	-	-
Ukraine	7 November 2011	16 June 2016	-

27. Available at: <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168046031c>.

Belarus is not a member of the Council of Europe. However, the Istanbul Convention is open to non-member states for signature.

With regard to violence against women, the information from the consultants was as follows.

In Armenia, police statistics show an average per year of 621 reported cases, but women's rights NGOs collectively have an average of 5 000 calls to hotlines a year. According to a United Nations Population Fund survey on Armenia published in 2010, 61% of the women surveyed who had a partner or were once in a relationship were exposed to controlling behaviour. A quarter were subjected to psychological violence or abuse and 8.9% experienced physical violence. Only 7.7% of the women believed that problems such as domestic violence could be discussed with people outside the family. In 2013 a draft law on violence in the family was rejected on the grounds that it would be unenforceable; however, one of the conditions of the EU Human Rights Budget Support Programme 2016-2018 is the adoption of a stand-alone law on domestic violence.

Azerbaijan passed a law on the prevention of domestic violence in 2010. In 2012 1 633 crimes were reported as resulting from domestic violence. Of these, 1 284 of the victims were women.²⁸ However, NGOs report much higher levels which are not recorded in official statistics.

In Belarus 77% of the population have suffered from domestic violence (77.3% women and 76.7% of men), one in every three women suffers physical abuse and one in five sexual abuse. The Criminal and Civil Codes and the Code of Administrative Offences contain a number of articles that define illegal acts of violence against the person, but there are instances where these cannot be prosecuted if they take place within the family. A specific law on domestic violence is expected to be introduced in 2016-2017. This follows work by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) working with various ministries and NGOs.

In Georgia there is a specific law against domestic violence and there were 742 registered cases of violence against women in 2014. However, NGOs believe that the law is not widely known or enforced.

In Moldova the prevalence of domestic violence in 2012 was 64% – psychological violence 59.4%, physical violence 39.7% and sexual violence 18.6%. There is specific legislation on combating family violence but it is not widely known or enforced.

In Ukraine there were 174 229 cases of domestic violence registered in 2013. The Council of Europe is working with the Ukrainian Government to support the implementation of the Istanbul Convention requirements. The conflict in Eastern Ukraine has increased the risk of violence against women.²⁹

28. Available at: www.osce.org/baku/110044?download=true.

29. More information: www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/9thOHCHRreportUkraine.pdf.

3. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

The researchers in the study countries identified the presence of NGOs working on women's issues. Their influence has been mixed.

The country researcher reported that in Armenia the staff and members of women's organisations and other women's rights activists are regularly threatened and verbally assaulted. In 2013, the Women's Resource Centre had received anonymous death threats following its calls for gender equality legislation. No effective investigations into either of these incidents had been conducted by the end of the year.

In Belarus, although NGOs have not played a significant role in raising public awareness of gender equality issues, they have played a role in holding the state to account for its implementation of the gender equality policy. According to a 2014 analysis of the gender sector in Belarus,³⁰ the most proactive gender actors in Belarus are civil society organisations, in particular women's NGOs. The overall efforts of NGOs are hardly seen or heard, nor are they influencing public opinion. However, these organisations are often the unique positive actors who bring up gender equality values and emphasise the need for the state to adhere to its commitments in gender equality policy. These actors also monitor how certain gender issues are resolved by the state. There are 32 NGOs working with gender issues. There are some other NGOs that deal with gender issues, but their activities are either less public or the quality of the information they provide is questionable according to some experts. Human rights NGOs in Belarus demonstrate no particular interest in gender issues.

In Georgia there are more than 200 NGOs working on gender or women's issues. However, only a small number of these are active. In response to femicide and violence against women, hundreds of women from all spheres gathered together to create the Georgian Women's Movement, largely focused on combating violence against women. On 25 November 2014, the Georgian Women's Movement organised protest demonstrations across Georgia condemning violence against women. On 8 March 2015, the Georgian Women's Movement organised rallies demanding more women in parliament.

There are several NGOs in Moldova working on women's rights, including on violence against women. Since 2012 the Moldovan Government, with the support of donors and a loose movement of NGOs, started working on gender equality to push the authorities to approve an amendment to the law introducing gender quotas for candidates in parliament. The amendment was passed in April 2016. The NGO movement became a Platform for Gender Equality in 2015.

In Ukraine the independent women's movement has deep roots and is now mature. It is not possible to count the number of women's groups but there are likely to be approximately 500. They actively work in areas of gender policy (political participation of women, anti-discrimination, gender education, peace movement, people trafficking and domestic violence). The women's movement retains institutional memory of gender transformations during different periods of political change. It

30. Available at: <http://eng.oecb.by/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Analysis-of-Gender-Sector-in-Belarus.pdf>.

initiated discussions on quotas for women and advocated them for the past year. Only in 2015 the parliament included it in the law on local elections although without an enforcement procedure.

4. Internally displaced persons (IDPs)

Due to conflicts in the region Georgia and Ukraine have high levels of IDPs. There are different arrangements as to whether they have voting rights (see later section on electoral systems).

In Georgia, 6% of the population are IDPs of which 86 774 are men and 102 865 women.³¹ In Ukraine there are approximately 1 787 019 IDPs of which 57% are women and 43% are men.³² Azerbaijan reported 597 000 IDPs with no gender desegregated data.³³

In 2005, a profiling exercise led by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC),³⁴ together with the State Migration Service under the RA Ministry of Territorial Administration and Development, found that 65 000 families were displaced in Armenia during the 1988-1994 conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh. The majority had returned by 2005, when around 8 399 IDPs were still living in displacement. No breakdown data are available. No figures on IDPs could be found in respect of Belarus and Moldova.

The NRC profiling exercise is the single available source on IDP figures in Armenia. There were no further studies to estimate current numbers of IDPs: neither the authorities, civil society or international organisations have undertaken a more recent data verification exercise. The population size in 2005 was 3 219 200,³⁵ which implies 0.3% of IDPs.

5. Citizens living abroad

The UN in Moldova estimates that about a third of the Moldovan labour force has migrated permanently or temporarily in the last decade.³⁶

In Georgia, according to the 2014 census there are 88 541 Georgian citizens living abroad (of which 40 182 are men and 48 359 women).

In 2015, 11.50% of all citizens of Ukraine lived outside their country of origin.

31. According to the last census conducted by the National Statistical Office of Georgia in 2014. Data available at: <http://census.ge/ge/results/census>.

32. Data available from the government website published on 30 May 2016: Available at: www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=249069737&cat_id=244277212.

33. Source: www.internal-displacement.org/europe-the-caucasus-and-central-asia/azerbaijan/2014/azerbaijan-after-more-than-20-years-idps-still-urgently-need-policies-to-support-full-integration/.

34. Available at: www.internal-displacement.org/europe-the-caucasus-and-central-asia/armenia/figures-analysis.

35. Statistical Yearbook of Armenia, RA National Statistical Service 2006 available at: <http://armstat.am/en/>.

36. Available at: <http://md.one.un.org/content/unct/moldova/en/home/presscenter/stories/making-the-most-of-migration-in-moldova.html>.

In 2012, 221 846 Armenian citizens resided abroad, representing respectively 6.8% of the total population residing in Armenia. According to the Migration Policy Centre the profile of Armenians abroad is gender-balanced (men: 47.5%, women: 52.5%).³⁷

No reliable data could be found with respect to Belarus and Azerbaijan.

6. National minorities

There was no gender-disaggregated information on national minorities and where they were reported the numbers are relatively small. The greatest numbers were in Belarus of which 8.3% of the population is Russian; in Moldova 8.3% are Ukrainian, in Georgia 4.5% are Armenian and in Azerbaijan 8.4% are Armenian. It was difficult to report about the situation in Ukraine since the last census took place in 2001. Several countries have Roma populations but these were not accurately recorded as they often lack papers.

7. Social media

The use of social media is increasing in all countries but there remain marked differences between its use in urban and rural areas. There is also a substantial age difference in users.

The researchers reported that generally it has not yet played a major part in elections.

The researcher from Armenia reported that social media is being used effectively by opposition parties and was not yet regarded as a credible source of information by the majority of the population but that this was changing.

Two of the interviewees from Azerbaijan had used social media in their campaigns. One had built up followers on social media to communicate her message and had uploaded a video as part of her campaign.

Stereotypes and attitudes

1. Information from interviews

The researchers all identified negative stereotypical views and assumptions about women's roles as being the major barrier to their political involvement.

In the interviews stereotypical attitudes were mentioned by 21 out of 53 interviewees as the major barrier to their participation in the political process. This included those who were elected at national legislative level and at the local administrative level, both from small towns and villages and from large cities, and those who were unsuccessful. It included former MPs and women from all the study countries.

Some of the quotes are very telling:

37. Sources: national statistics (population censuses, population registers, registers for foreigners, etc.): Available at: www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/migration_profiles/Armenia.pdf.

- ▶ “When I was away the men organised a meeting saying ‘We can’t have a woman running our community, we must stand together and support a man.’” Armenia
- ▶ “I asked my opponent to debate with me but his response was ‘I never debate or discuss things with a woman.’” Armenia
- ▶ “Voters told me to go back to the kitchen and serve my man.” Armenia
- ▶ “My opponent said ‘What can a woman do? Men know the problems and solution better.’” Moldova
- ▶ “I had to overcome the attitude that it is not acceptable for a city to be run by a woman.” Georgia
- ▶ “There was a lot of gossip and people telling me to go back to the kitchen and cook borscht.” Ukraine

For one interviewee it prevented her from campaigning.

- ▶ “I felt uncomfortable talking to people I did not know and men are more respected; I did not want to hear unpleasant words.” Armenia

Young women reported being discriminated against because of their age as well as their gender and one young women MP said:

- ▶ “The parliamentary staff didn’t recognise me as an MP because I was a young woman.” Ukraine

Several interviewees mentioned the additional pressure on their family of them standing in an election.

- ▶ “There was increased interest in my family context; this was not the case with men.” Georgia

Even after being elected several mentioned having to work extra hard to get their views across.

- ▶ “I have to think a lot before saying something as someone will definitely interrupt me.” Georgia
- ▶ “Men do not talk to you they talk to other men.” Ukraine
- ▶ “Many times men call meetings and decide policy but I am not invited.” Ukraine

One interviewee felt that it was important to break the assumption about women who gain political office.

- ▶ “Women are not supporting each other, they see themselves as being ‘exceptional’ women with ‘extraordinary’ skills or luck; we need to break this perception and stand in solidarity with each other.” Moldova

However, there is some evidence that these attitudes are changing. One interviewee said:

- ▶ “The first time I stood for election there was a lot of comment about how as a woman I was not capable of running the administration. The second time I stood the questions were about my record and my programme.” Georgia

2. Attitude surveys

In all of the study countries with the exception of Azerbaijan there have been surveys of attitudes towards women. In some cases there is evidence that the attitudes of those surveyed towards women in society is changing and is in advance of the politicians making policy.

Armenia

The 2015 Armenian Gender Barometer³⁸ survey found 60% of respondents think men and women are unequal in Armenian society. Fifty-five per cent think this is due to the low level of awareness of women's rights in society.

Men are more interested in politics than women but more women voted in the last elections.

Belarus

In 2010 the Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies (HSEPS) conducted a survey on the attitudes of Belarusians to women in politics. It found that 55.6% of respondents were against women being candidates for president but younger people and those with greater levels of education were more likely to support a woman candidate for the presidency.³⁹

In 2011, the World Values Survey⁴⁰ found 76.1% of men and 55.9% of women thought that men made better political leaders than women.

In 2014, another survey by HSEPS asked respondents if there were enough women in parliament. It found that 27.2% were happy with the situation while 8% thought a law should be adopted to increase the number.

Georgia

The Caucasus Barometer "Attitudes towards gender issues in Georgia in 2014"⁴¹ found that family responsibilities are seen as the greatest obstacle to women getting involved in politics – this was mentioned by 28%.

In response to the question: "In Georgia women are not as good in decision making as men":

- ▶ 74% of respondents either fully agreed or agreed.
- ▶ 51% of respondents either agree or fully agree that men prevent women from engaging in politics.
- ▶ 39% thought politicians talked about women's rights too little – 37% about right and 2% too much.

38. Available at: www.yasu.am/files/Gender%20Barometer.Armenia.English.pdf.

39. Available at: www.iiseps.org.

40. Available at: www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp.

41. Available at: <http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/no2014ge/HHASIZE/>.

- ▶ 64% of respondents support Georgia adopting mandatory quotas in parliament to increase women's participation.

The National Democratic Institute Public Attitudes in Georgia survey carried out in 2014⁴² found 68% of those surveyed support mandatory quotas in parliament to increase women's participation.

Moldova

Attitudes to women as leaders and elected representatives are slowly changing.

The Gender Barometer Moldova found in 2006⁴³ that 50% of those surveyed thought that men were more capable leaders than women. By 2014 this had fallen to 20%.

In answer to the question as to who was preferred to be elected to the local councils the percentage for men fell from 28.6% in 2006 to 22.1% in 2015 and for women it rose from 8.6% in 2006 to 14.8% in 2015. Of those surveyed in 2015, 62.3% thought that gender did not matter.

Ukraine

The National Democratic Institute conducted research in 2015⁴⁴ looking at attitudes towards women's political participation in Ukraine focusing on the local elections in October 2015.

When asked what the reasons were for there being fewer women than men in politics 76% agreed that it was because political parties are more likely to nominate men than women, and 60% disagreed that there were not enough qualified women for elected office. The gender of the candidates was only important for 4% of those surveyed, the most important issue being the honesty of the candidate.

Almost every respondent said they did not feel any negative attitudes towards female candidates. This was tested by showing a randomly generated picture of men or women candidates with the same information and asking how likely they were to vote for this person. There was no significant difference in the ratings for male or female images.

