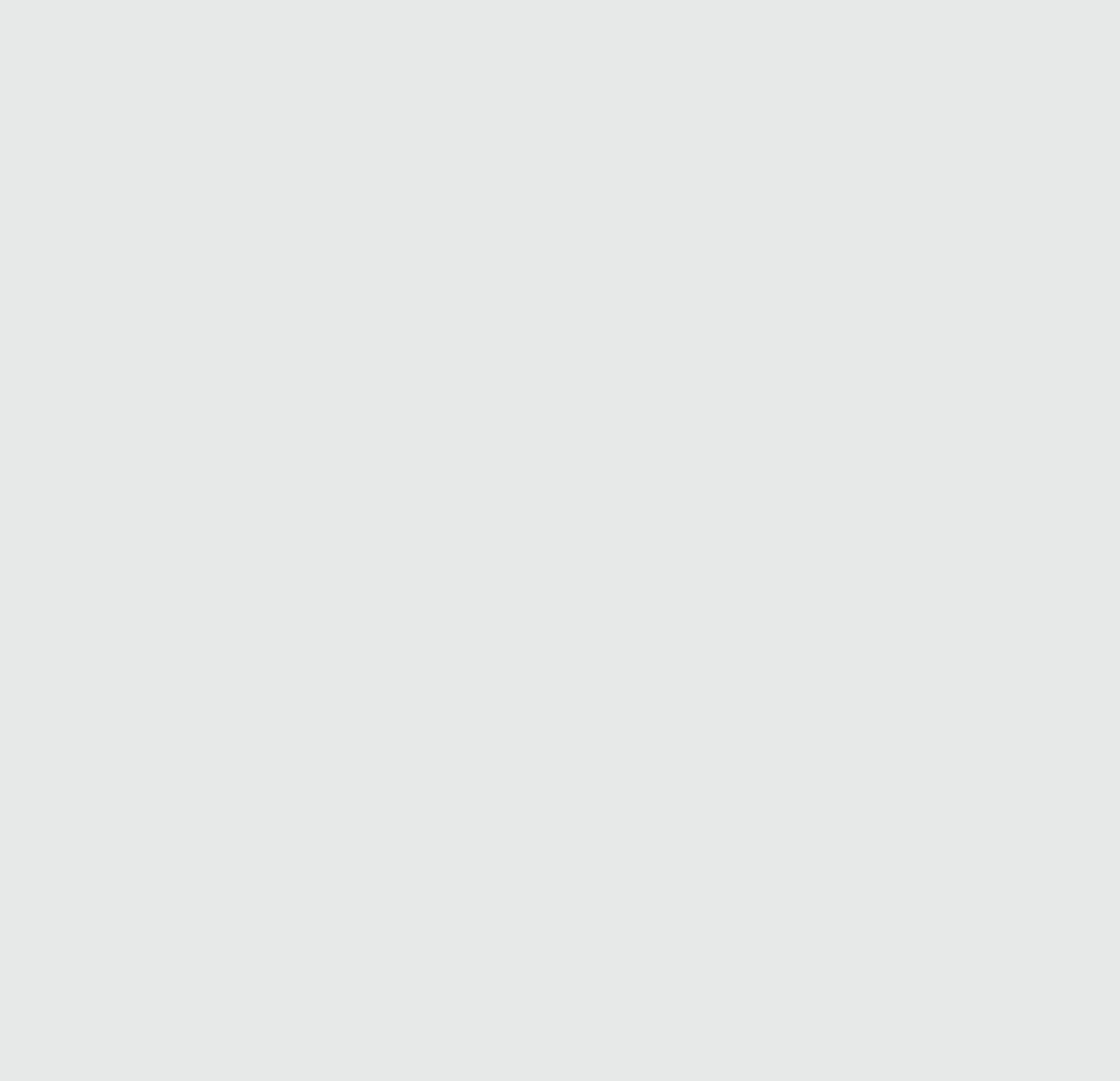




EMPOWERING WOMEN FOR STRONGER POLITICAL PARTIES

A GOOD PRACTICES GUIDE
TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION





United Nations Development Programme
National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs

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FOREWORD

UNDP

Gender equality and women's empowerment are not only human rights; they are also imperative for achieving inclusive, equitable and sustainable development. Women's political participation is central to these goals, and political parties are among the most important institutions for promoting and nurturing such participation. With less than twenty per cent of the world's parliamentary seats occupied by women, it is clear that political parties need to do more—and should be assisted in those efforts—to support women's political empowerment.

Globally, although forty to fifty per cent of party members are women, women hold only about ten per cent of the leadership positions within those parties. Ensuring women's equal participation in the decision-making structures of parties is essential for promoting gender equality within them – and, ultimately, within society as a whole.

Over a period of eighteen months, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) compiled twenty case studies of party activities to promote women's political empowerment. Drawing on those and other examples, UNDP and the NDI identified concrete steps which can be taken by political parties to promote women in political life. This publication, *Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties: A Good Practices Guide to Promote Women's Political Participation*, is the fruit of this research, and provides concise and targeted options for political party reform.

This Guide is the first of its kind to identify and categorise the range of actions which political parties can take to support women's participation during different phases of the electoral cycle, including during the pre- and post- election phases.

The Guide is targeted to members of political parties, particularly those in leadership roles, and to civil society organizations and gender equality activists. It is also intended to encourage global political party foundations and alliances to embrace gender equality as a norm in their constitutions and their work.

Finally, the Guide gives valuable guidance to those international organizations and development agencies which provide programming support to political parties in relation to women's political participation.

When women have a real voice in all governance institutions, from the political to those in the civil service, the private sector, and civil society, they will be able to participate equally with men in public dialogue, and influence the decisions which determine their own future and that of their families, communities, and nations.



Helen Clark
Administrator
United Nations Development Programme

FOREWORD

NDI

Political parties are the primary and most direct vehicle through which women can access elected office and political leadership, therefore, the structures, policies, practices and values of political parties have a profound impact on the level of women's participation in political life of their country.

Parties that take women's political participation seriously benefit from stronger electoral positions, access to new groups of voters, and stronger relationships with their constituents. Additionally, parties that can produce new faces and ideas maintain a vibrant and energized image in an age of declining voter turnout. Some results are dramatic, some are subtle and some are achieved progressively, but the overall outcome for political parties is a net gain in every case.

Political parties gain when women not only participate in the electoral and governing processes, but also influence them. Superficial efforts to increase the number of women involved in politics that offer no real qualitative influence or decision-making powers are unlikely to produce any new or immediate benefits. Typical examples of such efforts include women's wings without statutory authority or sway; the selection of so-called female place holders on candidate lists; the marginalization of female officials once they are elected; placing women in un-electable districts as candidates; or removing women from viable positions on candidate lists at the last minute.

The universal trend is towards democratic governance based on parity and equality among sexes. Outreach to traditionally under-represented groups, such as women, is now considered a minimum standard for the democratic functioning of political parties and for the legislative bodies within which they operate.

This publication, *Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties: A Good Practices Guide to Promote Women's Political Participation*, is organized in such a way that political parties and those working with parties to increase women's political involvement can find strategies to use throughout the electoral cycle and across roles in political parties. Women's participation may be promoted not only as candidates, but also as party members, leaders, and office holders.

For more than 25 years, the National Democratic Institute has worked with more than 720 political parties and organizations in more than 80 countries to create more open political environments in which men and women can actively participate in the democratic process. We hope this Guide will help contribute to this effort.



Ken Wollack
President
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

ACRONYMS

| | |
|-------|--|
| ANC | African National Congress, South Africa |
| BJP | Bhatariya Janata Party, India |
| BPfA | Beijing Platform for Action |
| CDP | Congress for Democracy Party, Burkina Faso |
| CDU | Christian Democratic Union, Germany |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| CSV | The Christian Social People's Party, Luxembourg |
| DAW | United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women |
| EMB | Electoral Management Body |
| EMILY | Early Money is Like Yeast |
| FMLN | Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation, El Salvador |
| IPU | Inter-Parliamentary Union |
| IDEA | International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance |
| IRI | International Republican Institute |
| NDI | National Democratic Institute for International Affairs |
| NDP | New Democratic Party, Canada |
| OAS | Organization of American States |
| ODIHR | OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights |
| OSCE | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe |
| PAC | Citizens' Action Party, Costa Rica |
| PAN | National Action Party, Mexico |
| PDIP | Democratic Party of Struggle, Indonesia |
| PPC | Christian People's Party, Peru |
| PPS | Party of Progress and Socialism, Morocco |
| PR | Party of the Republic, Brazil |
| PRD | Party of the Democratic Revolution, Mexico |
| PSOE | Socialist Workers' Party, Spain |
| PUSC | Christian-Social Unity Party, Costa Rica |
| SIW | Socialist International Women |
| SRP | Sam Rainsy Party, Cambodia |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| USFP | Socialist Union of Popular Forces, Morocco |
| MP | Member of Parliament |

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



UNDP PAKISTAN

The right of women to participate in political life is guaranteed by several international conventions. But transforming an abstract right into a reality requires hard work on the ground. Political parties are key to women's participation in politics, as it is political parties that recruit and select candidates for elections and that determine a country's policy agenda. However, within political parties women tend to be overrepresented at the grassroots level or in supporting roles and underrepresented in positions of power. Without access to established networks of influence, and with very limited resources, few role models and mentors, and sometimes even limited family and community support, it is understandable that women's participation in political parties has remained well below that of men.

How women participate in political parties – and how those parties encourage and nurture women’s involvement and incorporate gender-equality issues – are key determinants of women’s political empowerment. They are also key to ensuring gender-equality issues are addressed in the wider society. If strategies to promote women’s involvement in the political process are to be effective, they should be linked to steps parties can take across the specific phases of the electoral cycle – the pre-electoral, electoral and post-electoral phases – and to the organization and financing of the parties themselves.

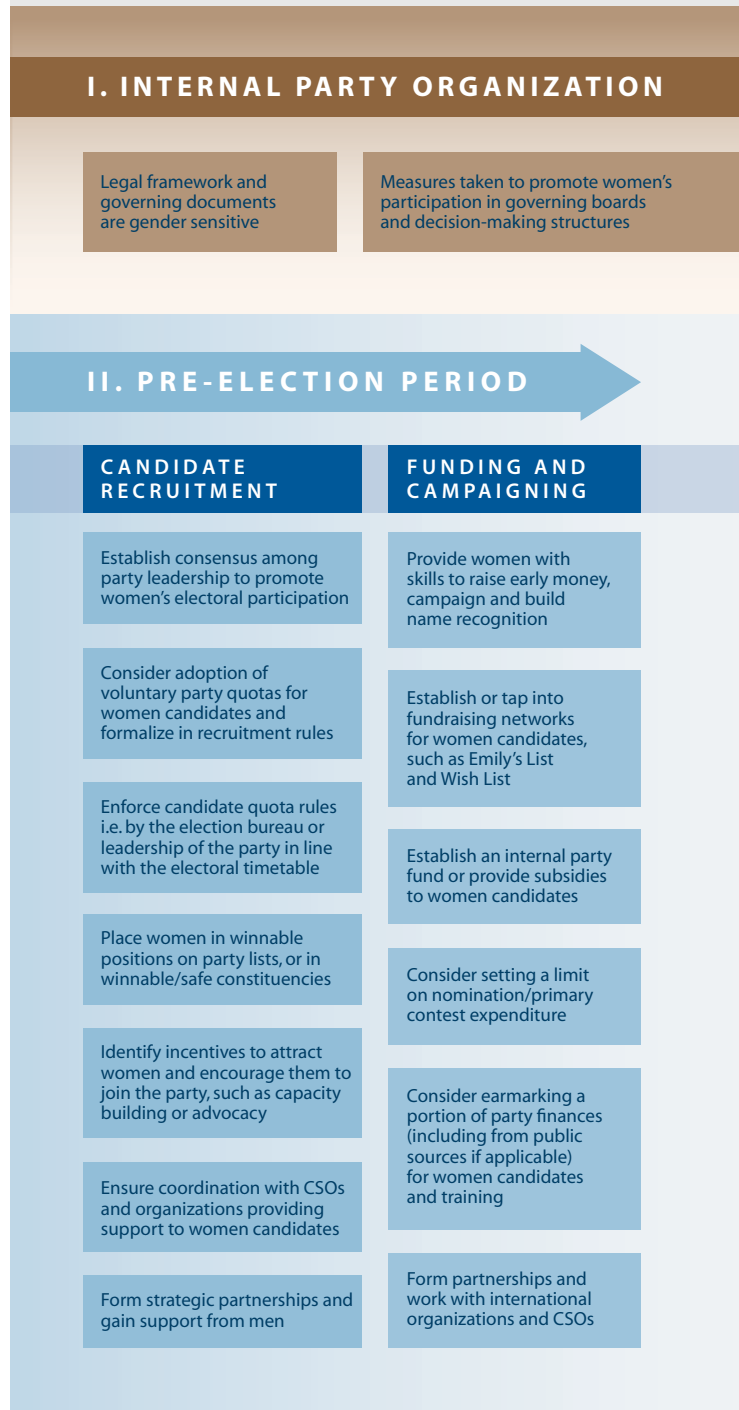
The most effective strategies to increase women’s participation in political parties combine reforms to political institutions with targeted support to women party activists within and outside party structures, women candidates and elected officials. These strategies require the cooperation of a variety of actors and political parties from across the political spectrum.

The Guide identifies targeted interventions that political parties can take to empower women. It is structured according to four phases, following an electoral cycle approach (outlined in Figure 1):



Specific actions that political parties can take within each of these phases are summarized.

FIGURE 1: SUMMARY OF ENTRY POINTS FOR PROMOTING WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES



Women's wing or section established are strategically positioned within the party

Targets set for women's participation in party conventions

Gender equality perspective mainstreamed into policy development



UNDP KENYA

III. ELECTION PERIOD

CAMPAIGN PERIOD

Build women's capacities to campaign and consider twinning or mentoring of first time candidates

Ensure women's visibility in the electoral campaign and access to the media

Ensure the party manifesto articulates policy on gender equality and disseminate it to voters

Mobilize women to register and to vote; provide gender sensitive voter information to men and women

Ensure women candidates' safety during campaigning and keep party supporters in line where there is potential for violence

Ensure coordination among CSOs and organizations providing support to women candidates

ELECTION DAY

Ensure women are trained and included as party agents in polling stations

Ensure monitoring includes a gender perspective and ensures the safety of women

Women trained and included as election monitors



UNDP PAKISTAN

IV. POST-ELECTION PERIOD

WOMEN ELECTED

Undertake gender equality assessment; develop gender action plan within party

Provide capacity building and strengthen legislative skills of elected women

Promote gender sensitive political reforms to institutions, particularly in parliament

Promote the participation of women in policy making of the party; ensure gender mainstreaming in party policies

Encourage formation of cross-party caucus and support its functioning

Sensitize party members about gender equality and work with men

The **INTERNAL ORGANIZATION** of political parties affects how different needs, interests, and social demands get represented in society. The official documents and statements of a political party are important for providing a gender equality framework – they provide a vision of the party but also entrench the rules for achieving that vision. Internal Party Organization strategies include:

- Addressing gender equality in the party’s legal framework. This can include adopting a statement on gender equality in the party’s founding documents;
- Adopting measures, including internal quotas, that ensure women’s participation on governing boards;
- Setting targets for participation in party conventions. This can include holding separate forums for women delegates at the conventions;
- Establishing women’s wings and sections within parties, which should be formally integrated into the party structure, with defined roles and responsibilities and appropriate funding if needed;
- Ensuring that gender is mainstreamed into all of the party’s policies.

In the **PRE-ELECTORAL PHASE**, **recruiting and nominating candidates** is probably the most crucial process for ensuring that women participate in politics. The gender gap widens significantly as candidates for political office move from being eligible to becoming aspirants to finally being nominated by the party. It is important for parties to incorporate rules that guarantee women’s representation. When this commitment is unwritten and informal, it is much more difficult to devise strategies for women to break into the inner circle of power, and harder to hold the party accountable when the commitment is not realized. If a party’s internal organization is weak and the rules for recruitment are not clear, decisions tend to be made by a limited number of elites, usually men.

In recent years, **electoral quotas** have become a popular policy measure to bring more women into politics. Quotas are a way of guaranteeing that members of an electorate group, such as women, are included at a prescribed minimum level in representative institutions, whether as delegates, candidates or elected officials. Some 50 countries have adopted legislation on candidate quotas, which ensure that a certain proportion of candidates for political office are women. Hundreds of political parties in another 30 countries have voluntarily adopted their own quotas for women. But candidate quotas will only be successful if women are placed in winnable positions on a party list, and if the quotas include sanctions for non-compliance.

Actions that political parties can take to address gender inequality in the **candidate-recruitment process** include:

“WHEN TAKING ACTION TO ENCOURAGE WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND TO ADVANCE GENDER EQUITY MORE BROADLY, IT IS CRITICAL TO INVOLVE MEN.”

- Galvanizing party support for candidate quotas and incorporating these quotas into party statutes;
- Establishing guidelines for candidate recruitment in party-nomination committees;
- Ensuring implementation and placement of women candidates in winning seats;
- Working with civil society organizations to oversee the implementation of quotas;
- Cultivating strategic alliances with men, since men play a critical role in building internal party support for these kinds of policies;
- Expanding the pool of women candidates and training those candidates;
- Encouraging multilateral relations and sharing experiences across countries and regions.

Women in politics often cite lack of **finances** as one of the main deterrents to their entering politics. Not only do women struggle to raise the funds needed to run a campaign, but they often receive little or no financial assistance from their political parties. It is particularly difficult for women to raise “early money,” the financing required to launch a campaign for elected office. Actions that parties and civil society organizations can take to help women raise the funds necessary for a political campaign include: establishing

fundraising networks, which are particularly important where there is no public funding and candidates have to raise private funds to contest an election; creating funds within the party targeted to support women candidates; providing subsidies to women candidates; limiting nomination and campaign expenditures; providing public funding to political parties, particularly if it is regulated so as to encourage parties to address women’s political empowerment; allocating funds specifically for training women candidates; and examining how party funds are used to support women candidates and women’s issues.

During the **ELECTORAL PERIOD**, candidates need to be aware of effective techniques for **campaigning and communicating** with their constituencies. Political parties can help to educate voters about the rights of women to participate in politics and the importance for all of society in advancing gender equality. Actions that parties can take during this period include:

- Providing training to women candidates in such skills as fundraising, message development, media relations and communicating with voters;
- Training and promoting women in campaign leadership positions (e.g. in campaign management, get out the vote, voter contact, and communications);
- Ensuring women’s visibility in the campaign by providing additional media exposure;
- Identifying and disseminating party positions that are priorities for women, which could also attract more women’s votes for their party;



- Monitoring elections, including by recruiting women as party agents to be present at polling stations, particularly if those polling stations are allocated for women only;

- Providing information to voters that include specific messages highlighting the importance of women's votes and women's right to vote as equal members of society.

Even after the elections are over, political parties continue to play a central role in encouraging women's participation in politics. Actions that parties can take in the **POST-ELECTORAL PHASE** to promote gender equality and women's empowerment in **governance** include:

- Conducting an assessment of the level of gender equality within the party, with the aim of identifying, and ultimately eliminating, any practices or rules that may directly or indirectly undermine women;

- Promoting gender-sensitive reforms to political institutions, such as changing the sitting times of parliament and the parliamentary calendar to accommodate parliamentarians with families;

- Ensuring gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment in party policies, including by

- supporting gender-specific policy reform, such as combating gender-based violence or targeting parental leave or reproductive rights issues, and by promoting gender equality in areas like access to justice, health, nationality, labour, land rights, social security and inheritance;

- Supporting cross-party networks of women and women's parliamentary caucuses, as these can help channel women's interests and concerns and can help to mainstream gender in policy development and government oversight;

- Ensuring women elected to a political institution are provided with leadership roles within the parliamentary group (e.g. group chairperson) and parliamentary committees (e.g. chairperson or group focal point);

- Forming strategic partnerships with civil society organizations.

The actions suggested are not exhaustive; they are offered as guidance, based on best practices, not as prescription. When taking any action to encourage women's political participation and to advance gender equity more broadly, it is crucial to involve men. Men are essential partners for lasting change. The goal of more women in politics is not fewer men in politics, but a more equitable society for everyone.

“THE GOAL OF MORE WOMEN IN POLITICS IS NOT FEWER MEN IN POLITICS, BUT A MORE EQUITABLE SOCIETY FOR EVERYONE.”

INTRODUCTION

UNCDF/ADAM ROGERS

WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT: A DEMOCRATIC IMPERATIVE

Advancing democratic governance requires creating and sustaining an environment of inclusive and responsive political processes and promoting the empowerment of women. The inclusion of the perspectives of women and their participation in politics are prerequisites for democratic development and contribute to good governance.

Political parties are the most important institutions that affect the political participation of women. In most countries they are responsible for candidate recruitment and selection, and decide on which issues are placed on the policy agenda. How women participate in political parties – or how political parties encourage and nurture women's involvement – is a

key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment. Because of the influential nature of political parties on women's political empowerment, civil society organizations (CSOs), international organizations and development assistance providers have heightened their focus on the role of political parties.