3. Media

Most interviewees had not had to deal with the media during their campaigns. Still, some women interviewees, who had several mandates, felt that they had established good relationships with the media.

At the same time, the interviewed women reported several difficulties and unproductive experiences during their collaboration with mass media.

42. Available at: https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI%20Georgia_October%202014_Gender%20poll_Public%20ENG_Final_0.pdf.

43. Gender Barometer: Study on Public Opinion in Moldova Chisinau Moldova Institute of Public Policy Available at: www.ipp.md/lib.php?l=en&idc=156.

44. Available at: www.ndi.org/ukraine-gender-research-2016.

- ▶ They felt excluded because they did not have the resources to pay for media coverage.
- ▶ They felt the media was not interested in local elections.
- ▶ They were asked about their family circumstances, which they did not believe was a question that would have been asked of male candidates.
- ▶ They were challenged about standing for office as a woman.

The researcher from Armenia concluded that there was a belief that women were used by parties to appear on television when there was a negative message to convey.

There was little evidence that the media, in any of the study countries, had played a positive role in challenging stereotypical attitudes about women.

Summary of findings

- ▶ There are deep and prevailing stereotypical views and cultural attitudes about the role women should play in society. Women are expected to look after the home and family and men are seen as the decision makers and breadwinners. This has implications for women seeing themselves as potential holders of political office, on those who select them as candidates and for voters.
- ▶ Women are at a disadvantage in economic life. They are less likely to participate in the labour market than men. The rates of labour market participation for women have fallen in all the study countries except Azerbaijan.
- ▶ Women have lower levels of income than men measured by an estimate of gross national income. The gap between the income of women and men is generally higher in the study countries than it is in the European countries with the highest levels of women in parliament.
- ▶ Women suffer from gender segregation in employment, working in public services such as education and healthcare, which are less well paid.
- ▶ Women do hold managerial roles in all the study countries but there is no data to show which levels of management they occupy.
- ▶ Even though women are more likely to have higher education than men, they do not gain positions in central administration in similar proportions.
- ▶ In Armenia and Belarus there are no specific laws against violence against women. Where there are specific laws few women victims are willing to come forward and few cases are investigated or prosecuted by the criminal justice services.
- ▶ In some countries, Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine for example, women NGOs have been working closely with politicians to lobby for and introduce quotas and positive measures to increase women's political representation.
- ▶ New media is becoming an increasing source of information for citizens and it is beginning to be used by political representatives.
- ▶ Gender-segregated information on internally displaced people, national minorities and citizens living abroad is not available.

- ▶ The women interviewed for the study and the researchers mentioned most frequently stereotypical attitudes and the prevailing cultural assumptions as the major barrier preventing women getting involved in political life.
- ▶ Stereotypical attitudes were manifest not just in the views of voters but also frequently in the views of opponents and even political colleagues.
- ▶ There are positive signs of progress from the attitude surveys from the different countries. The attitudes towards women as not able to take decisions and therefore not suitable to hold political office are changing. Young people are least likely to think that women are incapable of being politicians and they will inevitably become the majority of voters.
- ▶ The research conducted by NDI in Ukraine demonstrates that voters are more concerned with the individual's qualities, with their political views and qualifications than they are with their gender.
- ▶ There was little evidence that the media, in any of the study countries, had played a positive role in challenging stereotypical attitudes about women.

B. POLITICAL FACTORS

Political systems

Armenia is a republic. The president is the head of state and is directly elected. The National Assembly is elected every five years: 50 members from single seats and 41 by a proportional representation system.

Azerbaijan has a presidential system. The president is the head of state directly elected every five years. The prime minister, cabinet-level ministers and heads of central executive bodies are appointed by the president and confirmed by the National Assembly. The National Assembly consists of 125 seats directly elected with a majoritarian system.

Belarus is a presidential republic with the head of state directly elected. The National Assembly consists of 110 members in the House of Representatives and 64 members in the lower house. The Council of Ministers is headed by the prime minister and five deputies and others who do not need to be elected are appointed by the president.

Georgia is a democratic republic. The president is directly elected. Parliament has 150 members: 77 elected by party list and 73 by a majoritarian system.

Moldova is a parliamentary representative democratic republic. Parliament is the supreme body. It consists of 101 members elected by proportional representation from party lists. According to a recent decision of the Constitutional Court of Moldova⁴⁵ it is expected that the president is elected directly by the citizens. The first direct elections in 16 years are expected to take place on 30 October 2016.

Ukraine has a parliamentary presidential system. The president is elected directly: if no candidate gets 50% of the vote in the first round, then the top two candidates

45. Available at: www.constcourt.md.

go to a second round. The parliament has 450 members elected by a mixture of proportional representation by party list and single member constituencies.

Political parties

In this section the study looked at the internal party organisations for the chosen parties and, in particular, whether women are in the decision-making bodies or in organisations that influence policy, whether there are any particular measures adopted by the parties and if so whether this has led to an increase or otherwise in women candidates and elected representatives.

Information was not available for all the aspects and from all countries.

Parties involved in the latest elections

Table 12: Number and type of political parties that took part in the last legislative election

Country	Political parties
Armenia	9 parties registered to participate in the last election
Azerbaijan	11 parties (3 opposition groups withdrew their candidates before the election)
Belarus	8 parties (from the 15 who are registered)
Georgia	16 (15 parties and 1 bloc)
Moldova	20 parties (only 5 passed the electoral threshold)
Ukraine	52

Table 13: Number and type of political parties that took part in the last local elections

Country	Political parties
Armenia	Local elections are held by self-nomination; candidates do not need to report their party but most candidates belong to 5 major parties
Azerbaijan	30 parties; 74% of those elected locally have a party affiliation but only 59% are nominated by 8 political parties
Belarus	Candidates in local elections are not from political parties though some are members
Georgia	24 election subjects
Moldova	43 eligible; 21 parties and one bloc did take part and only 9 and 1 bloc got at least one elected mayor
Ukraine	142

Internal party organisation

Visible leadership of women is likely to encourage more women to come forward to be involved in political parties and also to have an influence on party policies.

Table 14: Women in leadership roles of party leader or deputy (maximum of 5 political parties represented in the legislative body)

Country	Women in leadership role
Armenia	Head of Prosperous Armenia Party Deputy Head Rule of Law Party
Azerbaijan	No party headed by a woman First Lady is a deputy in the New Azerbaijan Party Party headed by the president
Belarus	None
Georgia	One member of the Georgian Dream Bloc and the Republican Party has a woman leader
Moldova	5 women deputy leaders out of 29
Ukraine	One party leader of the Fatherland Party

Table 15: Women on the highest executive body of the party

Country	Percentage of women on highest executive body
Armenia	5-10%
Azerbaijan	40% in Azerbaijan Democratic Reform Party 15% in New Azerbaijan Party 10% in Whole Azerbaijan Popular Front Party
Belarus	No information
Georgia	16% in United National Movement 1 woman in Georgian Dream Bloc 33% in Republican Party
Moldova	Up to 10%
Ukraine	12% in Solidarity Bloc 30% in People's Front 15% in Fatherland Party

Table 16: Party rules about women on the highest executive body, e.g. reserved seats

Country	Rule
Armenia	None
Azerbaijan	None for the main parties; only one party which withdrew from the elections has a 25% quota of women for all leadership bodies
Belarus	None
Georgia	The Republican Party has declared that they support gender quotas within the party but no procedure exists to implement this
Moldova	Yes, generally the president of the Party Women's Groups
Ukraine	None

There are low numbers of women leaders and deputy leaders of parties included in the research.

Despite these low numbers, few parties have any special arrangements to increase the involvement of women. The Republican Party in Georgia has policy but is yet to put this into practice and in Moldova the president of the Party Women's Groups is usually included on the executive bodies.

Table 17: Subgroups for women and if they have any specific rights

Country	Subgroups for women	Specific roles or rights
Armenia	Yes, all parties have women's subgroups	No influence on party leadership or involvement in party policy planning
Azerbaijan	All parties have women's councils or women's departments	Can send delegates to party conference
Belarus	No	N/A
Georgia	United National Movement has a women's wing Republican Party are planning one	No specific rights
Moldova	Yes, as a rule women's organisations within the political parties have very little power	Do have reserved seats on highest executive body
Ukraine	No	N/A

Where women's organisations exist they do not have much power or influence over policy.

Candidate selection

Political parties select candidates to stand on their behalf and they are also in a position of being able to encourage particular individuals to stand. Even if there is no legislation about quotas of women who must be included in the lists of candidates or financial incentives to encourage more women to stand (see below in next section), political parties can adopt voluntary arrangements to encourage more women candidates and to get more women elected.



1. Legislative elections

Table 18: Special arrangements for representation of women in selection of candidates (e.g. requiring a minimum number of women candidates, or women at the top of the list) and percentage of women candidates for last legislative elections

Country	Specific arrangements	Percentage of women candidates	Percentage of seats of each party after elections
Armenia	Legislative quota (see below)	Prosperous Armenia: 17% Heritage Party: 18% Armenian National Congress: 19% Armenian Revolutionary Federation: 17% Democratic Party of Armenia: 20% Armenian Communist Party: 20% Republican Party of Armenia: 16% United Armenians Party: 21% Rule of Law: 18%	No information

Azerbaijan	None	New Azerbaijan Party: 20% Citizens' Solidarity Party: 12% Whole Azerbaijan Popular Front: 23% Azerbaijan Democratic Reforms Party: 15% National Revival Movement Party: 6%	New Azerbaijan Citizens' Solidarity: 0% Whole Azerbaijan Popular Front: 0% Azerbaijan Democratic Reforms: 0% National Revival Movement: 0%
Belarus	None	From 0.2% in Belarusian Social Sport Party to 16% in Liberal Democratic Party	No information
Georgia	Republican Party has declared support for putting 30% of women at the top of proportional party list	Two main parties had the smallest number of women in their proportional party lists United National Movement: 3 women in top 10 Georgian Dream bloc: one woman in top 10	United National movement: 11% Georgian Dream Bloc: 13%
Moldova	The Democratic Party, Liberal Democratic Party, Liberal Party and Our Party have introduced minimum 30% quotas	30%	Liberal Party: 13% Democratic Party: 21% Liberal Democratic Party: 17% Communist Party: 33% Party of Socialists: 20%
Ukraine	None	Solidarity Bloc: 24% People's Front: 19% Fatherland Party: 29% Samopomich: 34% Radical Party: 14%	Solidarity Bloc: 12% People's Front: 15% Fatherland Party: 26% Samopomich: 31% Radical Party: 14%

There is no clear relationship between the percentage of women candidates and those elected as it is often the smaller parties who have adopted policies or, in the case of Moldova, wished to get the increased financial incentive offered to those adopting a voluntary quota. Similarly in Georgia the existence of a financial incentive has not resulted in more women being selected as candidates or elected.

2. Administrative (local level elections)

All the parties surveyed by the researchers also run candidates in the local elections. The exceptions are Armenia where candidates are not party political but the majority are party members and Belarus where the political parties run candidates so that they can speak to people during the campaign but withdraw them because they do not feel that the election is "fair".

The parties in the study countries do not have any rules or specifications about the representation of women in their selection of local council candidates. The exception is Moldova where three parties have introduced a voluntary 30% quota (see Table 18 above) but this is not enforced at local level.

Table 19: Party seats held by women at administrative level

Country	Percentage of party's seats at local level held by women
Armenia	No information
Azerbaijan	New Azerbaijan Party: 40% Citizens' Solidarity Party: 20% Whole Azerbaijan Popular Front: 0% Azerbaijan Democratic Reforms Party: data not available National Revival Movement: data not available
Belarus	No information
Georgia	No information
Moldova	No information
Ukraine	Regional level – Solidarity Bloc: 9% Fatherland Party: 13% Samopomich: 29%

Party policies on issues for women

Women are more likely to want to get involved in politics if they feel their issues and concerns are being addressed or seen as important. Although some of these issues are included in party manifestos or programmes they do not seem to feature greatly in the party's appeal to voters.

Table 20: Party policies on women in last election

Did the party have policies in the last electoral manifesto on the following issues?						
	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Belarus	Georgia	Moldova	Ukraine
Violence against women and girls	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Women's representation	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Anti-discrimination	No	Yes (3 of 5)	No	No	No	No
Sexual and reproductive rights	No	Yes (2 of 5)	No	No	No	No
Work-life balance	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Women's participation in labour market	No	Yes (3 of 5)	No	Yes, but not specific to women	Yes	No
Women's health	No	Yes (4 of 5)	No	No	Yes	No
Access to education	No	Yes	No	Yes, but not specific to girls	Yes	No

The researchers made the following comments on this issue.

In Armenia none of the parties that took part in the most recent elections have particularly touched on the topics mentioned. They all mentioned education and health generally and have sometimes made reference to women; however, none of the parties have particularly highlighted any of the points above and are not doing any kind of advocacy and activity (including women in the parties) for promotion and protection of women's rights.

Electoral manifestos in Moldova are not taken seriously – the civil society organisations (CSOs) try to scrutinise the pre-electoral pledges. Electoral manifestos are generic, bordering on impossible and fantastic, and full of give-aways like increasing salaries, devoting 16% of GDP to education, increasing pensions, etc. No significant pledges on gender equality can be observed.

Media coverage of women candidates or policies

Women do not seem to have a high profile in the media during election campaigns. This lack of visibility of women candidates and women speaking on behalf of political parties means that women continue to be seen as the exception rather than the rule.

The researchers were asked if women spoke on behalf of political parties in the media during the last election.

Armenia

Yes. Party deputies that were women had access to the media but usually they had the role of communicating difficult messages to the public, while party leaders, who are all men, were mostly appearing in the media to communicate positive messages to the voters.

Azerbaijan

No. In the last parliamentary elections, there was no allocated free airtime for candidates and only some occasional interviews (based on self-initiative mostly) were published.

Women interviewees did not like the focus on their family circumstances. As one interviewee said:

There was increased interest in my family context; this was not the same for men.

Women also felt that they were at a disadvantage with the media if they did not have money.

One interviewee remarked:

The media only wanted to talk to oligarchs.

However, some interviewees felt that they had good relations with the media. This was especially true for those who were standing for a second or additional time and had had time and opportunity to build contacts.

Belarus

Yes (no detail was provided).

Georgia

Yes. It was not an exception when women spoke on behalf of the party in the media. However, there has not been any study conducted to analyse the patterns.

Moldova

Yes. At the TV debates the percentage of women was 12.4% as compared to 30.5% – the percentage of women on the candidates' lists. Out of 71 debates that were monitored, women candidates only participated in 16.

Ukraine

Yes. Not specifically – men and women speak on behalf of the party in some cases.

Profile of women candidates and those elected

The study attempted to gather information on the profile of women candidates and those elected. This included their seniority in politics (whether they had held office before), declared income, age, whether they were a member of an ethnic minority, their education and their profession. The information was not widely available or was difficult to collect within the timescale of the study.

The information available indicates that the vast majority of women and men elected have higher education: 100% in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus and 97% of men and 98% of women in Ukraine.

Table 21: Candidates (legislative power)

	Moldova			Ukraine			Georgia		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Total	1 885	1 310	575	6 339	5 099	1 240	2 742	1 954	788
Party	1 881	1 306	575	4 403	3 450	953	2 313	1 584	729
Independent	4	4	0	1 936	1 649	287	429	370	59

	Armenia			Azerbaijan		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Total	1 164	950	214	767	626	141
Party	1 164	950	214			
Independent						

There was no information from Belarus.

Table 22: Elected (legislative power)

	Moldova			Ukraine			Georgia			Armenia		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Total	101	80	21	422	371	51	150	132	18	131	117	14
Party	101	80	21	327	276	51	77	66	11			
Independent				95	95		73	66	7			

	Azerbaijan			Belarus		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Total	125	104	21	110	80	30
Party	83	70	13	5	3	2
Independent	42	34	8	105	77	28

Table 23: Percentages of women candidates and elected – Legislative

Country	Candidates %		Elected %	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Armenia	82	18	90	10
Azerbaijan	82	18	84	16
Belarus	No information	No information	73	27
Georgia	72	28	88	12
Moldova	70	30	80	20
Ukraine	81	19	88	12

Armenia has the lowest percentage of women elected and Belarus the highest. Moldova has the highest percentage of women candidates.

Table 24: Head and deputies of commissions/committees

	Moldova		Ukraine		Georgia		Belarus	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Chairs/heads	3	6	7	21	1	14	2	11
Deputies	1	13	2	1	7	37	13**	23*

* in 13 commissions

** in 7 commissions

The information on women and men holding positions within the legislative body shows that women hold few chairs of committees and deputy chairs. We do not have information on which committee/commission positions are held by women and if these have key responsibilities such as legal issues, economic policy or defence.

Finance

While the researchers and the interviewees identified stereotypical views and assumptions about women as causing the greatest barrier to their political participation, finance, or the lack of it, was also a major problem for women.

It costs money to run an election campaign and even when candidates were running as members of political parties the funding they got from the party was not enough to pay for the campaign. Independent candidates found the cost of the deposit too high to stand again on top of the cost of the campaign.

One researcher suggested that women earn money for their families, not to spend on themselves, and a political campaign is seen as just that.

The majority of the women interviewed were working in education, both at school and at university level, in medicine, NGOs and in journalism. These sectors are not well paid and women are less likely to have savings that they can use to fund a campaign.

One former MP said she had had to ask for money for everything and that even then:

Party members looked at her with arrogance because she had had to ask for money.

The lack of financial support was a major reason given by women as to why they may not stand again. They also felt that because they were not able to put funds into the campaign they were not selected in winnable seats or put in winnable places on party lists.

Summary of findings

- ▶ Only three of the political parties in the study have women leaders; seven have women deputies. The percentage of women on the highest executive bodies ranges from 40% in one party in Azerbaijan to 5-10% in Armenia. This means that few women will feature prominently in media coverage of the parties or be involved in policy making.
- ▶ Where there is information, most parties have subgroups for women but they do not have high status or impact on policies.
- ▶ The political parties that were looked at for the study, in the main, do not take action to increase the number of women.
- ▶ In Azerbaijan and Moldova some parties had policies on women's issues; in other countries surveyed there were no specific policies on women's issues such as violence against women.
- ▶ Women were not very visible in the media speaking on behalf of political parties.
- ▶ Several parties have introduced voluntary 30% quotas for women candidates. However, as these were the smaller parties they have not had a significant effect on the percentage of seats held by women. These are not enforced at local level.
- ▶ In Georgia the financial incentive given to political parties who meet a 30% threshold of women candidates has not led to an increase in women elected, as the policy has only been adopted by the smaller parties who are unlikely to be successful in elections.
- ▶ Clear and transparent mechanisms to select party candidates would help reduce the dependence on women having to get known within the party in order to be asked to stand.
- ▶ Women candidates and those elected had higher educational qualifications.
- ▶ There are low levels of women elected at legislative level in all the study countries.

- ▶ Information on the age, declared income, profession or ethnicity of candidates was not available.
- ▶ When elected, women are unlikely to hold the chairs of commissions or committees: 3 out of 6 in Moldova; 7 out of 12 in Ukraine; 1 out of 4 in Georgia; 2 out of 11 in Belarus. No information was available on the remit of the committees/commissions chaired by women.
- ▶ Lack of finance to get selected and to finance a campaign is a major barrier for women's political representation.



C. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

International obligations

All the study countries have either signed, or have agreed to be legally bound by, the terms of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).⁴⁶ By doing so they have undertaken, under Article 2, to include the principle of equality of women and men in their national constitutions and to ensure the practical realisation of the principle by laws and other means. The signatories are required to make regular reports on their progress on achieving equality for women to the UN committee. These reports are a useful mechanism for NGOs to highlight and raise the issues of lack of progress on action to increase the number of women elected representatives and to follow up progress in relation to recommendations made by the committee.

Table 25: UN CEDAW Convention signatories⁴⁷

Country	Ratification/Accession
Armenia	13 September 1993
Azerbaijan	10 July 1995
Belarus	4 February 1981
Georgia	26 October 1994
Moldova	1 July 1994
Ukraine	12 March 1981

Five of the countries are members of the Council of Europe and are signatories of the European Convention on Human Rights and its protocols.⁴⁸ Article 14 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex in relation to all the rights covered. Article 3 of Protocol 1 includes the right to free elections. Protocol 12 covers the general prohibition of discrimination in relation to laws and that no one should be discriminated against because of their sex by a public authority. The exception is Belarus.

All of the countries have signed or agreed to be bound by the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁴⁹ that commits signatories to undertake to ensure the equal right of women and men to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights outlined in the covenant. These include:

- ▶ the right and opportunity to take part in public affairs;
- ▶ the right to vote and to be elected.

This means that there is a solid legal basis from international standards for all states to ensure the equal rights for women to vote, to be candidates and to be elected.

46. Available at: www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/.

47. http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?Treaty=CEDAW&Lang=en.

48. Available at: www.echr.coe.int/pages/home.aspx?p=basictexts.

49. Available at: www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx.

National legislation

Each state has a national legal framework that guarantees equal rights for women and men.

1. Equal rights for women

Table 26: Legal framework guaranteeing equal rights for women

Country	Law
Armenia	Law on Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities for Women and Men 2013
Azerbaijan	Constitution, Article 25: "Men and women shall have equal Rights and Freedoms irrespective of race, nationality, religion, sex, origin, property status, social position, convictions, political party, trade union organisation and social unity affiliation." Law on Provision of Gender (men and women) Equality.
Belarus	Constitution, Article 22 states that all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled without discrimination to the equal protection of the rights and legitimate interests. The basic law does not contain provisions that prohibit discrimination based on sex or specific provisions on equality between women and men.
Georgia	Gender Equality Law 2010 Article 3 (definition) Gender Equality: "a part of human rights law referring to equal rights and obligations, responsibilities and equal participation of men and women in all spheres of personal and public life".
Moldova	The law on ensuring equal rights for women and men.
Ukraine	Constitution, Article 24: Citizens have equal constitutional rights and freedoms and are equal before the law. There shall be no privileges or restrictions based on race, colour of skin, political, religious and other beliefs, sex, ethnic and social origin, property status, place of residence, linguistic or other characteristics.

2. Legal framework guaranteeing equal rights in elections

Some states have some specific guarantees of equality in relation to elections.

Table 27: Equal rights in elections

Country	Guarantees in electoral law
Armenia	Electoral Code, Article 3 Equal Suffrage 1. Voters shall participate on equal grounds 2. The state shall ensure equal conditions for the exercise of the right of suffrage of voters Voters shall, irrespective of ethnic origin, race, sex, language, faith, political or other opinion, social origin, property or other status, have the right to vote and to be elected
Azerbaijan	No specific legislation
Belarus	No specific legislation
Georgia	Gender Equality Law, Article 11 1. Everyone has the right to take part in elections on equal terms without discrimination 2. Equal opportunity for participation of representation of both sexes shall be ensured in enforcement of the right to be elected in a representative body Women and men can be elected on equal terms without discrimination
Moldova	No specific legislation
Ukraine	Presidential Elections Law, Article 3 Equal Suffrage Parliamentary Elections Law, Article 3 Equal Suffrage Local Elections Law, Article 4 Equal Suffrage Ukrainian citizens participate in elections on an equal basis. All candidates and parties shall have equal rights and opportunities to participate in the election process which shall be ensured through (i) prohibition of privileges or restrictions based on race, color of skin, political, religious and other beliefs, sex, ethnic and social origin, material status, place of residence, language or other grounds; (ii) prohibition of interference of state bodies and self-government bodies into the election process, save as provided for by law; (iii) equal and unbiased treatment of candidates/parties by state bodies and local self-government bodies; (iv) prohibition of the use by candidates/parties of resources other than from their respective electoral funds; (v) equal and unbiased treatment of candidates/parties by mass media

3. Provisions in the legal framework that disadvantage women

The consultants were asked to identify any provisions that disadvantage women.

Table 28: Does the legal framework disadvantage women?

County	Y/N	Details
Armenia	No	-
Azerbaijan	No	No disadvantaging provisions related to the topic of public political participation of women. However, there are some disadvantaging provisions in relation to different issues, e.g. IDP women's status.
Belarus	Yes	There are some specific documents, for example, a directive "on the amendment of the list of physically demanding jobs and jobs with harmful and/or unsafe working conditions, for which women may not be recruited." This document contains a list of 181 occupations related to the chemical, mining, leather and heavy industries closed to women. Latest revision – 12 June 2014.
Georgia	No	Not directly. Georgian laws are gender neutral, which often disadvantage women, because they need specific rights.
Moldova	No	Not directly. But there are many provisions that indirectly disadvantage women such as provisions in the campaign finance that do not limit financial contributions, so women with lower access to funds are at a disadvantage.
Ukraine	No	-

Several consultants identified that the gender neutrality of laws did not in themselves give women protection to exercise their rights and, indeed, specific measures, such as in relation to campaign finance, can have the effect of indirectly discriminating against women.

Electoral system

1. Legislative level

The most recent elections and types of electoral systems are shown in the tables below.

Table 29: Legislative power elections

Country	Date of last elections
Armenia	6 May 2012
Azerbaijan	1 November 2015
Belarus	23 September 2012
Georgia	1 October 2012
Moldova	30 October 2014
Ukraine	26 October 2014

Table 30: The electoral systems adopted for each country

Country	Electoral system
Armenia	Semi-proportional
Azerbaijan	Plurality majority system: simple majority
Belarus	Plurality majority system: simple majority
Georgia	Semi-proportional
Moldova	Proportional representation
Ukraine	Mixed parallel proportional-majoritarian

2. Candidacy requirements

For all countries, the candidacy requirements are specified in the election code or/ and the constitution.

- ▶ Age: candidate for legislative power varies from 18 years in Moldova to 25 years in Azerbaijan.
- ▶ Citizenship: in all countries, a candidate should be a citizen and for several countries it is necessary to have lived in the country for the last five years.
- ▶ Other restrictions: the person who is running should not have any criminal records or legal restrictions.
- ▶ Political nomination: candidate should present a political party (or political bloc of parties) decision regarding the nomination in Armenia, Moldova, Georgia (in case of majoritarian election districts) and Belarus.
- ▶ Independent candidates: in four countries (Moldova, Georgia, Belarus and Azerbaijan) candidates should present signatures of voters/supporters. The number of signatures varies from five in Georgia to 1 400 in Belarus.
- ▶ In the case of three countries, the candidate should ensure a financial deposit: 10 times the minimum salary for self-nominated candidates/parties nominating candidates in single-mandate districts and 1000 times the minimum salary for parties nominating candidates in nationwide constituency in Ukraine, 8 000 times the minimum salary in Armenia and 5 000 GEL⁵⁰ in Georgia. In the case of those standing for political parties or party blocs, these deposits are paid by the party.