Globally, women remain sidelined from the structures of governance that determine political and legislative priorities. In the world's parliaments, women hold 19 percent of the seats – up from 16 percent in 2005.¹ The proportion of women ministers is lower, averaging 16 percent.² The proportion of women heads of state and government is lower still and has declined in recent years, standing at less than 5 percent in 2011.³

The low numbers continue in the face of three decades of lobbying and efforts by the international community to eliminate discrimination and empower women. In 2000, the United Nations recognized the central role of women in development by including the empowerment of women as one of the Millennium Development Goals, yet no region in the world is on track to achieve the target of 30 percent women in decision-making positions. Although some notable exceptions and good practices in this area are discernable, several bottlenecks remain to women's full and equal participation as contestants.

Stereotyping gender roles and biases are prevalent, albeit to varying degrees, in all the countries of the world and are reflected in social, economic, and political

life. In many countries women continue to be discouraged from direct competition with men and from public exposure and interactions, and are instead assigned roles that steer them away from decision-making and towards support roles such as child and family care and housekeeping in the private sphere. While the formal support of political parties is by no means the only factor that affects women's political participation given these manifold and multilayered gender roles and biases, such support is required to overcome the barriers to women's participation in politics and in political party life.

Research shows that the number of women in parliament does matter; at the very least, the more women there are in parliament, the more likely the parliament is to address women's issues and to change the gender dynamics in the chamber.⁴ The proportion of women members of parliament has a great influence on the nature of the debate in politics. Given the low levels of women's presence in parliaments and other decision making bodies, parties need to be proactive in ensuring that gender equality is addressed in governance.

Parties are influential in determining which issues inform the political debate: they formulate policy, set governance priorities and are therefore strategically placed to address the concerns of women. In practice, political parties have mixed records in addressing gender issues in governance and electoral processes. The practices that do exist are not well codified and documented. This Guide aims to address this gap.

“THE PROPORTION OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT HAS
A GREAT INFLUENCE ON THE NATURE OF DEBATE IN POLITICS.”

PURPOSE

This Guide identifies entry points and specific actions that may be taken to promote the stronger presence and influence of women in political parties. The Guide provides some general principles and shares good practices for stakeholders to design and implement projects. It does not prescribe a particular formula, but rather provides options for reform derived from strategies that have been implemented by political parties around the world.

The entry points identified are primarily designed to provide guidance to political parties, and also aim to provide ideas for action and inform the programming direction of development assistance providers, party foundations, and CSOs in their work to support political parties. The Guide is intended as a resource to be used equally by all parties and all stakeholders in the electoral process, and specific mentions of individuals, parties, or organizations do not signify endorsement by the authors or by UNDP or NDI, and are rather meant to highlight examples of strategies that were brought to the attention of researchers.

This Guide elaborates *why* potential interventions are important, but it does not necessarily prescribe *how* such interventions should be implemented. Given the multiple audiences for this Guide, decisions around how the strategies could be put into action are best left to the respective stakeholders. The programming support provided by an international development assistance agency is quite different to actions that could be implemented by a party foundation, or by a political party directly.

METHODOLOGY

The strategies presented here are drawn from a series of 20 case studies that were commissioned by UNDP and conducted by NDI during 2009-2010. There are many



UNDP MALAYSIA

more examples that could be included. However, this Guide does not aim to exhaustively present them all. Rather, the Guide limits its scope by presenting the key practices gleaned from the case studies commissioned by NDI (for a list of case studies, see Annex 1). In a few instances, some examples outside the scope of that research are presented to illustrate a particular point.

The primary research conducted by NDI combined desk research and a total of 64 in-depth interviews with current and former political party leaders, women party members and members of civil society, over a period of 18 months during 2009 and 2010. They were drawn from all regions and featured political parties of different ideological leanings and from different contexts, including post-conflict, developing and developed country settings. There are also a few examples drawn from civil society initiatives targeting political party reform.

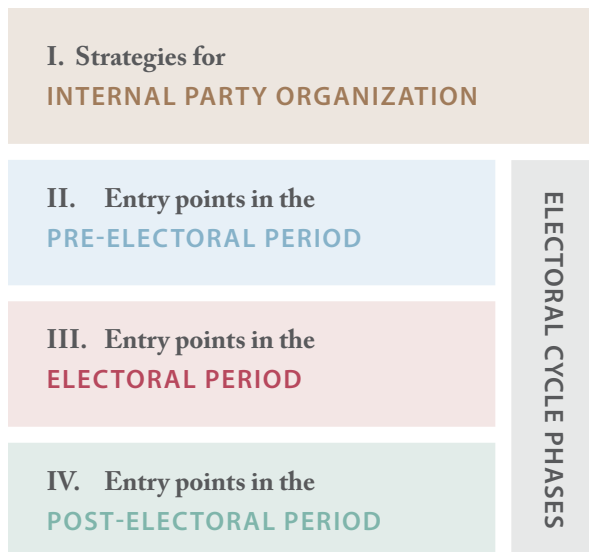
The intent of the case study research was not to examine initiatives undertaken by all the political parties in each country, but rather to review and offer a diversity of examples of actions as part of the larger picture of support for women's political participation. Every effort was made to include diverse examples in terms of geography, party ideology, type of political system and the strategies employed, however there were gaps

in documentation by some parties of their efforts to advance women's participation and gender equality. While center and center-left party examples outweigh center-right examples, there are also examples of proactive measures among right leaning parties, several of which are highlighted here.

The lessons learned and common strategies from the case studies have been synthesized and presented as major findings in this summary Guide. The full Guidebook, which includes all the country case studies, will be published as a separate volume.

STRUCTURE

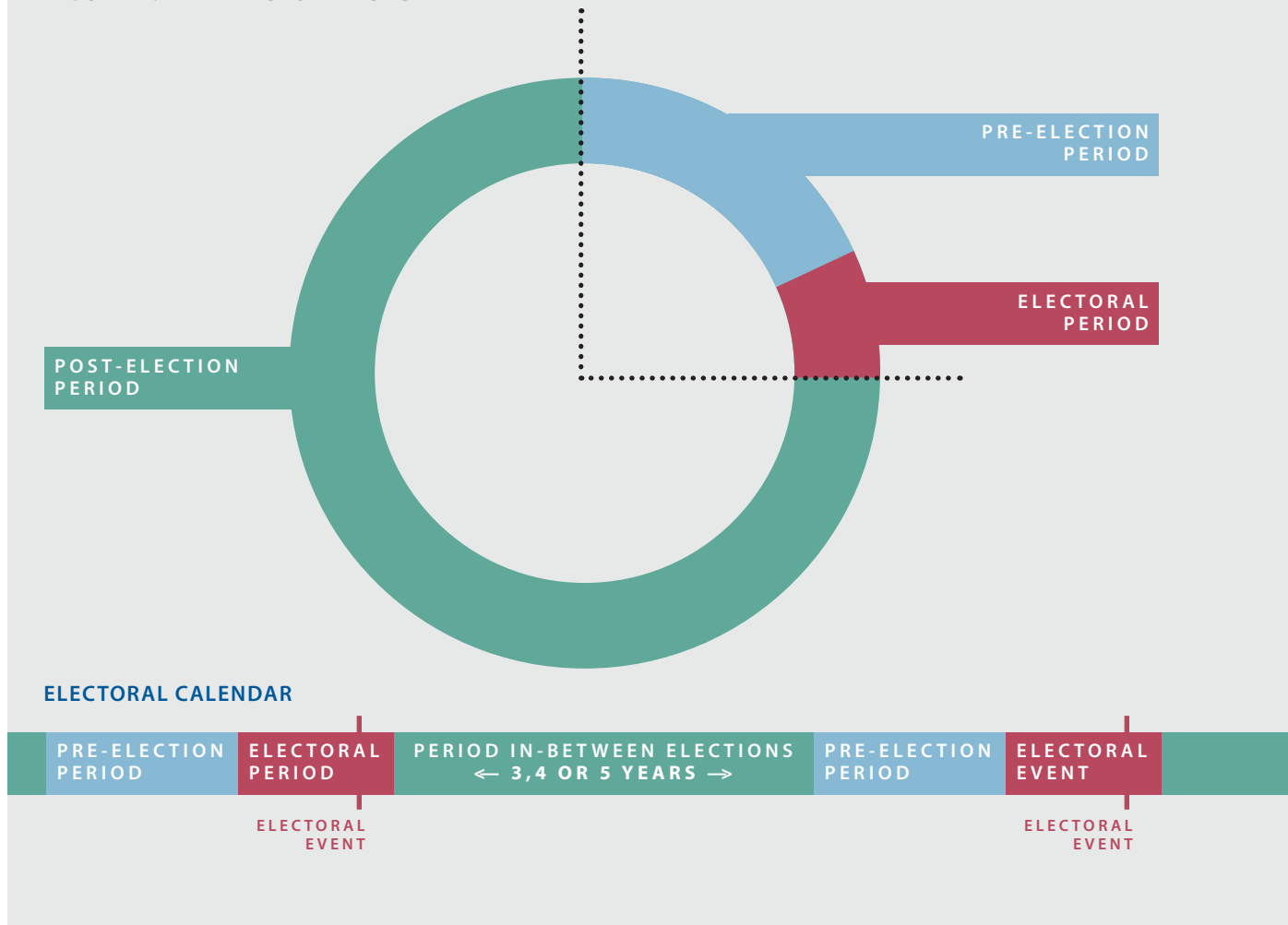
Uniquely, the findings are presented according to an electoral cycle framework; rather than providing a generic list of actions that can be taken by political parties, these findings are grouped together with specific actions using the phasing and timing of the electoral cycle. In each of these phases, a situational overview is provided and several strategic entry points that political parties can adopt to promote women's empowerment are presented. The four main components, based on the electoral cycle, are as follows:



The electoral cycle approach has two elements: timing and stakeholders. First, it encourages international assistance providers and national stakeholders to plan long-term and implement electoral programming within the democratic governance framework. Second, it addresses a number of stakeholders besides the electoral managers, to the extent possible and desirable. The approach is based on the idea that electoral support should be long-term and should seek to address issues such as capacity development and institutional and legal reform in a sustainable manner, with a view to decrease international assistance and increase national capacity and ownership over time. The phasing of the electoral cycle approach is important; by working within a broader democratic governance agenda, it allows for better identification of needs and advance planning, rather than concentrating efforts around the electoral event.⁵

This cycle approach is extremely useful when identifying strategies targeting political parties and women's empowerment. To date, much of the support in this area has been concentrated in the pre-electoral phase leading up to the electoral event, e.g. capacity building of women candidates, lobbying and advocacy around electoral quotas, campaign support and message development. These interventions are important and must continue, but the electoral cycle approach requires those short-term interventions be but one part of a broader approach to programming. It encourages more focus on the post-election period (the longest phase in the electoral cycle) and the possibilities of implementing reforms and developing capacity in between elections. Where a country is in the electoral cycle will also have an important influence on the types of interventions that are most timely and relevant at any given point.

Timing is a crucial consideration. For example, if the process of candidate selection for election passes without scrutiny, and few women are nominated as candidates, then numeric targets will not be met come the election. Political parties may also be unwilling to undertake reforms to candidate nomination procedures

FIGURE 2: THE ELECTORAL CYCLE⁶

during an election year, and pushing for such reforms may be met with more success if undertaken between elections. Strategies must benefit from more systematic approaches, coordination and phasing. The pre- and post- electoral periods are important for the implementation of reforms outside of mobilizing around an electoral event. Some interventions may also span different phases. Attracting potential women candidates and supporting capacity development should likely span all periods of the electoral cycle to be most successful.

BENEFITS TO PARTIES

Although the causality between the promotion of women's participation and a party's electoral success has not been well documented, findings from the case studies suggest that political parties have increased their support base and gained electorally after adopting reforms to promote women's empowerment.

There may be many positive spinoffs for political parties that implement reforms:

■ Public perceptions can be altered and interest renewed in political parties with waning levels of support.

■ Taking the lead on women's empowerment can generate new support bases and attract new members to the party.

■ Increasing the proportion of women candidates for elected positions can increase the flow of public funding to the party. If incentives in public finance laws tie funding allocations to parties to the proportion of women candidates nominated, political parties can benefit financially. These reforms could also attract the support of sister parties, party internationals and the international community to implement new initiatives, such as training and mentoring programmes.

■ Women candidates are more likely than men to come from civil society and, therefore, to have

stronger relationships with CSOs. These linkages may be beneficial for women candidates, but may also reflect positively on the party for which the woman is campaigning in terms of establishing relations with grassroots and constituencies.

■ Ultimately, putting in place strategies to promote women's empowerment can lead to more democratic and transparent political parties. Such strategies may also result in the inclusion of other marginalized and under-represented groups.

This Guide has sought to capture a broad and diverse range of strategies that are being implemented to support women's empowerment. It acknowledges, though, that there are many more innovative practices that are being tried and tested by reform minded political parties. It also acknowledges that what works for one political party may not work for another. National contexts must be considered when devising strategies, including the nature of the party system, the electoral system in use and other socio-cultural considerations.

**TAKING THE LEAD ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT CAN GENERATE NEW SUPPORT BASES
AND ATTRACT NEW MEMBERS TO THE POLITICAL PARTY.**

I INTERNAL PARTY ORGANIZATION



UNCDF/ADAM ROGERS

CREATING AN ORGANIZATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR GENDER EQUALITY

KEY ISSUES

How political parties operate and function is determined by external regulation and internal rules, processes and culture. External regulation includes the constitution and laws relating to the electoral system, party financing, and party organization. Internal processes depend on the party's ideological foundations, historical influences, levels of regulation and internal bureaucracy, level of patronage, degree of influence of party leaders, and level of decentralization. The degree of internal party democracy is determined through practices like internal information and consultation processes, internal (formal or informal) rules and structures for the organization and

“THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE WOMEN’S EMPOWERMENT OFTEN LEADS TO GREATER INTERNAL DEMOCRACY AND TRANSPARENCY IN POLITICAL PARTIES.”

decision-making within the party and transparency in the party’s functioning at all levels.⁷ In terms of party organization, an additional consideration is the extent to which the party is inclusive of different societal groups, particularly in terms of candidate recruitment, and how the party reaches out to and includes women in its internal organization.

Women hold only a limited number of leadership and decision-making positions in political parties, and instead tend to predominate in positions and activities supporting political parties at the grassroots level or supporting male party leadership. Positions of power in political parties can often be informal, centralized and supported by well-established relationships and networks of influence that are inaccessible to new arrivals, and particularly to women. Without access to the institutional knowledge and memory embedded in such networks, and with very limited resources, few role models and mentors, and sometimes even limited

family and community support, it is understandable that women’s participation in political parties has remained well below that of men.

The implementation of strategies to promote women’s empowerment in political parties can lead to greater internal democracy and transparency. By developing strategies for women’s inclusion, the participation of party members in decision-making may become more formalized, such as through elections for leadership positions or candidate recruitment for upcoming elections. Many parties also work actively to enhance the role of other marginalized and under-represented groups.⁸

Strategies for increasing women’s participation employed by parties can range from legal reforms, such as the adoption of legislated candidate quotas, to voluntary internal reforms, such as formalizing a women’s wing as part of the party structure or guaranteeing women’s presence in decision-making structures.



UNCDF/ADAM ROGERS

“POSITIONS OF POWER IN POLITICAL PARTIES CAN OFTEN BE INFORMAL, CENTRALIZED AND SUPPORTED BY WELL-ESTABLISHED RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS OF INFLUENCE THAT ARE INACCESSIBLE TO NEW ARRIVALS, AND PARTICULARLY TO WOMEN.”

The most meaningful strategies combine reforms to political institutions with the provision of targeted support to women party activists, candidates, and elected officials. In order to be effective, though, strategies require the cooperation of a variety of actors and political parties from across the political spectrum. This section addresses the strategies that political parties may implement to be inclusive of women and address gender equality concerns in internal operations.

STRATEGIES EMPLOYED

The following strategies – drawn from the lessons learned and good practice examples in the case studies and other research – are primarily designed to provide guidance to political parties on actions that can be taken to address gender equality in the internal organization of the party. These strategies also provide ideas for action and can inform the programming direction of development assistance providers, party foundations, and CSOs in their work to support political parties.

(a) Address gender equality in internal party regulations

The internal functioning and operations of political parties are informed by legal regulations, such as the constitution or a political party law, and, more commonly, by internal party regulations. The internal functioning of political parties has an impact on how different needs, interests, and social demands in the society get represented in parliament.⁹ Like constitutions and national legal frameworks, the official documents and statements of a political party are important for providing a gender equality framework – they provide a vision of the party and entrench the rules for achieving that vision.

The adoption of a statement on gender equality in the parties' founding documents is an important first step in providing the framework for moving toward more

RULE 6 OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS' CONSTITUTION (SOUTH AFRICA) STATES THAT:

With the aim of full representation of women in all decision-making structures, the party will implement a programme of affirmative action including quota of not less than 50 percent of women in all elected structures.

inclusive and responsive political parties. Several political parties include equality clauses in their vision statements and party bylaws. For example, in **EL SALVADOR**, the mission statement and ethics code of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN) include a clause on political equality for women. Alongside with addressing gender equality in its statutes and regulations, the Citizens' Action Party (PAC) in **COSTA RICA** also established a Prosecutor's Office on Gender Equality, which was mandated to monitor, report, and advise on how the regulations were being implemented.¹⁰

(b) Adopt measures for women's participation in decision-making structures

Related to the inclusion of a formal statement on gender equality is the adoption of measures to ensure women's participation in the governing boards and decision-making structures of the party. The level of women's representation in such structures provides insights into the degree to which the political party is committed to gender equality. Globally, women are under-represented in leadership positions within political parties, although they usually constitute between 40 and 50 percent of party members. The proportion of women in party leadership positions is estimated at around 10 percent, although this number increases in parties



that have adopted rules guaranteeing women's participation within internal decision-making structures.¹¹ The participation of women in governing boards is important for several reasons, notably to ensure that women's perspectives contribute to shaping party policies, priorities, strategies, and platforms.

It is becoming more commonplace for parties to adopt such measures. Examples include:

■ **AUSTRALIA's** Labor Party and **CAMBODIA's** Sam Rainsy Party have adopted internal quotas guaranteeing women's participation in some or all of their governing boards.

■ **MOROCCO:** The Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) has internal quotas for each local branch, which has helped foster women's inclusion at all levels of the party.

■ **MEXICO:** The Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) was one of the first parties to adopt a 20 percent quota in 1990, which was later raised to 30 percent. The National Action

Party (PAN) followed suit, adopting an internal party quota to ensure women's representation in the executive committee and on governing boards.

■ **INDIA:** The national executive committee of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) amended its constitution in 2008 to reserve 33 percent of the party's leadership positions for women and make the chief of the national women's branch a member of the party's central election committee.

■ **GERMANY:** The Christian Democratic Union (CDU) adopted a 33 percent quota for party officials in 1996. If the quota is not met, the internal elections must be repeated.¹²

■ **SOUTH AFRICA:** Rule 6 of the African National Congress (ANC) Constitution¹³ states that, with the aim of full representation of women in all decision-making structures, the party will implement a programme of affirmative action including a quota of no less than 50 percent of women in all elected structures.



In addition to leadership positions, political parties can ensure that women are appointed to key party committees, taskforces, and working groups. In some cases, the head of a party's women's section becomes a member of the executive committee or of other structures that relate to party resources, election preparedness, and candidate selection.

Ensuring women's participation in internal structures is central to advancing gender equality in political parties. However, it is important that measures such as quotas be supplemented with other initiatives, including longer term capacity building and skills development, with the aim of ensuring that women are enabled to take up party leadership positions even in the absence of quota mechanisms. Political parties must investigate other processes to include qualified and motivated women in leadership positions, and sensitize members about the importance of opening a supportive space for women among their members, leadership, and internal structures.¹⁴

(c) Set targets for participation in party conventions

In many political parties, annual party conventions are where policy is set and major party decisions are made. In almost all political parties, conventions provide opportunities for delegates to build the political and financial relationships necessary for successful political careers. Political parties may therefore establish targets to ensure that a proportion of the delegates attending are women. For example, in the **UNITED STATES** the Democratic Party has adopted rules for the participation of women delegates at national party nomination conventions. As a result of internal lobbying by women members and support from party leaders, the party's Charter requires that nominating convention delegates comprise equal numbers of women and men.

In addition, implementing separate forums for women delegates to meet at party conventions offers important networking opportunities. In **AUSTRALIA**, the Labor Party's Women's Organization holds its own conference

every year to provide women with the opportunity to discuss policy, to lobby on specific issues, and to network with each other. In **EL SALVADOR**, the FMLN's Women's Secretariat organizes an annual conference of the party's women leaders, bringing together office holders and members of the party's executive board to formulate gender equality strategies and policies. It is important that the resolutions taken in these women's forums are formally adopted and used to guide the direction of the party on policy matters.