50. Approximately 2 093 euros.



Table 31: Key candidacy requirements – Legislative power

Country	Nomination		Information on candidates		Financial deposit	
	Political party	Self-nomination	Other	Age	Income/ property/ financial liabilities	
Armenia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - charter of the party - decision of permanently functioning body - the electoral list - candidates' written consent - receipt of financial deposit - statement certifying citizenship - copies of personal documents 		Alliance of political parties		No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8 000 times the minimum salary for proportional elections 1 000 times the minimum salary for majoritarian elections
Azerbaijan		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - minimum 450 signatures - last year's income information - information on property 	Nominated by voters or by a bloc of parties	25+	Not known	
Belarus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Same as for independent candidate, plus: - protocol of the supreme body on nomination - copy of the certificate of registration of the party - charter of the party - certificate stating that the candidate is a member of the party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - application and consent - data on the person - income and property declaration - if needed, consent of leaving the position or terminating powers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For Chamber of Representatives – a group of electors no fewer than 10 persons For Councils of Deputies – a group of 3 to 10 persons 	21+	No	

Country	Nomination		Information on candidates		Financial deposit	
	Political party	Self-nomination	Other	Age	Income/ property/ financial liabilities	
Georgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - application - signatures of supporting voters - copy of personal identification - 2 photos 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An election bloc An initiative group of 5 members 	21+		5 000 GEL
Moldova	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - record of the supreme or territorial body regarding nomination - list of candidates - biographical data - candidates' consent to being nominated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - petitions with required number of signatures 		18+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - declaration on: real estate, bank accounts, inheritance, income and certificate of not having legal limitation 	
Ukraine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - application for registration signed by the head of the party - charter of the party and registration certificate - decision of party's higher body - list of candidates - candidates' consent to being nominated - biographical data - receipt of financial deposit - 4 photos - photocopies of first and second pages of candidates' passport of citizen of Ukraine 			21+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - declaration on: property, income, expenditure and financial liability - 1 000 times the minimum salary 	

Some interviewees mentioned how collecting signatures as an independent candidate was positive as a way of getting to know voters and as a means of communicating more widely that they were going to stand. One felt:

It was a useful way to talk to people.

However, the substantial financial deposits required made it difficult for women to stand as independent candidates.

Independent candidates and elected

The numbers of candidates who stand as independents is not large with the exception of the last 2014 election in Ukraine.

Table 32: Independent candidates and independents elected

Country	Independent candidates		Independents elected	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Armenia				
Azerbaijan			34	8
Belarus			77	28
Georgia	370	59	66	7
Moldova	4	4		
Ukraine	1 649	287	95	

Vacancies

This is a particular issue in elections using a list system where the next on a party list gains the seat if a place becomes vacant. It has been used in some cases to overcome situations where there is a quota of women candidates and this is the case in Armenia. The law does not require that another woman should take the place of one who stands down. As the Armenian researcher explained this has led to the practice of women withdrawing after the elections (it is not clear whether or not this is prearranged) and being replaced by a man.

In the case of the study countries Armenia, Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine, which have proportional representation (PR) systems, the vacancy is filled by the next person on the list. In majoritarian/plurality elections then new elections are held.

Quota

1. Legal requirement

Armenia is the only country that has adopted a legal quota for women in elections for the National Assembly.

Election Code, Article 108, Nomination of Candidates for a Deputy to the National Assembly under the Proportional Electoral System, Part 1 requires:

that each political party or alliance of political parties shall have the right to nominate only one electoral list of candidates. A political party included in an alliance of political parties shall have no right to nominate a separate electoral list on its own behalf. The number of persons of each sex shall not exceed 80% of any integer group of five candidates starting from the second number of the electoral list (2-6, 2-11, 2-16, and so on up to the end of the list) of a political party or alliance of political parties and of each party included in an alliance for the National Assembly election under the proportional electoral system.

In practice this means that there must be at least one woman in every five candidates on a party list.

However, as the law does not specify that a woman who withdraws has to be replaced by another woman, the practice has developed that women withdraw after the list has been accepted and are replaced by men.

2. Affirmative action

In Georgia, the law allows affirmative actions to increase the number of women who are elected. In 2011, the Parliamentary Gender Equality Council proposed amendments to the Election Code of Georgia and the law on political parties that introduced voluntary quota. This introduced an additional 10% budgetary financing for a party that included at least two representatives of different sex in every 10 of the election party list.⁵¹

However, it was not successful in increasing the number of women candidates and elected, because out of 16 election subjects only six applied voluntary quota to their election lists, but none of these six political subjects crossed the election threshold of 5% in order to be represented in the parliament. Two main parties/blocs (United National Movement and The Georgian Dream bloc) had the least number of women in their election lists compared to other parties.

The law does not specify that the additional funding would have to be spent on encouraging more women to stand or supporting women candidates and this aspect is being reviewed by the Parliamentary Gender Equality Council.

In Belarus the president has set an informal target of 30% of women in the National Assembly.

51. Organic Law of Georgia on Unions of Citizens, Article 30.

Table 33: Quotas and affirmative action

Country	Quota adopted	Legal requirement	Sanction	Enforcement	Voluntary	Incentive
Armenia	No	Yes	No		No	No
Azerbaijan	No	No	No		No	No
Belarus	Informal 30% quota	No	No		No	No
Georgia	Voluntary quota	No	The political subjects, who did not comply with the voluntary quota, did not receive 10% additional budgetary financing in 2012. Since 2014 it has increased from 10% to 30%		Yes	Yes
Moldova	No	No	No		No	No
Ukraine	Voluntary 30% quota	No	No		Yes	Yes ⁵²

52. Parliamentary political parties are entitled to receive additional 10% of the annual state funding of political parties statutory activities, which shall be distributed equally among eligible parties, if number of one sex amongst elected from a political party members of parliament does not exceed 2/3 of the overall number of all members of parliament elected from this political party.

Table 34: Success rates of women and men in elections for legislative bodies

Country	Candidates		Elected		Success rate	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Armenia	950	214	117	14	12%	7%
Azerbaijan	626	141	104	21	17%	14%
Belarus			80	30		
Georgia	1 954	788	132	18	7%	2%
Moldova	1 310	575	80	21	6%	4%
Ukraine	5 099	1 240	371	51	7%	4%

This is the measure that has to be reported to the Council of Europe for the monitoring of Recommendation Rec(2003)3 on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making⁵³ and is measured by dividing the number of elected people by the number of candidates and multiplying by 100.

The success rates for women candidates are consistently behind that of men but not by a great amount. The greatest difference is in Armenia, the only country to have adopted a quota but we have no information on the impact of the number of women withdrawing after being elected in favour of men.

The study also looked at the success rates for women and men in the different electoral systems where we have information.

Table 35: Success rate by electoral system

Country	Electoral system	Candidates		Elected		Success rate	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Armenia	PR	824	202	90	12	11%	6%
	Majoritarian	125	12	41	2	33%	17%
Georgia	PR	1 584	729	61	16	4%	2%
	Majoritarian	370	59	66	7	18%	11%

The available information from Armenia and Georgia suggests that if women are selected in majoritarian seats where the party they represent is likely to win they have a better chance of being elected.

The same applies to seats elected by proportional representation/party list system. If there is no requirement to put women in the winnable positions on lists then the major determining factor for success is the likelihood or otherwise for their party to gain votes.

53. Available at: https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805e0848.

However, it is clear that more women get elected through the PR system than through the majoritarian one. In Georgia, 61% of women gained their seats through the proportional party list system compared to 39% of women who gained seats through the majoritarian system.

3. Legislative or administrative measures to facilitate women’s participation

No country had any special arrangements such as ensuring that timetables and working methods facilitated women’s participation, for example by not meeting in the school holidays or avoiding late night sessions where possible.

Indeed some parliaments and national assemblies have rules that make it more difficult for women to participate. For example, children under 16 cannot enter the Ukrainian Parliament and there is no room set aside for feeding babies.

Administrative local and regional governments

The method of election varies depending on the size of the mandate; often cities elect on a different basis from small villages.

The information used for the study is based on the most recent elections, shown in the following table.

Table 36: Date of latest local (administrative level) elections

Country	Date of last elections	Comments
Armenia	-	There is no fixed cycle for local elections in Armenia and the elections do not all take place at the same time. This research covers the period 2010-2015. Regulated by Article 145 Time Periods of Calling and Conducting Regular Elections and Nominating and Registering Candidates
Azerbaijan	23 December 2014	
Belarus	23 March 2014	
Georgia	15 June 2014	
Moldova	14 June 2015	
Ukraine	25 October 2015	

Table 37: Requirements and method for selection of candidates

Country	Size of mandate	Nominations by political party	Self-nomination	Other nomination	Income of candidate	Financial Deposit
Belarus	No information					
Georgia	From 5 242 to 153 537	Parties decide list for proportional elections		By an election bloc endorsed by the signatures of 1% of electors By an initiative group of 5 people		
Moldova	No information	Minutes from the decision-making body of the party Biographical information Consent to nomination Copy of identity document	Election for local council Support of 2% of voters but no fewer than 50 Mayor elections Support of 5% but no fewer than 150 and no more than 10 000		Income and asset declaration for last 2 years	
Armenia	No information	Charter of the party and electoral list for Yerevan elections Decision of the territorial unit of the party Receipt of payment of deposit Statement of residence in the area for 6 months Copy of personal identity document	Same information as political candidates			Candidate for mayor from 50 to 1 000 times minimum salary Depending on the number of voters Candidate for member of council from 10 to 100 times minimum salary

Azerbaijan	From 51 to 48 778				Information on last year's income Details of property registered to the candidate and spouse	
Ukraine	From 83 to 17 000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - application for registration signed by head of a local organisation of political party and sealed - copy of decision of a local party highest management body - decision of a conference of a local organisation of political party - list of candidates (for multi-mandate constituency) - candidates' consent to being nominated and to their biographical data being published - biographical data - declaration on property, income, expenditure and financial liability - 4 photos - receipt of financial deposit (for multi-mandate constituency) - photocopies of first and second pages of candidates' passports of citizen of Ukraine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - application on self-nomination and consent on biographical data being published - biographical data - declaration on property, income, expenditure and financial liability - 4 photos - receipt of financial deposit (for mayor candidates) 		Declaration on property, income, expenditure and financial liability	4 minimum monthly salaries for every 100 000 voters in respective electoral constituency

1. Electoral systems

The system of election varies. In Armenia, Georgia and in the smaller towns in Ukraine mayors and council members are elected by a majoritarian system.

In larger cities in Ukraine and Moldova mayors are elected on a first- or two-stage vote if 50% of the vote has not been reached in the first round.

In Azerbaijan mayors are elected by members of their municipalities at the first meeting following the elections.

In Belarus the president of the republic appoints the heads of local executives.

In Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine members of local and regional councils are elected by a proportional representation system.

2. Deposits

The requirements for standing at local level are less than those for candidates at national level. If candidates are from political parties the deposits are met by the party.

3. Size of mandate

As can be seen from the table above this varies greatly. We do not have information from all the countries to determine if more women are elected at local, village level than are elected in large cities but previous research⁵⁴ would suggest that this is the case.

Table 38: Belarus elected local level – Information about the composition of the elected deputies of local councils of the 27th convocation (2014)

Council level	Number of women elected deputies	% of elected deputies by sex	
		Male	Female
Minsk city	1	70.2	29.8
Regional	6	80.3	19.7
District	118	67.6	32.4
Urban regional	10	71.7	28.3
Urban district	14	59.1	40.9
Borough	19	58.2	41.8
Village	1160	48.4	51.6
Total	1328	53.7	46.3

54. "Parity democracy: a far cry from democracy. Comparative study on the results of the first and second rounds of monitoring of the Council of Europe Recommendation Rec(2003)3 on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making", Council of Europe (2009), Strasbourg.

The researcher commented that this cannot be seen as the rule of women, as the smaller the council the more likely women are to be elected. Being a deputy in a small local council will require work with no financial reward and she feels that this discourages men.

A report by the Committee of Voters of Ukraine on the local elections⁵⁵ found that the situation in 2013 showed that the higher the level of the representative body the fewer women there were as members.

<i>Oblasts</i> (Regions)	12%
<i>Rayon</i> (Districts)	23%
Village	51%
Settlement	46%

Several interviewees commented on feeling able to stand because they knew the area and were well known within it.

I was born here and because of my work [she was the head of a school] I know the people and the problems.

4. Independent candidates

From the information we have received, independent candidates are accepted in Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine. In Belarus the independent candidates are in fact from public bodies and large state-owned organisations.

55. Committee of Voters of Ukraine, Final Report on monitoring of women's participation in the electoral process at 2015 local elections in Ukraine.

5. Filling of vacancies

Table 39: Filling of vacancies at local (administrative) level

Country	How filled
Armenia	Where the elections of members of a community council of aldermen are declared as invalid, a revote with the same participating candidates shall be conducted 21 days after the voting day. A revote with the same participating candidates may be conducted only once.
Azerbaijan	The vacancies are filled by simple majority of the votes collected by a candidate; there is no minimum turnover either. If the election results in the particular district are cancelled due to invalidity, the new elections in that district should be organised again within the next two months. If a) the elected municipality member refuses the mandate, or b) loses the mandate, or c) passes away – in the period of over six months before the new election time, the new elections should be organised in that particular district within the next two months. In cases a) and b), the person who refused/lost the mandate cannot be nominated again.
Belarus	No information
Georgia	1. If the authority of a member of the Sakrebulo (representative body in local council) elected through a proportional system has been terminated early, a candidate standing next to him/her in the party list shall take up his/her place in the local council within two weeks. 2. In the case where a withdrawn member has been elected by the election bloc, then her/his seat shall be occupied by the next candidate of the same party in the list. 3. If the authorities of a member of the (Sakrebulo) local council elected under a majority system have been terminated early, a by-election shall be conducted in the next May or October.
Moldova	New elections shall be declared if: - the local council has resigned, has been dissolved, or has become less than one-third of the number established by the law on local public administration; - the mayor has resigned, was revoked or is not able to exercise his/her mandate any longer.
Ukraine	Next in the party's list if party overcame the passing score. Or new elections in the case of a majoritarian election.

6. Quotas and affirmative action – Administrative level

Table 40: Quotas and affirmative actions at local (administrative) level

Country	Quota adopted (description)	Legal requirement	Sanctions	Enforcement	Voluntary	Incentive
Armenia	Not applicable	No				No
Azerbaijan	Not applicable	No				No
Belarus	Not applicable	No				No
Georgia	An additional 10% budget funding to parties that had at least two representatives of different sexes in every 10 on the list Since 2014 this has increased to 30% extra funding if there are at least 30% women in every 10 on the list	No	The political subjects who do not comply with the voluntary quota do not receive 30% additional budgetary financing		Yes	No
Moldova		No				No
Ukraine	New law on local elections introduced for 2015 elections	Yes, but the law was challenged	Some local election commissions did not register party lists if they did not comply with the quota. In the Kherson region some lists had less than 30% of men and such lists were not registered until they were changed	The law was challenged so enforcement was uneven		No

In Georgia two party blocs adopted the voluntary quota and received 30% additional funding. The researcher commented that although this regulation positively affects the number of women candidates, it is not enough and is ineffective in tackling the under-representation of women in the elected bodies. In the administrative level elections in 2014 the number of women candidates increased to 15% for the majoritarian seats, up from 11% in 2010, and on the party lists to 33%, from 20% in 2010.

For the 2015 elections in Ukraine a new law was passed introducing a requirement for a minimum of 30% representation of each sex on party lists, but not specifying the position on the list. However, the law was introduced with short notice before the election and there was a dispute about the law, meaning that its application was variable.

The Council of Europe commissioned the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU) to review the outcome of the elections on women's representation.⁵⁶ Although the law was not enforced, the study found that in the city councils that were studied, women were 32.1% of the candidates and 18.1% of those were elected. In *oblasts*, women were 29.6% of candidates and 15% of those elected. Gender balance improved in 11 out of 22 cities and 17 out of 22 *oblasts* in the study. Women headed the list in 11.4% of the areas surveyed, meaning that they got more publicity and media coverage.

CVU concluded that the new arrangements had worked.

- ▶ More women featured on electoral literature.
- ▶ Women were ready to stand again (68.6% of women, 59.3% of men).
- ▶ There is no shortage of experienced, skilled and capable women.

Summary of findings

- ▶ There is a clear legislative basis in all countries for women's equal rights. Armenia and Georgia have specific legislation on women's rights with regard to elections.
- ▶ Some legislation, for example the status of women IDPs and the lack of limits on financial contributions in Moldova, may be directly or indirectly discriminatory against women. Gender neutral legislation may be indirectly discriminatory if it does not address inherent disadvantages that women experience.
- ▶ The country researchers were of the opinion that the electoral systems themselves presented a barrier to women's participation and that the proportional representation/party list system was beneficial to women and encouraged more to stand. The figures from Georgia show that more women were elected through the PR route than through majoritarian elections. However, the study was unable to show a positive effect of the proportional representation system on the success rate of women candidates. If there is no requirement to put women in the winnable positions on lists then the major determining factor for success is the likelihood or otherwise for their party to gain votes.
- ▶ Success rates of women candidates were consistently lower than that of men.

56. Available at: <http://cvu.org.ua/eng>.

- ▶ Where there was evidence, it supported the finding from others that the smaller the area to be represented the greater the number of women.
- ▶ The evidence from the study is that in the cases of Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine, where quotas and affirmative actions were introduced at legislative and/or at local level, this had a limited but positive effect.
- ▶ Effective enforcement of laws on quotas and affirmative actions is necessary for them to succeed.
- ▶ Apart from the difficulties in being accepted as a candidate by a political party, which are discussed above in the section on political parties, the requirement to give details of income and property ownership may put women at a disadvantage with the voters. As women candidates tend to work in the public sector they are less likely to have substantial income, savings or property.
- ▶ The financial cost and the difficulty of getting publicity for the campaign are likely to be substantial disincentives for women and independent candidates.
- ▶ The success rates for women candidates are consistently behind those of men but not by a great amount. The greatest difference is in Armenia, the only country to have adopted a quota but we have no information on the impact of the number of women withdrawing after being elected in favour of men.
- ▶ However, the information from Armenia and Georgia suggests that if women are selected in majoritarian seats where the party they represent is likely to win they have a better chance of being elected.
- ▶ Where quotas exist the effectiveness is nullified if women are allowed to withdraw either after the list has been accepted or after the election, and their places are taken by men.
- ▶ Affirmative action to increase public funding to parties that put a minimum of 30% women on their lists, as in Georgia, succeeded in increasing the number of women candidates in the local (administrative) elections in majoritarian seats from 11-15% and in party list seats from 20% in 2010 to 33% in 2014. However, it did not have a major impact on the number of women who were elected.

D. SUPPORTIVE MEASURES

The researchers were asked to identify any particular measures that have been introduced which, in their view, supported women in standing as candidates and getting elected.

Armenia

The government works with NGOs to run an annual contest to raise gender awareness. The prizes go to:

- ▶ the best urban community implementing gender policy;
- ▶ the best rural community implementing gender policy;
- ▶ the best female entrepreneur;
- ▶ the best media outlet providing coverage of gender issues.

The most successful aspect is the raising of gender issues in rural areas where cultural stereotypes are strongest.

Azerbaijan

No supportive measures were identified from Azerbaijan.

Belarus

In the last few years there have been some positive shifts that have to be taken into account.

Opposition movements and networks

The public association “Women’s Independent Democratic Movement” initiated work on the National Gender Platform (NGP) in 2011. Much preparatory work was done and about 30 organisations (opposition political parties and public associations) signed the NGP. But almost no work was done from that time. Twice a year members of the NGP have regular meetings, but they have not yet resulted in real change.

The women’s network “Mara” was organised in 2014. “Mara” unites young women from (opposition) political parties who want to make positive changes inside their parties and to increase the number of female party members in general and on the party boards in particular. They focus on internal party organisation rather than on policies.

Georgia

The number of electoral units

In the 2014 local elections the number of mandates increased in each of the self-government units. Since more women are elected under the proportional party list, the increased number of units (from 10 to 15 in each self-government community) is a benefiting factor for women candidates. However, under the majoritarian system the single-mandate election districts have not changed and continue to disadvantage women.

The electoral threshold

Since women are predominantly at the end of the electoral lists, the decreased (from 7% to 5%) electoral threshold increases their chances of being elected.

Support for ethnic minority voters

Election material and instructions on how to vote is available in different languages and there are TV debates in minority languages to try to boost the participation of ethnic minority voters in elections.

Moldova

Training

Training and encouraging women to stand need to take place at least two years before the election period. In 2007, after local elections, 163 women were elected as mayors; in 2011, 166 were elected. The lesson was clear that training efforts prior to the election campaign are very inefficient in increasing the numbers of women elected. An increasing number of organisations started training for the next 2015 local elections much earlier. In the 2015 local elections, 183 women were elected as mayors.

UN Women and UNDP have been running training for women lawmakers on the effective use of social media to increase their visibility with electors and to help contact with constituents.

Quotas

The Platform for Gender Equality is a coalition of NGOs whose aim is to promote gender equality in public policies. They have focused on the introduction of a 40% quota of women elected to the Moldovan Parliament.

In April 2016 the Moldovan Parliament passed a law to introduce quotas of at least 40% of women on party lists of candidates. However, the law does not yet appear to have mandatory powers.

Media

A project was conducted in 2013 by the Association of Independent Press and UN Women as part of the Women's Economic Empowerment Programme,⁵⁷ where the 17 print and online mass media organisations analysed their output on grids, designed by external experts, on their representation of men and women. The analysis was published monthly. During the nine months of the project their coverage became more equal, although still with major problems. In February 2013, women were represented in 16.7% of the articles and in October 2013 the coverage had risen to 28.6%.

Ukraine

Equal opportunity gender caucus

For the first time, the parliamentary caucus "Equal Opportunities" was created in the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian Parliament) in 2011. It included 15 MPs from different factions. The originators identified as its priorities to increase equal opportunities for men and women in:

57. Available at: http://api.md/upload/editor/FINAL_REPORT_Mass-media_institutions_self-assessment_through_gender_dimension.pdf.

- ▶ the labour market;
- ▶ education;
- ▶ access to medicine;
- ▶ participation in the social and political life of Ukraine.

In particular they planned to collaborate on the adoption of a number of social laws and initiatives aimed at combating domestic violence and at protecting children, families and mothers or fathers who are raising a child alone. One of the first joint initiatives of association was a bill on amendments to the Administrative Code of Ukraine concerning strengthening the responsibility for domestic violence. Ukrainian MPs that joined the association also considered one of its tasks was to change public attitudes to gender policy. In particular, they “planned to raise the question of introducing a voluntary quota for greater representation of women in party election lists”.

The Parliament of the VII convocation continued the tradition and also established the equal opportunities caucus on 25 December 2012. The newly created parliamentary group of MPs agreed to uphold the principles of gender equality to involve women in political life and to process joint legislative initiatives on this issue.

Different political positions finally divided it into two caucuses in 2013. It was not active until the end of this convocation because of the political situation in Ukraine.

In 2014 members of parliament created a cross-party gender caucus, “Equal Opportunities”, which included 26 deputies. They planned to focus on two key themes: upholding gender equality in terms of active involvement of women in political life as well as the joint legislative initiatives to defend this topic.

Among the priority areas of work the caucus is engaged in:

- ▶ the fight against domestic violence;
- ▶ protection of women and children;
- ▶ equal opportunities for men and women in different spheres of public life.

Four years of activity of the cross-party gender caucus in Ukraine demonstrated success as well as challenges.

Among the successes, the following practices can be identified:

- ▶ actualisation of gender issues in the parliament, for example the campaign against breast cancer or participation in international events on gender issues;
- ▶ an approved gender quota in two laws: “On Political Parties” (2013) and “On Local Elections” (2015);
- ▶ the opening of a “children’s room” in one of the parliamentary buildings.

At the same time some challenges continue to be barriers to more efficient results of its activity:

- ▶ misunderstanding of gender policy by MPs including “children’s issues are women’s issues”;
- ▶ political differentiation of factions continue to be split for members of the gender caucus;
- ▶ lack of strong relations between the gender caucus and civil society.

Despite all the challenges listed above, the gender caucus “Equal Opportunities” of the Verkhovna Rada proved effective in its furthering of gender mainstreaming.

Responses from interviewees

The 53 women who were interviewed were asked to identify the main things that had supported them in their election campaigns and after they were elected.

The most important supportive factor was the support of the family.

For many of the interviewees, particularly those standing as candidates in small towns and villages, their family members were the only people helping them with their campaign.

Support from political parties came mainly in the form of some leaflets or other promotional material. Three mentioned briefings for candidates run by their party and one mentioned specific training for women candidates on leadership and communication. Two of the interviewees said that they had been supported by the party leader and two mentioned their experience in the party as a source of support. In one case the party had arranged events and concerts as part of the campaign.

Women NGOs were also mentioned as a source of support. They had provided support through training and seminars. Three interviewees mentioned ongoing mentoring provided by NGOs and the country local government association. However, some interviewees mentioned the general help and support they had received from women NGOs as a source of inspiration for them to stand as candidates. One candidate had been encouraged to stand by an international organisation supporting her ethnic minority.

Other issues mentioned included:

- ▶ the party list system, meaning that they were not campaigning on their own;
- ▶ quotas for women on the party lists;
- ▶ the parliamentary equal opportunity caucus who had arranged a local meeting;
- ▶ social media as a means of getting support, including from the diaspora (mentioned by three people);
- ▶ collecting signatures to build support locally;
- ▶ being well known in the local community – this applied most in small villages and towns.

Examples of supportive actions from other countries

Awareness raising

In Turkey the Association to Support Women Candidates, KA.DER has used innovative media campaigns to highlight the lack of women candidates. In 2007 they created posters of well-known women from business, and actors and singers wearing ties and moustaches with the slogan “Is it necessary to be a man to enter parliament”. In 2009 they used billboards of the three male leaders of the main parties standing

shoulder to shoulder and with text implying that they were united in preferring male candidates over female ones.⁵⁸

Recruitment initiatives

The 2012 project initiated by the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University targeted women over 45 who were more likely to be in management roles and to have reducing family responsibilities. They were asked if they had ever considered becoming a political representative and they were linked to think tanks, training programmes and fundraising networks designed to help them succeed.⁵⁹

At the other end of the age scale the International Girl Scouts organisation has been running a long-term campaign in many countries called “To Get Her There” aimed at creating “balanced leadership” and “equitable representation of women in leadership positions in all sectors and levels of society in the course of a generation”.

Fundraising networks

US-based EMILY’s List was founded in 1985 to recruit and train women but also to raise funds for their election from supporters. It claims to have supported 87 Democratic women members of Congress, 16 senators, 9 governors and over 500 women to state and local office.⁶⁰

Political party actions

The British Labour Party has adopted a short-term policy of “All Women Shortlists”. When a sitting woman MP retires or if a man retires in a seat that is likely to be won by the party, then the local party members must choose a candidate from a list of women. This practice is used at both national and local level. Following the elections in 2015, 43% of Labour MPs are women.

In Sweden, the women’s sections inside the major parties assembled databases containing the names and curricula vitae of potential women candidates that could be given to party officials, as they sought to find women to put on their lists.⁶¹

Working conditions in parliaments

In Denmark, no votes take place after 7 p.m. In Sweden, evening votes are avoided as much as possible and voting is generally not done on Mondays or Fridays. Nearly 40% of parliaments align their schedules with the school holidays.⁶²

58. Available at: www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=campaign-for-women-launched-at-empty-hall-2010-10-11.