(d) Establish women's wings and sections within political parties

Practical experience and research show that establishing a wing or section for women party members to meet, discuss and deliberate, articulate their priorities, and seek solutions to common problems can be instrumental in placing women's concerns on the party

WOMEN'S WINGS USUALLY PERFORM SOME OR ALL OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES:

- Contribute to policy development, promote women's interests in policy platforms and advise party leadership on gender issues;
- Contribute to, or oversee the implementation of, gender equality policies, including the implementation of quotas in the candidate recruitment process;
- Coordinate the activities of women members of the party;
- Serve an outreach and mobilization function, particularly reaching out to women voters during an election and enlarging the party base;
- Provide support and training to newly elected parliamentarians and office holders;
- Contribute to transforming power relations within the party and sensitizing and training party members about gender equality;
- Reach out to male party members.

agenda. Women's wings are internal sections that aim to strengthen women's representation and participation within the party and in the political process in general.¹⁵

It is important that the women's wings are formally integrated into the structure of the party, with defined roles and responsibilities and, if needed, appropriate funding for running costs. There are several examples of where a strong women's wing has been an effective mechanism for pressuring the party to enact reforms and increase the participation of women in high-level party affairs, for enacting internal quotas, for creating training programs and offering support to women candidates. However, care needs to be taken to ensure that gender issues do not become a 'silo' in the women's wing, or that the wing is sidelined in the party. One way to prevent this would be to ensure that the Secretary or Chair of the women's wing has a seat and vote on the governing board of the party.

Some examples include:

■ **AUSTRALIA:** The rules of the Labor Party specify the role, composition, and powers of the Labor Women's Organization, for the federal branch and for each state branch.¹⁶

■ **CAMBODIA:** The women's wing of the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) has sought to promote women within the party, lobbied for the introduction of internal quotas for governing boards, provided training for women candidates, and conducted civic education and voter outreach.

■ **MEXICO:** The National Action Party (PAN) transformed its women's wing from a social organization into an effective base for promoting women's leadership positions. For example, during elections, PAN's National Secretariat for the Political Promotion of Women has lobbied local and national party leaders to include more

women as electoral candidates. The party also ensures that draft policy documents of the party are sent to the Women's Branch of the party so that they can be reviewed from a gender perspective before being finalized.

■ **MOROCCO:** Most major political parties have founded women's sections or comparable internal structures that address women's issues and the needs of women party members. For example, the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS) created an equality council to ensure women's representation in the party's decision-making processes.

■ **SERBIA:** The G17 Plus women's wing is recognized in the bylaws as a formal structure of the party. It has advocated for measures to promote women's electoral candidacies and lobbied party leaders to ensure that women candidates were given high positions on the lists. In addition, the women's wing has actively sought funding for trainings and workshops for women candidates and activists, and works to empower women to impact policies at the local level.

(e) Ensure gender equality perspective in policy development

As mentioned above, one of the functions of a women's wing is to work on policy development within the party. Political parties must ensure that their policies and priorities respond to the needs of women and men, not only in terms of gender specific policy reforms, but also ensuring that gender is mainstreamed into all the policies of the party. This may be achieved through a policy committee that addresses gender mainstreaming and signs off on all policies for compliance, or through the provision of capacity building for party members. This is further discussed in the section on Governance under Post-Electoral Period.

II

PRE-ELECTORAL PERIOD



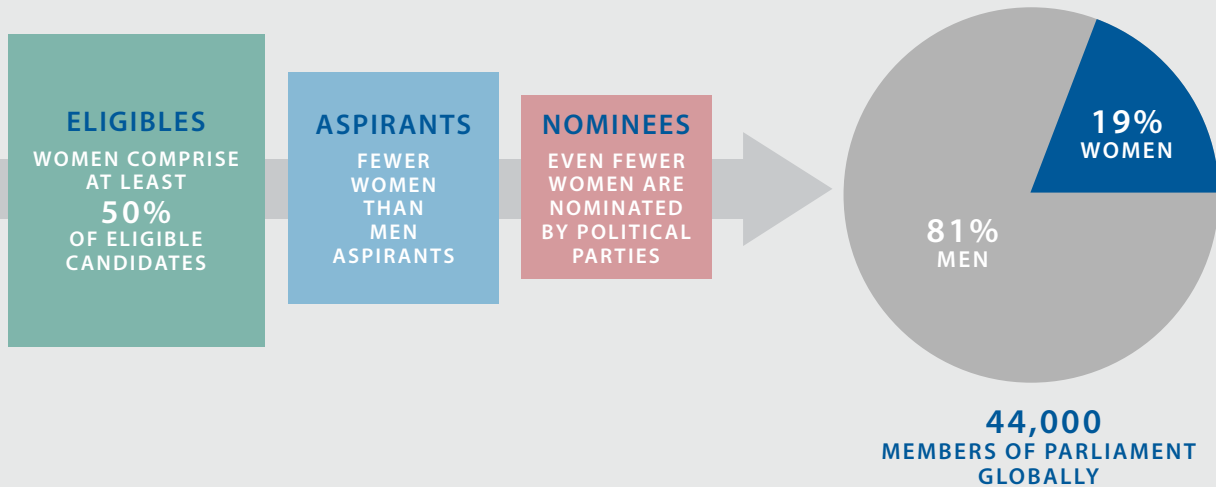
UNDP/CASANDRA WALDON

CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT AND NOMINATION

KEY ISSUES

The process of candidate recruitment and nomination is probably the most important for political parties to address if women's political participation is to be promoted. Parties are the vital link for achieving equality and inclusive participation, given that they maintain firm control over the nomination of candidates for elected office. Political parties vary substantially with regard to how they nominate candidates, the number of women selected, where women rank on party lists, and the proportion of women who make it to elected office. Parties also vary in their breadth of participation and degree of decentralization.

FIGURE 3: STAGES OF CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT



The selection of candidates for election can be understood in terms of stages. Generally, in any given country there will be a pool of ‘eligibles’ (citizens who fulfill the legal and formal requirements for becoming legislators), but only a small group of those would consider putting themselves forward as possible candidates – the ‘aspirants.’ There are many factors that affect a potential aspirant’s evaluation of whether she will campaign for election, including an assessment of the time involved, financial commitments, the likelihood of winning, personal ambition, family and community support and commitments, access to political and moneyed networks, remuneration, status and political power.¹⁷ It is at the stages of moving from eligible to aspirant and eventually to being nominated by the party that there is a large gender gap and fall off of women.

The stage where party gatekeepers nominate ‘aspirants’ is the most crucial for getting women into office. Parties

face both external and internal pressures that affect their decisions about candidate nominations. External pressures that bear on parties include how they will be perceived and evaluated by voters, and they may therefore present candidates believed to maximize the number of votes for the party.¹⁸ Those candidates who are ‘perceived’ as potential liabilities (oftentimes women) will not be nominated by the party. Internally, an aspirant’s track record, activism in the party, and access to funds are important. Incumbents, those with name recognition, or those who are visible in the community through their profession or family relationships also stand a better chance of receiving the backing of the party.¹⁹

The selection of candidates differs from party to party and can be distinguished by a number of features, including for example, the level of decentralization of the selection process. Party rules and norms will affect the way in which a party carries out the actual process

of nomination. For women, bureaucracy-based systems that have incorporated rules guaranteeing women's representation are a significant advantage. When the rules are unwritten, it becomes much harder to devise and implement a strategy to break into the inner circle of power, and there is no accountability when the rules are not implemented. With weak internal organization, lack of internal democracy, or unclear rules of recruitment, decisions tend to be made by a limited number of elite members, typically men. Women are usually on the outside and excluded from 'all boys' networks. Patronage systems are fairly closed and not likely to promote women's candidacies.²⁰ Ideally, nomination processes should be both formalized and transparent, which would allow for greater fairness in representation.

It is because of the obstacles that women face in the electoral process and the challenge of winning a party nomination that special measures have been proposed

and in many cases implemented by political parties. Such measures can range from developing incentives to attract women to the party (such as provision of campaign funding) or providing training and skills development for women candidates, to setting a target within the party that a certain number of candidates will be women. These types of measures may also be safeguarded in legislation, but often political parties have voluntarily adopted such measures.

QUOTAS FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES

Among the various strategies explored in this Guide, some form of an electoral quota – whether adopted voluntarily by political parties or mandated in electoral laws – was used in all cases under consideration. This commonality was not intentional, as this research aimed to present examples of special measures other than electoral quotas in order to capture the diversity of approaches that have been used by parties worldwide to support women. However, it is evident that the most pronounced and widespread special measure in use is electoral quotas, used on their own or in conjunction with other actions. In this way, the frequency of quotas among the case studies supports existing research that quotas continue to be the most decisive, efficient, and preferred means of bringing about greater numbers of women in the political parties and into politics more broadly.

Electoral candidate quotas have become an important policy tool to increase women's access to decision-making bodies. When properly implemented, they



LUNDP/SALMAN SAEED

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ensure women's entry into decision-making positions rather than leaving this to the good faith of political party leaders or candidate nomination committees. The introduction of quotas is highly influenced by guidance and recommendations from international organizations. As laid out in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), quotas are a means of guaranteeing that members of an electorate group, such as women, are included at a prescribed minimum level in representative institutions, whether as delegates, candidates, or elected officials.

It is important to note that often quota laws are formulated in gender neutral ways, usually indicating a minimum required percentage for the underrepresented gender, or the minimum required percentage for both genders. However, because women are the underrepresented gender almost without exception, electoral quotas are often referred to as women's quotas. This should not be taken to mean that electoral quotas benefit only women, or give women an unfair advantage; rather, they are meant as measures to redress imbalance in representation.

Types of quotas

There are two main types of electoral quotas, depending on where they are located in the recruitment process: candidate quotas and reserved seats.

CANDIDATE QUOTAS MAY BE:

- **Voluntary:** They are adopted on a voluntary basis by political parties and should be reflected in candidate nomination rules and/or party constitutions.
- **Legislated:** The constitution, electoral or party legislation establishes a minimum target for the inclusion of women as electoral candidates.



UNDP/MARIE FRECHON

Candidate quotas seek to affect the supply of candidates, ensuring that a proportion of candidates presented for election are women. These quotas can either be *legislated*, where the law specifies a minimum percentage of candidates who must be women, or they can be *voluntary*, where a political party voluntarily adopts a specified target of women candidates to put forward to contest the election.²¹

Reserved seats stipulate that a certain proportion of seats in a legislature or parliament must be awarded to women.

Candidate quotas

There are now some 50 countries that have legislated candidate quotas for women, several of them implementing candidate quotas since the early 1990s. Where quotas are legislated, political parties have usually had to update their party nomination procedures to ensure compliance with the law. In addition to legislated quotas, hundreds of political parties in more than 30 countries have voluntarily adopted their own policies of quotas for women. In such cases, the party sets its own

target or proportion of candidates it considers should be female for election (for examples see Annex 2).²²

Some specific examples of parties that have voluntarily adopted quotas to ensure that women comprise a proportion of candidates on party lists include:

■ **BURKINA FASO:** The Congress for Democracy Party (CDP) adopted a 25 percent internal quota for women on party lists for the parliamentary elections in 2007.

■ **LUXEMBOURG:** The Christian Social People's Party (CSV) aims for a target of 33 percent women candidates on their party lists.²³

■ **MOROCCO:** The Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) adopted a 20 percent quota for the representation of women on candidate electoral lists.

■ **SOUTH AFRICA:** The ANC Adopted List Process for National Elections of 2003 established a one-third quota for women on party lists. The quota was raised to 50 percent women candidates in time for the 2009 elections.

■ **SPAIN:** The Socialist Party adopted a policy that 40 percent of all candidates on electoral lists should be women.

■ **AUSTRALIA, CANADA, and THE UNITED KINGDOM:** Political parties have sought to run women in certain winnable constituencies or 'safe' seats, as a measure to increase the proportion of women elected.

Enforcement

Key criteria needed for quotas to be effective are placement and enforcement. In the first instance, women will only benefit from a quota if they are placed in winnable positions on a party list, and not buried at the bottom with little chance of being elected. Secondly, legislated candidate quotas are more effective when they carry with them sanctions for non-compliance. An indicative quota, either set voluntarily by a party or adopted by law, may set a target that may be difficult to enforce, either because the law does not stipulate how to reach the target, or because political parties ignore it in the absence of enforcement mechanisms. On the other hand, a compulsory quota not only sets a target, but also stipulates how it will be implemented, usually through a placement mandate. The law or regulations of the party can introduce measures so that women are placed in "winnable" positions on party lists, i.e. every second or third place on the list, and the party electoral lists are not accepted by the electoral authorities or party nomination committees until they comply.²⁴

STRATEGIES EMPLOYED

The following strategies – drawn from the case studies and other research – are designed to provide guidance to political parties on actions that can be taken to address gender inequality in the candidate recruitment process. In addition, these strategies provide ideas for actions that could be undertaken by development assistance providers, party foundations, and CSOs in their work with, and support to, political parties.

(a) Galvanize political party support for candidate quotas and formalize in party statutes

Party constitutions and statutes reflect the official principles and policies of a political party. The adoption of gender equality principles in the party constitution and bylaws is important for articulating the vision of the party and for putting in place the necessary policies

for achieving that vision, such as quotas. Some political parties in **EL SALVADOR**, **INDIA**, and **MOROCCO** have included such statements and provisions supporting gender equality and promoting women's political participation in their vision statements and party bylaws.

(b) Establish guidelines for candidate recruitment in party nomination committees

Candidate recruitment rules differ from party to party. Regardless of the process, however, guidelines that are clear and transparent and incorporate rules guaranteeing women's participation are a significant advantage. When the rules are unwritten and candidate selection is in the hands of a few party leaders, it is very difficult for women to compete on equal footing with men as they are typically excluded from the 'all boys' networks. Opening the process up so it is more participatory can combat the tendency for leaders in some parties to handpick their candidates according to undefined criteria. Rules should set clear targets to be achieved.

For example, in **CANADA**'s Liberal Party, a candidate recruitment committee was created to ensure diversity in candidate recruitment and that the rules regarding inclusion of women candidates were followed. In **CROATIA**, the Social Democratic Party adopted a 40 percent voluntary quota of the "underrepresented gender" for all candidates' lists for parliamentary elections and local assemblies. The reference to the "underrepresented gender" was intended to prevent objections from those who might have been concerned that a quota system was discriminatory, referring only to the election of women.

(c) Ensure implementation and placement in winnable positions

The most effective candidate quotas are those that stipulate the placement of women in winnable positions or districts, and also provide for enforcement mechanisms to ensure their implementation. Several parties not only

specify the proportion of candidates that must be women, but also specify which positions they should hold on party lists. For example, for several years the Social Democratic Party in **SWEDEN** has compiled 'zebra' or 'zipper' lists where men and women alternate throughout the lists of candidates. **INDONESIA**'s Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) sought to place women at the top of their lists in several districts to ensure their success in the 2009 parliamentary elections. In **COSTA RICA**, the Christian-Social Unity Party (PUSC) alternates men and women candidates on electoral lists.²⁵

The most effective means of enforcing party quotas is to empower the party's executive committee and candidate selection committee to reject any party list or internal recruitment process that does not adhere to quota rules. For example, the enforcement of the 35 percent quota for women in **EL SALVADOR**'s FMLN party is ensured by the Women's Secretariat. In **CANADA**, the Liberal Party's central party committee will not certify candidate nominations if one-third of the nominees are not women, and will even override nominations by placing candidates of their own choosing. **AUSTRALIA**'s Labor Party quota requires that there are 40 percent women candidates in 'winnable seats'



in state and federal parliaments; if candidate lists do not include enough women, the State and Federal Administrative Committees may call for new primaries or pre-selections.

Where legislated quotas apply, a further measure is to ensure that the electoral management body (electoral commission) oversees quota implementation, and that it has the power and means to ensure adherence to the law in practice. In several countries in Latin America and other regions, the electoral management body will reject the registration of candidate lists submitted by parties until the lists are in compliance with the requirements of the law.

(d) Work with CSOs to monitor compliance

In addition to electoral management bodies and internal party committees, CSOs have played an important role in several countries by monitoring the compliance of political parties to quota laws. CSOs have been instrumental in exerting pressure on political parties for the implementation of party promises and holding party leaders to account. For example, the Women's Leadership Forum, a multi-partisan CSO in **ARMENIA**, developed a strategy combining private meetings and negotiations with party leadership with public events such as press conferences to pressure parties to honour their quota pledges. In **MEXICO**, women members of the PAN party used strategic alliances with other parties and CSOs to push for the implementation of gender quotas.

(e) Cultivate strategic alliances with men

In a number of parties, male advocates for policies such as candidate quotas or reserved seats have played critical roles in building internal party support for these policies. If the participation of women is to be understood by party leadership as a benefit to the entire party, not solely to the women members, men must be involved in championing reforms. In the Labor Party

in **AUSTRALIA**, the Liberal Party in **CANADA**, and the Socialist Party in **SPAIN**, women have worked with male party leaders who have championed quota reforms. In **MEXICO**, PAN women members also worked to educate and lobby their male counterparts to support the quota reform and to get the support of the ranks of the party. This support was essential to the passage of the law through parliament. The dual approach of working with political women and men inside the party, together with CSO support from outside, can yield great results.

(f) Expand the pool of women candidates and provide skills training

Some political party leaders have argued that there is a shortage of willing and trained women candidates with the requisite confidence and experience to stand for election, which in turn can mean that the party does not reach its quota targets. This may be especially pronounced in post-conflict states where women tend to be sidelined from transitional processes unless political parties actively recruit women members to their ranks. It is important that, in addition to implementing candidate quotas, other supportive mechanisms for women's political participation are encouraged. In countries where quotas have not been implemented, such measures take on more significance.

Strategies to expand the pool of women candidates and build their political capabilities include training and support for outreach activities in **CAMBODIA**, or technical advice and guidance on advocacy strategies in **MOROCCO**, where a coalition of women's CSOs and party activists received support from international organizations during their campaign to promote quotas. In **CANADA**, the Liberal Party appointed a Women's Candidate Search Director to help recruit women to the party. In **INDONESIA**, the PDIP's Women Empowerment Department works with the party's

training branch to develop and implement a training program for women candidates to increase their political skills. **BRAZIL**'s Party of the Republic (PR) organized motorcades for gender awareness in some states, which aimed to encourage women to join the party and to identify local women leaders who could become local candidates. Training sessions were offered to interested women on party doctrine, goals, and achievements.²⁶

Political parties could also usefully support a network or community of women candidates who have run for election, whether or not they won. Parties could enlist their support to nurture connections with constituencies and encourage future women candidates. In **GHANA**, a group of political parties aim to maintain a database of women who contested elections and were unsuccessful, to retain them in party activities and positions and to nurse their interest in contesting at a future date.²⁷

(g) Encourage multi-lateral relations and sharing of experiences

In many transitional countries, political parties value strategic relationships with international actors. Some

parties look to Western European or North American parties for experience and to align themselves with the international grouping of political parties (party international groups). For some parties, for example, adopting a quota sends a message that the party is moving towards becoming more open and inclusive. Parties which seek to affiliate with Socialist International, for example, are encouraged to adopt measures to promote women's political empowerment.

FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

KEY ISSUES

Survey research of 300 parliamentarians conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) has found that one of the most significant factors that deter women from entering politics is the lack of finances to contest electoral campaigns.²⁹ Not only do women struggle to raise the funds needed to run a costly campaign, they often receive little or no financial assistance from their political parties. There are two stages in particular where money directly impacts on women candidates: (1) winning the nomination and being recruited by the party, and (2) financing the electoral campaign.

The challenge of funding also applies to men, but women often face greater financial challenges for several reasons. The world over, women's economic status is generally lower than that of men. Gender socialization roles have traditionally positioned men as the "bread-winners" and therefore men are more accustomed to raising money for their own use. Where women are traditionally relegated to the private sphere, they are not typically accustomed to raising funds on their own behalf. When they have raised funds, many women prefer to spend them on immediate family needs.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN POLICY, 2010:

SIW [women's branch of the Socialist International] encourages "member parties ... to promote measures to gradually reach parity (50/50) of women and men in all decision making bodies, starting by a minimum quota of 30% for women and men in all elected positions, as well as within the leadership of the party, but also setting time bound targets to reach as soon as possible a 50/50 representation with the aim to equally include women's views in politics and therefore endeavour to deliver a socially just, sustainable and balanced development."²⁸

TWO WAYS IN WHICH MONEY IN POLITICS HAS A DIRECT BEARING ON WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS:

(1) In raising funds to win the nomination and be recruited by the party

(2) In raising sufficient funds to finance the electoral campaign

Men may also be able to campaign more effectively outside the party structure because they are more likely to be linked to business and professional networks which can provide financial resources and expertise. The network argument extends into the “all-boys network” within the party, as most party leaderships today remain male-dominated, with women often excluded from the circle of power.³⁰ The absence of women from these networks hampers their abilities to raise sufficient funds to campaign effectively, particularly when running against entrenched male incumbents. The exceptions to this are often the spouses, daughters, and sisters of well-known politicians who by virtue of their relationship have access to family capital and connections.³¹

In many developing democracies the lack of money to pay even modest candidate deposits can exclude women from the election process. The scarcity of resources is often felt hardest among new parties or those not represented in parliament, as they typically do not qualify for public funding. In these instances women candidates have to finance the costs of transport and campaigning materials themselves, which can be particularly problematic in rural areas where the cost of transport to reach voters is very high.³²

The funding required will fluctuate over the course of an election cycle. One of the greatest challenges

women face early on is raising early money to gain the party nomination. Early money is the initial financing required to launch a campaign for candidature, such as gaining exposure and building name recognition, travelling and organizing a campaign team, and ultimately winning the party nomination. Much of a campaign’s early money will often come from the candidate him/herself, and this self-financing is often a major obstacle for women in particular. After winning the nomination, party support may increase and greater visibility may attract additional sources of funding.³³

STRATEGIES EMPLOYED

The following strategies are primarily designed to provide guidance to political parties on actions that can be taken particularly to address the challenge that women face in raising campaign funds. In addition, these strategies provide ideas for actions by development assistance providers, party foundations, and civil society organizations in their work with, and support to, political parties.