59. Available at: www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/pressrelease_10-07-10_2012.pdf.

60. Available at: www.emilyslist.org.

61. Wistrand B. (1981), *Swedish women on the move*, Swedish Institute, Stockholm.

62. Palmieri S. (2011), *Gender sensitive parliaments*, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva.

In Scotland, childcare facilities are available to members and visitors. This is viewed as “an important part of creating an open and accessible Parliament”.⁶³

Summary of findings

- ▶ Training programmes are important to encourage women to put themselves forward as candidates and to support them during the campaign and when they are elected. These need to start at least two years before an election in order to be effective.
- ▶ NGOs and other organisations can play a very important role in providing training and encouraging women to stand as candidates.
- ▶ The party list system encourages women to stand, as campaigning is easier as part of a group.
- ▶ NGOs play an important role in building support for women candidates with electors and to put pressure on legislators and hold them to account.
- ▶ Media self-monitoring increased the percentage of articles featuring women.
- ▶ Cross-party support and collaboration for action on gender issues, such as the gender caucus in Ukraine, raised the profile of these issues and delivered progress.
- ▶ Targeted campaigns aimed at particular groups of women, for example older or younger women, may be successful.
- ▶ Actions to address women’s lack of financial resources may encourage more women to stand for election.
- ▶ The working arrangements for parliaments and local councils can be changed to make them more accessible to women.

63. Available at: www.scottish.parliament.uk/visitandlearn/12522.aspx.

Chapter 4

Conclusions

The research has provided quantitative and qualitative information about the situation of women in the EaP countries and how this impacts on their opportunities to stand as candidates and to be elected at national, regional and local levels.

Each of the countries included in the study has legislation guaranteeing women equal rights with those of men; however, women do not have equal political representation. On average across the study countries, 23% of women are candidates for election to parliaments and 16% of those are elected. This varies from 30% of the candidates in Moldova to 18% of the candidates in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Of those elected to parliament in Belarus, 27% are women but in Armenia only 10% are women.

There are many similarities across all the countries and despite their different political realities and challenges there is common ground in the desire to seek ways to increase the political representation of women.

The study has confirmed the substantial barriers limiting women's political involvement.

The major barrier highlighted by all of the researchers and 21 out of the 53 interviewees in all the study countries are the deeply ingrained cultural stereotypes, attitudes, values, norms and prejudices about the position of women in society. The belief is that women's main role is to be at home looking after the family and that they are not as capable of taking decisions or running organisations as men.

These attitudes towards women are reflected most starkly in the attitudes towards violence against women. Even where legislation exists, as it does in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova, the number of cases reported to the authorities and the number of prosecutions remains low in relation to those reported to NGOs. For example, it is estimated that one in every three women in Belarus has suffered from physical abuse.

Women are also disadvantaged economically. On average 52% of women and 65% of men participate in the labour market.

Women have lower incomes. On average across the study countries they have 59% of the income of men.

Women do hold managerial roles – Belarus and Moldova are in the top 10 out of 128 countries surveyed by the ILO, but they suffer from job segregation, working mainly in low-paid sectors such as hotel and catering, retail, education and health and social care. This is despite the fact that there are now a higher percentage of women university graduates than men in all the study countries except Azerbaijan.

The cultural stereotypes and the resultant effect on the economic position of women are invidious as they hold women back from feeling they are capable of standing for election.

At present, women candidates and those who are elected are the minority. This means they are often expected to do better than a man would do in the same role. The presence of more effective, competent women in parliaments, national assemblies and local and regional governments would increase the visibility of women and make them less of an exception, and by doing so increase public confidence in their ability to do the job and help combat the stereotypical views.

The information we have about candidates and those who were elected confirms this. The women who stood as candidates have considerable skills and experience. Almost all of them have higher educational qualifications: 100% in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus; 98% in Ukraine. The women who were interviewed had held positions of power and influence requiring professional and managerial skills, for example as heads of hospitals, lawyers and heads of colleges.

It is clear that despite the economic position of women as a whole there is no shortage in the EaP countries of skilled, capable women able to take on political roles.

There is substantial evidence from the surveys included in the study showing that the attitudes towards women as political representatives is changing, and changing fastest among younger voters. The NDI research in Ukraine⁶⁴ shows that voters are more concerned about a candidate's background and political affiliation than they are about their gender.

In this respect the public are in advance of the political parties and those within them who select candidates.

Only three of the political parties included in the survey have women leaders and seven have women deputies. The percentage of women on the highest executive bodies varies between 40% for one party in Azerbaijan to 5-10% in Armenia.

Most parties in the study had women's sections or organisations but this was not reflected in the policies of the parties. None of the parties included in the study in Armenia, Georgia, Belarus or Ukraine had adopted policies specific to women such as on women's representation or violence against women and girls in their party programmes for the last elections.

This compounds the view that women's issues are not important and that women themselves do not have a place in political life.

Increasingly, political parties will have to attract the votes of more independent-minded young people, including young women voters, and this may be a driver for change.

The study also looked at the electoral systems in the EaP countries and how far they were a support or a barrier to women's political representation. While the electoral system alone will not deliver the changes needed, the researchers and the interviewers were of the opinion that a proportional representation system is more favourable

64. United Nations Development Programme and National Democratic Institute (2011), "Empowering women for stronger political parties", UNDP and NDI, New York.

to women. The PR system is most effective when combined with other measures such as quotas and/or affirmative actions.

The examples that the study found from Armenia and Ukraine where legislative quotas have been adopted show small increases in the number of women candidates and those elected. However, in Armenia, the only country in the study to have adopted a formal legislative quota where women have to be included in the list, the practice of women resigning and being replaced by men, either after the list had been agreed or after the election, negates the intention of the measure.

The example of the 2015 local elections in Ukraine where a 30% quota was adopted but not universally applied shows the importance of effective enforcement and the need to specify that women should be in winnable places on the party lists.

In Georgia, the voluntary affirmative action in the form of additional funding to political parties that have chosen to include a proportion of women on candidate lists has not been shown to be effective in increasing the number of women elected. The reason for this was that only the smaller parties which were least likely to be elected to parliament adopted the measure.

In summary, quotas need to be legislated for, need to specify that women should be in winnable positions in the list and need to be properly enforced. Where a woman resigns after the election, or after the list has been agreed, another woman should replace her.

Financial incentives should apply to all parties rather than be voluntary and should specify that any increase in state funding should be ring-fenced to be spent on measures to encourage more women to stand for election and to support their campaigns.

Besides the cultural stereotypes and prejudice, the second most important barrier for women to reach political functions, as reported by the interviewees, is the lack of financial resources. There is a cost to being selected as a candidate, and to attending meetings and conferences to get known within a political party. However, the greatest problem for those women interviewed was the cost of the campaign itself. Although parties generally provided some publicity material and leaflets, women candidates generally had to provide resources from their own personal finances. This was even more of an issue for those standing as independent candidates as they also, in some cases, had to find financial deposits for their candidacy.

As women are disadvantaged economically they have less access to financial resources than men and therefore are not able to exercise their right to stand for elected office due to a lack of money.

Funding within parties is more likely to go to those most likely to win, thereby perpetuating the existing order.

One argument identified in the study against introducing quotas and other special measures to encourage women to stand is that legislation gives both men and women equal rights to stand as candidates and to be elected. However this “gender neutral” legislation does not address gender inequalities and ignores the existing blatant inequalities in opportunities for women to take part in political life. This inequality

can only be addressed by adopting temporary special measures such as effective quotas and affirmative actions.

It also cannot be ignored that addressing inequalities for women will have a substantial impact on the number of men who currently hold seats on elected bodies and that it is those bodies which will have to introduce the legislation to make the change.

However, the changing views of voters and the desire for democratic legitimacy are strong drivers for change towards a balanced political representation of women and men and there are some clear actions which can be taken to make this change happen.

Chapter 5

Recommendations

COUNTRY SPECIFIC

Armenia

Consideration should be given to introducing measures to prevent the undermining of the intention of the quota of women on party lists, by the practice of women resigning once the list has been accepted or after election and being replaced by men. For example, this could be done by legislating that a retiring member should be replaced by the next one on the party list from the least represented sex.

Azerbaijan

Consideration should be given to introducing affirmative actions, for example financial incentives to encourage political parties to select women in winnable seats.

Belarus

The state should consider co-operating with women NGOs to ensure that gender-equality policies are adhered to.

Georgia

Ensure that the financial incentive paid to political parties that include women on their party lists is ring-fenced to support women to be selected as candidates, during their campaign and when they are first elected. The financial payment could be made dependent on the demonstration of these actions being carried out.

The effectiveness of financial incentives alone to encourage an increase in women candidates and those elected should be kept under review and other initiatives considered if they are not found to be working.

Moldova

Ensure that the recently passed law introducing a 40% quota of women on party lists is implemented fully by including a requirement that women are put in winnable positions on party lists and that the law is effectively enforced.

Ukraine

Ensure that the 30% quota for party lists in local elections is properly enforced by not registering lists that do not comply. Increase the effectiveness of the law by introducing a requirement for women to be in winnable places on the lists.

Ensure that children under 16 can enter the parliament building and provide a parent and baby room.

Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine

Consider the introduction of legal quotas for the PR elections for legislative bodies.

ALL COUNTRIES

Political parties

Take measures to encourage and support more women to come forward as candidates and get elected including:

- ▶ adopting transparent selection criteria for candidates not based on the financial contribution to the party;
- ▶ targeting financial support to women candidates;
- ▶ starting to encourage women to stand as candidates and provide training at least two years before the elections (Moldova supportive practice example);
- ▶ developing a capacity-building strategy for female party members and candidates within the parties;
- ▶ providing mentoring and support to women once they are elected;
- ▶ taking actions to increase the number of women in leadership roles in the party;
- ▶ increasing the visibility of women candidates and elected representatives in the media;
- ▶ aiming for gender balance on panels and round tables in public activities undertaken by the party;
- ▶ adopting policies on women's issues in party policies and manifestos, following consultation with women party members and NGOs, and publicising these widely;
- ▶ strengthening women's networks and organisations within the party and creating spaces and opportunities for discussion of party agendas and policies for women;
- ▶ ensuring that all levels of party organisations, in particular the local ones, are aware of and implement policies to support the selection and election of women;
- ▶ aiming for gender balance on panels selecting candidates;
- ▶ challenging stereotypical views of women and raising issues of concern to women through public statements of leading party members;
- ▶ introducing and enforcing standards of behaviour for party members in regard to comments and actions denigrating women candidates and elected members.

Governments/ruling parties

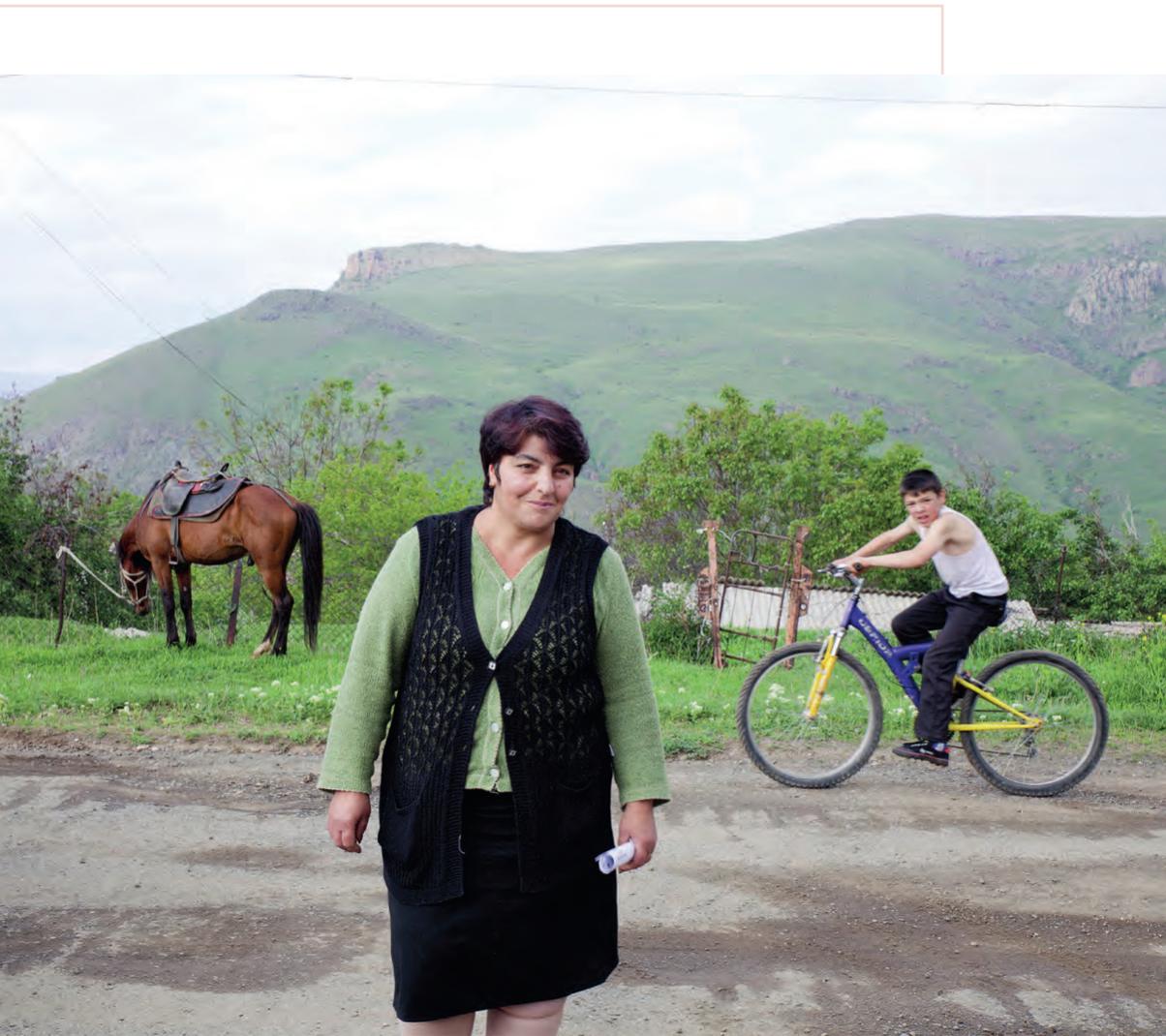
Support the political representation of women in the following ways.