(a) Establish fundraising networks

Women’s fundraising networks and organizations have a huge effect on the flow of money to women candidates. Studies from **AUSTRALIA**, **CANADA**, **CAMBODIA**, the **UNITED KINGDOM**, and the **UNITED STATES**



UNCDF/ADAM ROGERS

illustrate that fund-raising groups have been very influential in raising and mobilizing funds for women. These fundraising networks can provide important seed funds to women in the early stages of seeking the party nomination. In addition, they are vital sources of funds where there is no public funding and candidates have to raise private funds to contest an election.

The understanding that women need early money in the campaign process to win party nomination was the inspiration behind the founding of EMILY's List in the **UNITED STATES**. Early Money is Like Yeast (EMILY's) List is a funding network that enhances access to funding for progressive Democratic women in American politics. As women were not getting the necessary seed money for their campaigns to be taken seriously as competitive candidates against men, EMILY's List has provided access to early money, as "early money makes the dough (i.e. campaign funds) rise." This network has inspired similar initiatives in other countries, including the Republican Party's Wish List. These networks bundle together individual contributions and distribute funds to their preferred candidates.

(b) Establish internal party fund to support women candidates

Some political parties have established targeted funds to assist women candidates with campaign costs. In **CANADA**, the Liberal Party established the Judy LaMarsh Fund, which is a party mechanism for money to be raised and spent on women candidates to help them get elected to parliament. The Liberal Party has direct control over how the money is spent and which women candidates are prioritized in receiving funds. The Fund must work within Canada's party finance regulations, and it raises money primarily through fundraising events, direct mailings, and the Internet. The Fund has contributed greatly to increasing the number of women elected in the party's caucus.

SUBSIDIES FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES MAY INCLUDE:

- Reimbursement of childcare expenses
- Travel costs for campaigning
- Allocation of clothing allowance
- Provision of campaign expenses such as printed materials

(c) Provide subsidies to women candidates

Active campaigning demands a level of funding, time, and flexibility which few people, particularly women with families, can afford. In many families, women assume primary parenting responsibilities, which are often extremely difficult to combine with long hours of campaigning. In **CANADA**, the Liberal Party has sought to address these challenges by providing subsidies to women candidates for campaign-related expenses. At the national level, a financial assistance program allows women and minority candidates to be reimbursed for up to CAD\$500 for child care expenses incurred in seeking a nomination, and CAD\$500 for travel costs in geographically large ridings.³⁴ An additional CAD\$500 is provided for costs incurred in seeking a nomination in constituencies where an incumbent retires. In **CAMBODIA**, the Sam Rainsy Party provides women candidates with some basic items, including clothing appropriate to wear while campaigning and a bicycle for moving around. An additional option is for political parties to offer women candidates assistance with membership dues and candidate nomination fees, which can be prohibitively high for some women.

(d) Limit nomination and campaign expenditure

Even where women are able to raise the funds needed for a campaign, they may not be able to raise sufficient

levels of funding to be successful and to compete directly with men. In several countries, winning the party nomination is an increasingly costly exercise, and the need to run two expensive campaigns (to win the party nomination and to fund the election campaign) in one election cycle makes fundraising a daunting undertaking. Too often, the candidate who raises the most money wins the party nomination. This has been a particular challenge in the **UNITED STATES** and other candidate-centered electoral systems such as **NIGERIA**, where the effects of money on representation are enormous. This has particularly disadvantaged under-represented groups in gaining access to politics. Setting limits on money spent in nomination contests and limiting the campaigning period have been proposed as remedies to provide a more level playing field for under-represented groups.³⁵

(e) Public funding of political parties

Public funding is one mechanism used to level the playing field in the electoral period, usually directed to parties represented in parliament. Public funding is provided usually without any obligation for the recipients, but it could be regulated in such a way as to encourage parties to address women's political empowerment.

■ **MEXICO:** Article 78 of the electoral code includes a “Two Percent Law” which mandates that two percent of the public funding of political parties be used specifically for building women's capacity as candidates and politicians.

■ **BURKINA FASO:** A 2009 law established candidate quotas and included substantial monetary incentives for parties that elected women candidates. A 50 percent increase in the amount of public funding is provided to parties if 30 percent of the elected candidates are women.³⁶

■ **FRANCE:** A 1999 amendment enshrined the principle of parity in the constitution, where inter alia, 50 per cent of candidates nominated for election must be women. For the election of candidates to the lower house, parties face financial sanctions if they do not put forward 50 per cent candidates of both sexes. Parties lose part of the public funding when the difference between the numbers of candidates of each sex goes beyond 2 percent of the total number of candidates on the list.³⁷

Some additional proposals have been made in Ireland and Ghana. In **IRELAND**, the General Scheme of the Electoral (Amendment) (Political Funding) Bill of 2011 proposed to cut political party funding by half unless 30 percent of general election candidates representing those parties were women.³⁸ In **GHANA**, a group of political parties expressed interest to develop a Women's Fund to support women aspirants in parliamentary and presidential elections. In a statement resulting from a multi-party meeting in 2011, several political parties proposed to allocate 10 percent of the public funds to political parties directly to women aspirants, and to reduce significantly the fees for women contestants.³⁹

PUBLIC FUNDING AND WOMEN CANDIDATES:

■ **France:** public funds will be reduced if 50 percent of party candidates are not women

■ **Burkina Faso:** parties will receive an increase in public funding if 30 percent of its elected candidates are women

■ **Mexico:** Two percent of public funds must be used to empower women




Another way of providing indirect public funding is through access to the state and privately run media. This is an important component of party campaigning, as it establishes a connection between the candidates and the voters. Media time free of charge is a subsidy in kind, and was used in **TIMOR LESTE** as one way to promote women's electoral participation: those parties that had women placed in high positions on party lists received additional media time.

(f) Allocate specific funds for training women

In order for women to successfully advance in political parties, they must make up for the historic gaps in political experience. A common explanation used by political parties to justify not nominating or promoting women is that too few women have the necessary skills to succeed in politics.

Parties can overcome this by establishing programs and allocating resources aimed at providing training to women, a practice quite common in Latin America:

■ In **EL SALVADOR**, women activists from different parties have joined together to form a multi-party institute that provides training to women. Given that training is often a broader challenge of parties, well-trained women can leverage their skills to replicate their trainings



for other party members and enhance their value to their parties.

■ **MEXICO's PAN** seeks to level the political capabilities of women and men through seminars, workshops, forums and courses directed at women candidates. Trainings address different topics depending on needs, but include motivation, attitude, team work, and topics of concern to women. Courses have been offered for women interested in campaigning or becoming campaign coordinators in an effort to increase their participation.⁴⁰

(g) Apply gender responsive budgeting practices

Parties can also reflect on how their funds are expended in relation to women, through an analysis of how all of the party's expenditures are going to benefit men and women party activists, and how resources are allocated to women-specific party structures. An analysis of campaign expenditures from a gender perspective would also be a valuable exercise. Parties can initiate gender responsive budgeting practices in government, as in **SERBIA** where parties participate in local level gender equality commissions, which work to ensure that women are benefiting from public funds.

III

ELECTORAL PERIOD



UNDP/MARIE PEREON

CAMPAIGNING AND ELECTORAL PREPARATION

KEY ISSUES

Political parties and candidates are the key stakeholders in elections; they compete for public office, conduct election campaigns, and appeal to the electorate for votes. The legal framework for and the administration of the election, together with the political and cultural environment, have a pronounced effect on the outcome of elections.⁴¹ During the electoral period, political party activities are geared towards running campaigns, supporting candidates, and reaching out to voters. In addition, parties may participate in and oversee the administration of the election, including polling and counting processes.

Electoral campaigns are central to a party's chance of winning an election. Campaign rules differ between countries, as do campaign strategies among parties. They are influenced by the legislative framework, social norms and culture, the economic context, the levels of development, and the type of political system. National election campaigns can be very costly, and in several countries the amount of funds raised has a direct impact on the success of the campaigns. All too often, however, women candidates struggle to raise the same levels of resources as male candidates and thereby gain access to the media. Women candidates are often invisible in campaigns, while party leaders and sitting incumbents (usually men) dominate party propaganda, media time, and campaign posters.

In a survey of 300 parliamentarians undertaken by the IPU, half of respondents identified capacity building related to techniques for electoral campaigning, communication with and outreach to constituencies as the most important to support their electoral candidacies.⁴² Some noted in particular the usefulness of training conducted by 'sister parties' in other countries. There are several actions parties may take to support the development of women's campaigning skills and promote the inclusion of women in the campaign period. Women's CSOs, party foundations, and development assistance organizations have been involved in preparing and training women to conduct election campaigns. Political parties may therefore seek strategic support and alliances with women's CSOs and international organizations, which in

many countries provide valuable financial and technical resources to bolster the capacities of women candidates during the campaign period. Parties should also ensure their manifesto and campaign messages are targeted to women voters, articulating the party positions on gender equality and women's empowerment.

STRATEGIES EMPLOYED

The following strategies are primarily designed to provide guidance to political parties on actions that can be taken to provide support during the campaign and electoral period. In addition, these strategies provide ideas for actions by development assistance providers, party foundations, and CSOs in their work with, and support to, political parties.

(a) Provide training and mentor women candidates

Strengthening the campaigning skills of women candidates and providing women with more educational opportunities are important for increasing women's electoral opportunities. Such training may target fundraising, message development, working with the media, building voter contact and outreach programs, writing campaign plans, and designing targeted methods of voter communication.⁴³ For example, CSOs and international assistance providers could be good allies in programs that focus on enhancing the campaign skills of women.

In addition, women seeking to advance in politics can benefit from the experience of other women who have previously participated in electoral campaigns.

“WOMEN SEEKING TO ADVANCE IN POLITICS CAN BENEFIT FROM MENTORING PROGRAMMES THAT PAIR FIRST-TIME CANDIDATES WITH WOMEN WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY PARTICIPATED IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS.”

In **AUSTRALIA**, the Labor Party, through its own EMILY's List, has established a mentoring program where first-time candidates are paired with more experienced politicians for this very purpose. In the **UNITED KINGDOM**, the Conservative Party's Women2Win, which includes a website of the same name, has played an active role in recruiting new women members and providing them with the training, mentoring, and support they need to succeed within the party.