- ▶ Introduce quotas for women chairs and deputies of government committees.
- ▶ Consider introducing legislation which has a positive effect on women's political representation, including measures that address the social and economic aspects of women's lives as well as the introduction of legal quotas and affirmative actions which ensure that support, including financial support, is targeted at women.
- ▶ Analyse "gender neutral" legislation to assess its differential impact on women and men and take measures to mitigate any adverse impact, for example, by introducing temporary measures to address the under-representation of women on elected bodies.
- ▶ Ensure that women's issues form part of the legislative programme, and support this by considering establishing an equal opportunity (gender) caucus (for example Ukraine).
- ▶ Support the delivery of gender equality action plans by ensuring that sufficient resources are allocated, and monitor, assess and publicly report on the impact of the measures adopted and their success.
- ▶ Encourage organisations representing local and regional government to provide training and support to women candidates and those who are elected in the administrative bodies.
- ▶ Ensure that national parliaments and local and regional governments consult on and introduce ways of working that support women, including measures that enable those with caring responsibilities to play a full part.
- ▶ Introduce and enforce standards of behaviour for elected members to ensure that women are treated with respect.
- ▶ Ensure that statistical offices gather reliable gender-disaggregated statistics on IDPs, ethnic and religious minorities and citizens living abroad.
- ▶ Ensure that central election commissions make available reliable gender-disaggregated statistics on candidates to legislative, regional and local elections as well as on those who are elected.
- ▶ Support networks of women elected officials and capacity-building initiatives particularly aimed at women.
- ▶ Ensure that national and local government as well as public administrations gather reliable gender-disaggregated data on women holding elected office.
- ▶ Develop awareness-raising campaigns for elected officials on gender issues and the importance of female political representation.

Beyond the frame

Mila Tshaieva (Kiev) uses photography to understand the driving forces behind the construction of societies, from the point of view of a curious researcher. This series, entitled “Beyond the frame” and reproduced here, reflects the daily reality of active women in Eastern Partnership countries, their dreams and the challenges they face. The women portrayed are role models for others. They are living proof that opposing domestic violence and early marriage, and fighting for better living standards in their municipalities – in their capacity as mayor or as a local councillor – is worth the effort. This work was commissioned by the GIZ Local Governance Programme South Caucasus and exhibited during the presentation of this publication, Women’s political representation in the Eastern Partnership Countries, in December 2016 in Kiev.





Nune Avagyan,
Member of Gomk Municipal Council, Armenia.

“Women are able to take care of small things that may seem to be of little importance.

But small things represent the larger whole.”



Tamar Dalaqishvili,
Member of Tetrtskaro Municipal Council, Georgia



Shalala Cafarova,
Z. Tagiyev Municipality Council Member



Tamar Dalaqishvili,
Tetrtskaro Municipality Council Member

“There are always things to discuss with the people in the village. Since I took part in the DAYAQ mentoring programme, I am able to bring many new ideas to the exchange.”



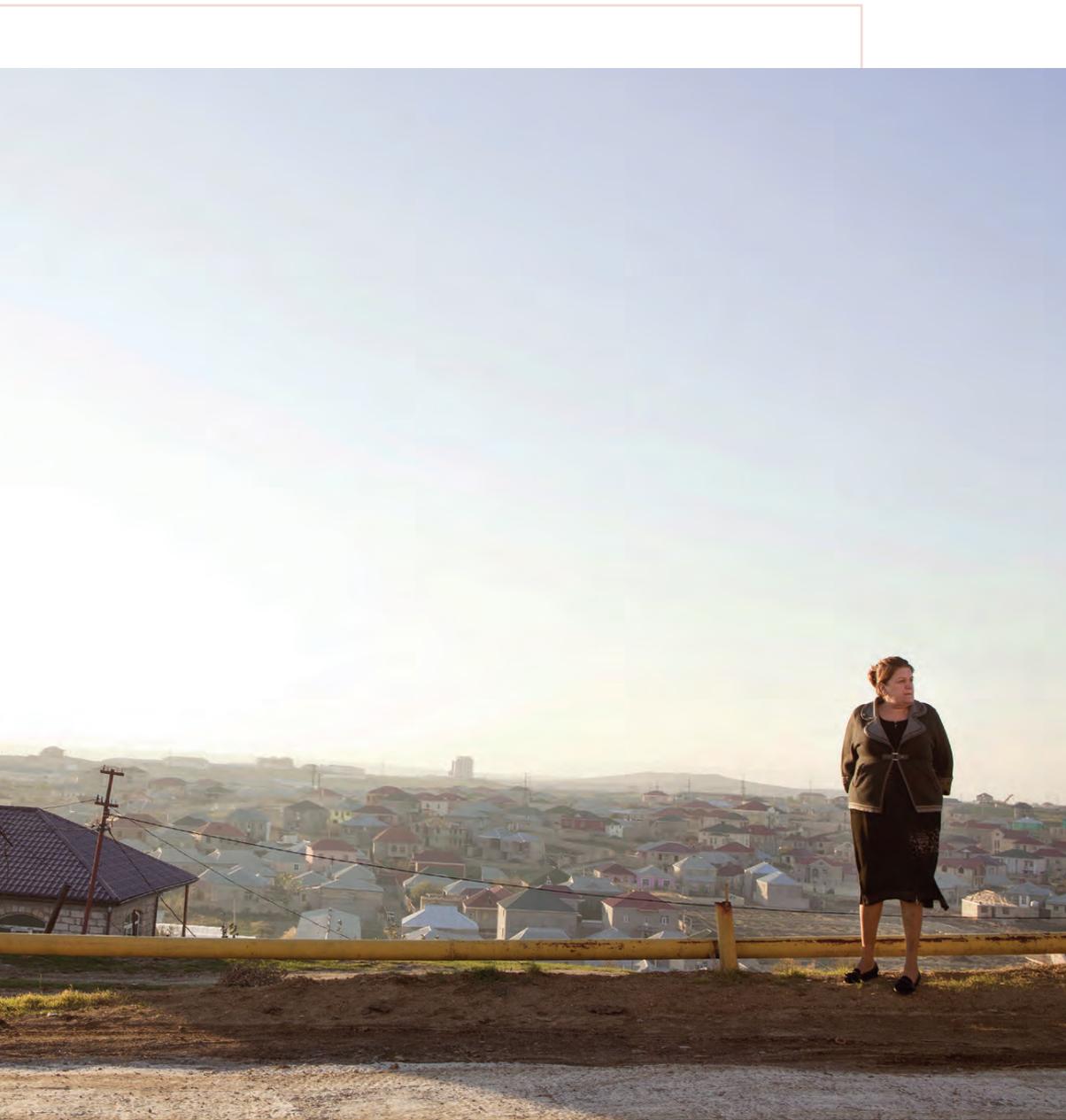
Malahat Mammadova,
Community Leader in Korgöz, Azerbaijan



Lyudmila Khalilova,
Member of Garachukhur Municipal Council,
Chair of the NGO "Women for Municipal Development"
and DAYAQ Network Co-ordinator, Azerbaijan

“My grandmother always told me: ‘There are four corners in the room and you should never know where the door is. If you are being treated badly in one corner – just go to another.’ I decided to set different rules for my life and now I try to help women in my municipality to find a door.”





Malahat Aliyeva,
Member of Masazir Municipal Council, Azerbaijan



Eva Lomtadze,
Head of the Council Committee,
Lagodekhi Municipality

“I know the law and applying my knowledge helps me resolve many of our shared problems. I’m proud that I was able to have houses built for 150 families in our region. At first this seemed impossible, but I turned it into reality.”



Nune Avagyan,
Member of Gomk Municipal Council, Armenia

“When I was elected to the municipality for the first time, I had my difficulties working in a team dominated by men. But after a while I proved that no one can keep me from doing my job.”



Natela Gogoladze,
Member of Borjomi Municipal Council, Georgia



Malahat Mammadova,
Korgoz Community Leader



Lyudmila Khalilova, Member of Garachukhur Municipal
Council, Chair of the NGO "Women for Municipal Development"
and DAYAQ Network Co-ordinator, Azerbaijan

Appendix 1

Questionnaire on the contextual narrative overview per EaP country

Respondent details	
Completed by	Ms <input type="checkbox"/> Mr <input type="checkbox"/>
First name	
Family name	
Country	

I. INTRODUCTION

Description of the study with the work carried out (narrative): Maximum 300 words

Outputs/results/findings produced and difficulties encountered, such as data not available, etc. (narrative): Maximum 300 words

Outputs:

Results:

Findings produced:

Difficulties encountered:

Methodology followed (narrative): Maximum 300 words

Number of meetings _____

Persons, function, name of institutions:

Main sources used:

Other (please specify):

II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Economic background (data):

GDP per capita _____ / source:

Poverty rate: women _____; men _____ / source:

Income: women _____; men _____ / source:

Income share: women _____; men _____ / source:

Earnings: women _____; men _____ / source:

Employment rate by gender: women _____; men _____ / source:

Social background (data):

Proportion of university graduates: women _____; men _____ / source:

Proportion of women in higher/central administration:
women _____; men _____ / source:

IDPs: women _____; men _____ / source:

Minorities: women _____; men _____ / source:

Households without basic services: _____ / source:

Children per household: _____ / source:

Cases of violence against women – please specify: _____

_____/source:

Political background (including information about war/conflicts, political stability/instability, situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, participation of ethnic minorities/age as voters, independent women's movements/NGOs, attitudes to quota system). Maximum 400 words

III. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK REGULATING EQUAL PARTICIPATION AND HISTORY OF ITS ADOPTION (CONSTITUTION, SPECIFIC LAWS ON GENDER EQUALITY, POLITICAL PARTY'S LAW, REGULATIONS)

Question	Yes/No	If yes – legal provision, title of law	Date of adoption
Does the legal framework guarantee equal rights for women?			
Does it contain specific rights for women to run for and hold public office?			
Are there any provisions in the legal framework which disadvantage women?			

IV. LEGISLATIVE POWER

About electoral systems⁶⁵

	Date of last elections	___/___/___
1.	<p>Specify the electoral system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plurality majority system: simple majority or first past the post • Plurality majority system: absolute majority (two-round system) • Proportional representation system <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open lists • Closed lists • Other, please specify _____ • Semi-proportional representation system <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open lists • Closed lists • Other, please specify _____ 	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Open <input type="checkbox"/> Closed <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Open <input type="checkbox"/> Closed <input type="checkbox"/> Other

65. • **Plurality majority system: simple majority or first past the post:** This system occurs when a candidate who wins the largest number of votes is elected. This means that even if a candidate only obtains a fairly low level of the overall vote she/he is elected as long as she/he receives the largest number of votes. Example: United Kingdom.

• **Plurality majority system: absolute majority (two-round system):** To be elected in the first round a candidate needs to win the absolute majority of the votes. If no candidate receives an absolute majority in the first round, then a second round of voting is conducted between the highest-polling candidates from the first round and the candidate who wins the simple majority of the votes is elected. Example: France.

• **Proportional representation system:** Under a typical proportional system a party/list shall receive the number of representative offices proportional to the number of votes cast. The seats allocated to a party/list correspond to the proportion of votes gained by it. This system can operate with open or closed lists (open: voters can specify their favoured candidate(s) within a given party/list; closed: voters can only vote for a party/list without influencing which candidates are elected). Example: Sweden.

• **Semi-proportional representation system:** This system attempts to combine the positive attributes of both majoritarian and proportional electoral systems. A proportion of the parliament is elected by plurality majority system while the remainder is elected by proportional representation system. This system can operate with open or closed lists (open: voters can specify their favoured candidate(s) within a given party/list; closed: voters can only vote for a party/list without influencing which candidates are elected). Example: Germany.

1.1.	If open list, has this led to more or fewer women candidates?	More <input type="checkbox"/> Please explain	Fewer <input type="checkbox"/> Please explain
1.2.	Does the law require that women are in winnable places on a list of candidates? (top 10 places)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
1.3.	What is the size (number of voters) of mandate?		
1.4.	Candidacy requirements – nomination signatures/financial deposits	1. 2. 3. 4. Please add as appropriate	
1.5.	How are vacancies filled?	Please explain	
2.	Do the results show if the electoral system is benefiting or disadvantaging women?	Please explain	
3.	Does the law allow for any affirmative actions to increase the number of women who are elected?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
3.1.	What are they?	Please list	
3.2.	How successful have they been in increasing the number of women candidates and women elected?	Please explain	
3.3.	Quota rules	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
3.4.	Financial incentives	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
3.5.	Existing sanctions (if yes, please list)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

3.6.	Application of sanctions	Please explain	
3.7.	How are lists which do not comply with the quota treated by election officials?	Please. explain	
4.	Profile of women elected in last election		
4.1.	Total number of seats _____	Total % _____	
4.2.	Total number of elected men/women _____/_____ • Party: men/women _____/_____ • Independent candidate: men/women _____/_____	Total % _____ • Party _____ • Independent candidate _____	
4.3.	Seniority in politics (if information exists) Source:		
4.4.	Declared income (if information exists) Source:		
4.5.	Age (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
4.6.	Minority groups (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
4.7.	Education (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
4.8.	Profession (if information exists)	Women _____	Men _____
5.	Profile of women candidates		
5.1.	Total number of candidates _____	Total % _____	
5.2.	Total number of candidates: men/women _____/_____ • Party: men/women _____/_____ • Independent candidate: men/women _____/_____	Total % _____ • Party _____ • Independent candidate _____	
5.3.	Seniority in politics (if information exists) Source:		

5.4.	Age (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
5.5.	Minority groups (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
5.6.	Education (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
5.7.	Profession (if information exists)	Women _____	Men _____
6.	Women holding office • Head of committees according to BEIS (infrastructure, culture, social and economic) • Chair • Deputy chair	• Women _____ • Woman <input type="checkbox"/> • Women _____	• Men _____ • Men _____
7.	Are there any legislative and/or administrative measures to ensure that timetables and working methods facilitate women's participation?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Please specify	
7.1.	Are there any barriers that hinder women's participation?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Please specify	

V. POLITICAL PARTIES

1.	Number/types of main political parties/ groups (majority/opposition) that took part in the last legislative elections	
2.	Number/types of main political parties/ groups (majority/opposition) that took part in the last local elections	
Internal party organisation (maximum of 5 political parties with representation in legislative body)		
3.	Is the party leader or deputy leader a woman?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Please specify
4.	What is the percentage of women on the highest executive body of the party?	
5.	Do the party rules or constitution make any specification about women on the highest executive body? (e.g. reserved seats)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If yes, please specify
6.	Does the party have any sub-organisations or groups for women?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If yes, please specify
7.	If there are sub-organisations for women do they have any specific rights? • to send delegates to party conference • reserved seats on the highest executive body • any other please specify	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
8.	Do the party rules or constitution make any specifications in respect of the representation of women in the process of selecting candidates for the national legislature? (e.g. requiring a minimum number of women among the overall candidates, or spaces reserved for women at the top of the candidate list)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If yes, please specify
9.	What percentage of the party's total candidates for the most recent national elections for the national legislature were women?	

10.	What percentage of women were list candidates? (For countries with exclusively PR list elections the percentage will be the same as above)	
11.	Do political parties run candidates at all levels?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If yes, please specify
12.	Do the party rules or constitution make any specifications in respect of the representation of women in the process of selecting candidates for local elections?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If yes, please specify
13.	What percentage of the party's seats in the national legislature were held by women after the last election?	
14.	What percentage of the party's seats in local councils were held by women after the last local elections?	
15.	Does the party take any specific actions to encourage women to stand for election? (e.g. training or other support)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If yes, please specify
16.	Did the party have policies in the last electoral manifesto on: • violence against women and girls • women's representation • anti-discrimination • sexual and reproductive rights • work-life balance • women's participation in labour market • women's health • access to education	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
17.	Were there any women speaking on behalf of the party in the media during the last national election?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Please specify

VI. REGIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTED AUTHORITIES

About electoral systems ⁶⁶

	Date of last elections	__/__/__	
1.	Specify the electoral system <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plurality majority system: simple majority or first past the post • Plurality majority system: absolute majority (two-round system) • Proportional representation system • Open lists • Closed lists • Other, please specify _____ _____ • Semi-proportional representation system • Open lists • Closed lists • Other, please specify _____ _____ 	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Open <input type="checkbox"/> Closed <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Open <input type="checkbox"/> Closed <input type="checkbox"/> Other	
1.1.	If open list, has this led to more or fewer women candidates?	More <input type="checkbox"/> Please explain	Fewer <input type="checkbox"/> Please explain

66. Plurality majority system: simple majority or first past the post: This system occurs when a candidate who wins the largest number of votes is elected. This means that even if a candidate only obtains a fairly low level of the overall vote she/he is elected as long as she/he receives the largest number of votes. Example: United Kingdom.

Plurality majority system: absolute majority (two-round system): To be elected in the first round a candidate needs to win the absolute majority of the votes. If no candidate receives an absolute majority in the first round, then a second round of voting is conducted between the highest-polling candidates from the first round and the candidate who wins the simple majority of the votes is elected. Example: France.

Proportional representation system: Under a typical proportional system a party/list shall receive the number of representative offices proportional to the number of votes cast. The seats allocated to a party/list correspond to the proportion of votes gained by it. This system can operate with open or closed lists (open: voters can specify their favoured candidate(s) within a given party/list; closed: voters can only vote for a party/list without influencing which candidates are elected). Example: Sweden.

Semi-proportional representation system: This system attempts to combine the positive attributes of both majoritarian and proportional electoral systems: a proportion of the parliament is elected by plurality majority system while the remainder is elected by proportional representation system. This system can operate with open or closed lists (open: voters can specify their favoured candidate(s) within a given party/list; closed: voters can only vote for a party/list without influencing which candidates are elected). Example: Germany.

1.2.	Does the law require that women are in winnable places on a list of candidates? (top 10 places)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
1.3.	What is the size (number of voters) of mandate?		
1.4.	Candidacy requirements – nomination signatures/financial deposits	1. 2. 3. 4. Please add as appropriate	
1.5.	How are vacancies filled?	Please explain	
1.6.	Are mayors directly elected?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
2.	Do the results show if the electoral system is benefiting or disadvantaging women?	Please explain	
3.	Does the law allow for any affirmative actions to increase the number of women who are elected?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
3.1.	What are they?	Please list	
3.2.	How successful have they been in increasing the number of women candidates and women elected?	Please explain	
3.3.	Quota rules	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
3.4.	Financial incentives	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
3.5.	Existing sanctions (if yes, please list)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
3.6.	Application of sanctions	Please explain	

3.7.	How are lists which do not comply with the quota treated by election officials?	Please explain	
4.	Profile of women elected in last election		
4.1.	Total number/ of which men/women mayors _____/_____/_____ Total number of which men/ women members of local councils _____/_____/_____	Total % _____ Total % _____	
4.2.	Total number of elected men/women mayors _____/_____ • Party _____ • Independent candidate _____ Total number of elected men/women members of local councils _____/_____ • Party _____/_____ • Independent candidate _____/_____	Total % _____ • Party _____ • Independent candidate _____ • Party _____ • Independent candidate _____	
4.3.	Seniority in politics (if information exists) Source:		
4.4.	Declared income (if information exists) Source:		
4.5.	Age (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
4.6.	Minority groups (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
4.7.	Education (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
4.8.	Profession (if information exists)	Women _____	Men _____
5.	Profile of women candidates		

5.1.	<p>Total number of candidates to mayor's office of which men/women _____/_____/_____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party: men/women _____/_____ • Independent candidate: men/women _____/_____ <p>Total number of candidates to local councils of which men/women _____/_____/_____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party: men/women _____/_____ • Independent candidate: men/women _____/_____ 	<p>Total % of women _____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party _____ • Independent candidate _____ <p>Total % of women _____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party _____ • Independent candidate _____ 	
5.2.	Seniority in politics (if information exists) Source:		
5.3.	Age (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
5.4.	Minority groups (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
5.5.	Education (if information exists) Source:	Women _____	Men _____
5.6.	Profession (if information exists)	Women _____	Men _____
6.	<p>Women holding office</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heads of regional government 	Women _____	Men _____
7.	Are there any legislative and/or administrative measures to ensure that timetables and working methods facilitate women's participation?	<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Please specify</p>	
7.1.	Are there any barriers that hinder women's participation?	<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Please specify</p>	

VII. SELF-NOMINATED AND/OR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

1.	Right to stand	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Conditions Reference to the legal framework:	Please list and add as appropriate 1. 2. 3. 4.

VIII. EXAMPLES

1.	Attitudes Source:	Please list
2.	Trends Source:	Please list
3.	Tendencies Source:	Please list

Appendix 2

Template for interviews

1. ELECTED MAYOR: SMALL CITY/VILLAGE		
First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation		
Date of the election ___/___/___		
Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
What were the main topics that you campaigned on?		

Other questions	What has been your experience of parliament/ national assembly/ regional/local government?	
	Have you met any barriers as a woman elected representative?	Please list and add numbers as appropriate: 1. 2. 3.
	Is there anything (anyone) that supports you as a woman elected representative?	Please specify:
	What has been the attitude of: (1) Elected members from your own party?	(1)
	(2) Elected members from opposition parties?	(2)
	(3) Your electors?	(3)
	(4) The media?	(4)
	(5) Staff working in the institution?	(5)
How do you see your role in supporting/ encouraging women to stand?		
What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?		
Would you stand again? Why/why not?		
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

2. ELECTED MAYOR: BIG CITY

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	
Other questions	What has been your experience of parliament/ national assembly/ regional/local government?	

	Have you met any barriers as a woman elected representative?	Please list and add numbers as appropriate: 1. 2. 3.
	Is there anything (anyone) that supports you as a woman elected representative?	Please specify:
	What has been the attitude of: (1) Elected members from your own party? (2) Elected members from opposition parties? (3) Your electors? (4) The media? (5) Staff working in the institution?	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
	How do you see your role in supporting/encouraging women to stand?	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	
	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

3. ELECTED MEMBER CITY COUNCIL SMALL CITY/VILLAGE

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	

Other questions	What has been your experience of parliament/ national assembly/ regional/local government?	
	Have you met any barriers as a woman elected representative?	Please list and add numbers as appropriate: 1. 2. 3.
	Is there anything (anyone) that supports you as a woman elected representative?	Please specify:
	What has been the attitude of: (1) Elected members from your own party?	(1)
	(2) Elected members from opposition parties?	(2)
	(3) Your electors?	(3)
(4) The media?	(4)	
(5) Staff working in the institution?	(5)	
How do you see your role in supporting/encouraging women to stand?		

	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	
	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

4. ELECTED MEMBER: CITY COUNCIL/BIG CITY
 First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation
 Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	

Other questions	What has been your experience of parliament/ national assembly/ regional/local government?	
	Have you met any barriers as a woman elected representative?	Please list and add numbers as appropriate: 1. 2. 3.
	Is there anything (anyone) that supports you as a woman elected representative?	Please specify:
	What has been the attitude of: (1) Elected members from your own party?	(1)
	(2) Elected members from opposition parties?	(2)
	(3) Your electors?	(3)
	(4) The media?	(4)
	(5) Staff working in the institution?	(5)
	How do you see your role in supporting/encouraging women to stand?	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	
Would you stand again? Why/why not?		
From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign		
What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?		

5. ELECTED MP: MAJORITY		
First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation		
Date of the election ___/___/___		
Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	
Other questions	What has been your experience of parliament/ national assembly/ regional/local government?	

	<p>Have you met any barriers as a woman elected representative?</p>	<p>Please list and add numbers as appropriate:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
	<p>Is there anything (anyone) that supports you as a woman elected representative?</p>	<p>Please specify:</p>
	<p>What has been the attitude of:</p> <p>(1) Elected members from your own party?</p> <p>(2) Elected members from opposition parties?</p> <p>(3) Your electors?</p> <p>(4) The media?</p> <p>(5) Staff working in the institution?</p>	<p>(1)</p> <p>(2)</p> <p>(3)</p> <p>(4)</p> <p>(5)</p>
	<p>How do you see your role in supporting/encouraging women to stand?</p>	
	<p>What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?</p>	
	<p>Would you stand again? Why/why not?</p>	
	<p>From your experience what would make a difference for women:</p> <p>(1) To come forward as candidates</p> <p>(2) During the election campaign</p>	
	<p>What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?</p>	

6. ELECTED MP: OPPOSITION

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	
Other questions	What has been your experience of parliament/ national assembly/ regional/local government?	
	Have you met any barriers as a woman elected representative?	Please list and add numbers as appropriate: 1. 2. 3.

	Is there anything (anyone) that supports you as a woman elected representative?	Please specify:
	<p>What has been the attitude of:</p> <p>(1) Elected members from your own party?</p> <p>(2) Elected members from opposition parties?</p> <p>(3) Your electors?</p> <p>(4) The media?</p> <p>(5) Staff working in the institution?</p>	<p>(1)</p> <p>(2)</p> <p>(3)</p> <p>(4)</p> <p>(5)</p>
	How do you see your role in supporting/encouraging women to stand?	
	What would do you differently if you had to run for elections again?	
	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	<p>From your experience what would make a difference for women:</p> <p>(1) To come forward as candidates</p> <p>(2) During the election campaign</p>	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

7. FORMER MP

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	
Other questions	What has been your experience of parliament/ national assembly/ regional/local government?	

	Have you met any barriers as a woman elected representative?	Please list and add numbers as appropriate: 1. 2. 3.
	Is there anything (anyone) that supports you as a woman elected representative?	Please specify:
	What has been the attitude of: (1) Elected members from your own party? (2) Elected members from opposition parties? (3) Your electors? (4) The media? (5) Staff working in the institution?	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
	How do you see your role in supporting/encouraging women to stand?	
	What would do you differently if you had to run for elections again?	
	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

8. NOT ELECTED MAYOR: SMALL CITY/VILLAGE

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	

Other questions	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

9. NOT ELECTED MAYOR: BIG CITY

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	

Other questions	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

10. NOT ELECTED MEMBER CITY COUNCIL: BIG CITY

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	

Other questions	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

11. NOT ELECTED MEMBER CITY COUNCIL: SMALL CITY/VILLAGE

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	

Other questions	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

12. NOT ELECTED MP

First name / Family name / Country / Affiliation

Date of the election ___/___/___

Area covered	Questions	Answers
Campaign	Educational background	
	Profession	
	Family context	
	Why did you stand?	
	How do you see your role?	
	Did anything support you as a woman? (party structures, training, mentoring, support from other people, etc.)	
	What was your experience of the campaign? (media coverage, attitude of electors, attitude of party members, other candidates)	
	Were there any particular barriers for you as a woman as a candidate? (financial, getting nominated/selected, etc.)	
	What were the main topics that you campaigned on?	

Other questions	Would you stand again? Why/why not?	
	From your experience what would make a difference for women: (1) To come forward as candidates (2) During the election campaign	
	What would you do differently if you had to run for elections again?	

13. Senior leadership female member of a party (majority or opposition)
(please explain your choice)

First name / Family name / Country / Party name

Area covered	Questions	Answers
	<p>Did political parties have policies in the last electoral manifesto on (Yes – No):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• violence against women and girls• women’s representation• anti-discrimination• sexual and reproductive rights• work–life balance• women’s participation in labour market• women’s health• access to education	
	<p>Are there any special arrangements encouraging women’s participation?</p>	

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Researchers based in each of the countries have contributed qualitative information on both the situation of women and on the experiences of women who have stood for elected office.

While the legal basis for equality of women and men exists in all the countries in question, the reality is quite different. Stereotypical views and assumptions about the roles of women in society affect how women step forward as candidates, and whether they are selected and elected.

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