(b) Ensure women's visibility in the campaign

Women party activists and candidates embody skills and traits that are of use to the political party but frequently go unrecognized and are insufficiently utilized in campaigns. Women are very often absent from party campaigns, as priority is given to party leaders and incumbents with wide name recognition. Political parties can promote the visibility and name recognition of women candidates by actively promoting their inclusion in party campaigns, including in television adverts and campaign posters, or by appointing women as party spokespersons. Women party members in several countries have used new technologies creatively to promote their own candidacies during the campaign, with new social media tools like personal websites and the use of Facebook and Twitter.⁴⁴

Proactive public outreach campaigns can counter cultural and societal biases against women – especially those perpetuated by the media – and highlight the benefits of women's political participation for society as a whole. Incentives can also be provided to political parties to increase women's visibility in campaigns, such as the provision of free or additional media time to parties to promote their women candidates. In **TIMOR-LESTE**, as highlighted above, parties were provided with additional free media time if they nominated women and ensured their visibility in the campaign. In the **UNITED STATES**, the Democratic



UNDP ANGOLA

Party encourages candidates to include images of women in their television campaign advertisements.

Political parties should also ensure that women candidates have access to the campaign machinery – campaign staff, security, venues, and access to funds – which can greatly enhance their chances of winning.

(c) Identify and disseminate party positions on issues that are priorities for women

Platforms are a key component of party maturity; they help parties distinguish themselves from each other on issues, rather than on the basis of identity or personality. Identifying women's policy priorities can be a strategy to win the support of women voters and impact favorably on electoral outcomes for parties. For example, women parliamentarians are at the forefront of efforts to combat gender-based violence, they tend to prioritize parental leave and childcare, and they have been instrumental in ensuring gender-equality laws and electoral reforms that enhance women's access to parliaments appear on the legislative agenda.⁴⁵ The inclusion of women's concerns into the party platform can aid women candidates because it provides tangible talking points for women to reach out to women voters. Parties that can identify policy issues are able to position themselves better as responsive to the concerns of women constituents, thereby attracting more women votes for their candidates.

■ **CANADA:** The Liberal Party developed and disseminated a series of Pink Books, which identified and explained the party's position on priority issues for women.

■ **INDIA:** BJP women party members attracted a significant number of women voters to the party by introducing a policy to put 10,000 rupees into a savings account for all girls born in the state of Madir Pradesh, to be used for their education once they reached 18.

■ **PERU:** In its pre-electoral campaign, the Christian People's Party (PPC) initiated a campaign to improve the Women and Equal Opportunities chapter of its Government Plan, and in the process also publicize its platform. In alliance with and with funding from the International Republican Institute (IRI), PPC sought public input through public hearings and meetings with targeted organizations.⁴⁶

(d) Gender sensitive electoral monitoring and security provisions

Political parties have the important task of undertaking a watchdog function during the electoral period by closely monitoring the voting process and checking for irregularities. Vote buying, intimidation of voters, ballot fraud, and poor organization undermine the integrity of elections. Poor security can affect women voters and candidates in different ways than men, especially in places where there is a high threat of gender-based violence, which may be prevalent particularly in post-conflict elections.⁴⁷

Political parties therefore need to keep a watchful eye, which may necessitate the presence of party agents or monitors during the registration and voting processes to ensure that voters are able to cast their ballots without intimidation. Parties should also ensure the safety of monitors during the counting and transportation of ballot boxes.⁴⁸ It is important for parties to include a gender perspective in the monitoring practices employed, such as ensuring that checklists to be completed by monitors include questions related to family voting, violence and intimidation, or other violations that impact on women's free participation in the election.⁴⁹

Political parties have the responsibility of recruiting and training party agents, and parties may actively seek to recruit women to fulfill this watchdog task. This is



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CHECKLISTS USED BY PARTY MONITORS SHOULD INCLUDE GENDER FOCUSED QUESTIONS, SUCH AS:

Are there any issues in your areas of assignment that appear to affect women's participation as voters and/or candidates, either positively or negatively?

particularly important in polling stations allocated for women only. The presence of men in such polling stations may be prohibited, or may intimidate women voters. The presence of party monitors may also have other benefits; not only do they contribute to ensuring women's safety while voting through their visibility, but they may also keep their own party supporters in check, ensuring they do not engage in intimidation of voters or reporting such incidents.

(e) Gender sensitive voter information

It is in the interest of political parties to conduct voter education to ensure that their supporters register to vote, and that they are able to cast a legitimate vote on election day. Political parties invest large amounts of money and time into conducting voter information campaigns, and can actively direct messages to women voters and ensure that they understand the processes involved. Voter information campaigns should highlight to women the importance of their votes for society as a whole and emphasize their right to vote as equal members of that society. In **SOUTH AFRICA** for example, the African National Congress Women's League initiated a 60 Days Non-Stop Electioneering Campaign during the 2009 national general elections,

which sought to mobilize women voters to exercise their rights to vote in order to consolidate democracy.⁵⁰

Women should be part of the management, planning, and implementation of voter information campaigns. Organizing such campaigns and educational seminars requires not only tailoring messages and content to the socio-cultural background, literacy levels, and the political situation in each country, but also the careful selection and organization of logistics. Ensuring a learning environment that is safe and where women do not feel intimidated is important, and if necessary, women only trainings may be considered. In traditional communities, women may be segregated from men and have different levels of freedom of movement and education.⁵¹ All voter education teams should include women and, if necessary, could be comprised entirely of women.⁵²

Voter information campaigns for the public at large should also include gender sensitive messaging emphasizing the secrecy of the ballot to combat family voting, and highlighting the importance of women's political participation for the consolidation of democracy. Messages may also seek to encourage men to consider voting for women candidates.

IV POST-ELECTORAL PERIOD



UNDP BRAZIL

GENDER RESPONSIVE GOVERNANCE

KEY ISSUES

Advancing democratic governance requires creating an environment of inclusive and responsive political processes and the empowerment of women. The inclusion of the perspectives of women and their participation in politics are prerequisites for democratic development and contribute to good governance. Yet globally, women remain under-represented in decision-making bodies. Research has shown that the number of women in parliament does matter; at the very least, the more women there are in parliament, the more likely the party is to address women's issues and to change the gender dynamics in the chamber.⁵³ The proportion of women members of parliament has a great influence on the nature of debate in politics.

PARTIES CAN BENEFIT FROM A SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE NEEDS OF AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN MEMBERS.

In the absence of women's presence in parliaments and other legislative bodies, parties need to be proactive in ensuring that gender equality is addressed in governance. Parties are influential in determining which issues form the political debate: they formulate policy, set governance priorities and therefore are strategically placed to address the concerns of women. In practice, political parties have a mixed record in addressing gender issues in governance. The examples in this section offer some insights into measures that political parties have taken to address gender equality in post-electoral governance.

STRATEGIES EMPLOYED

The following strategies are primarily designed to provide guidance to political parties on actions to promote gender equality and women's empowerment in post-electoral governance. In addition, these strategies provide ideas for actions that could be undertaken by development assistance providers, party foundations, and CSOs in their work with, and support to, political parties.

(a) Undertake a gender equality assessment

The post-electoral period is strategically important for parties to conduct a gender equality assessment. Frequently political parties rely on anecdotal evidence when devising strategies to promote women's empowerment, and instead could rely more on internal stock-taking. Parties can benefit from a systematic analysis of the needs and opportunities of women members, based on data collected from surveys, focus groups, public

opinion research, and electoral results. In addition, an investigation into gender equality within the political party may include examining the rules governing the functioning of the party, its policies and manifesto commitments, and the positions held by women in the party. This can be facilitated by keeping updated records of sex disaggregated data.

After the election, political parties may benefit from undertaking an assessment of their own performance and degree of attention to gender issues in the campaign. The party may assess if certain practices or rules disadvantaged women directly or indirectly during the election, such as funding of candidates or recruitment rules. In turn, actions or strategic plans can be developed and tailored to the findings of these assessments. New party policies can be adopted or reforms undertaken at any time, but there is a strategic advantage for undertaking this in the post-election period. For example, in **CANADA**, the New Democratic Party (NDP) completed a diversity audit in one of its provinces post-elections, from which members of under-represented electorates were able to develop an action plan to nominate more women candidates in winnable constituencies. In **KYRGYZSTAN**, a gender analysis of political party manifestos and an assessment of the situation of women in politics at the national and local level were undertaken by development assistance organizations and CSOs.

(b) Provide training to newly elected members

For most newly elected members, parliamentary work is a new experience. While the secretariat of the parliament often provides induction training to new members, political parties often provide their own training to their parliamentary group members on how the parties function in the parliamentary setting. This training can provide general skills development and can be targeted to women members to assist with navigating rules and procedures.

(c) Promote gender-sensitive reforms to parliaments

As political groups in parliament, parties can work to change the culture of parliaments. When women enter parliaments, they tend to enter domains which operate along gendered lines, i.e. a political environment where the institutional culture and operating procedures may be biased against them. Conducting a review of the political climate may be necessary to ensure that the conditions in which women operate are conducive to their participation. Giving consideration to issues such as the sitting times of parliament, the location of facilities for women members, and parental leave provisions can lead to positive reforms to promote women's participation. Removing the barriers to women's participation is therefore crucial for creating gender-friendly parliaments that respond to the needs and interests of both men and women.⁵⁴

In **SOUTH AFRICA**, women members of the African National Congress party caucus highlighted the need for reform to the institution of parliament when they took up their seats in 1994. They called for the parliamentary calendar to be aligned to match the school calendar so that parliamentarians are either in recess or have constituency time when students are on vacation. They also pushed for debates to finish earlier in the evening to accommodate parliamentarians with families, and for childcare facilities to be put in place.⁵⁵

IN SOUTH AFRICA, WOMEN PARTY MEMBERS PUSHED FOR CHANGES TO THE PARLIAMENTARY CALENDAR AND SITTING TIMES TO ACCOMMODATE PARLIAMENTARIANS WITH FAMILIES AND ENHANCE THE GENDER SENSITIVITY OF PARLIAMENT.

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(d) Ensure gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment in party policy

Survey research of 300 parliamentarians by the IPU shows that the policies of political parties are key determinants of legislative priorities and agendas. The decision-making bodies of political parties, such as executive committees, are highly influential; yet women remain under-represented in these groups. In practice, not all political parties promote gender equality or uphold their manifesto pledges in practice and few women hold top decision-making positions in their ranks. As would be expected, the support of the ruling party is one of the most important factors in introducing and enacting gender-related legislation.⁵⁶

Political parties can promote women's empowerment through policy development in at least two ways:

(a) By supporting gender specific policy reform, such as combating gender-based violence or targeting parental leave or reproductive rights issues;

(b) By ensuring that a gender perspective is mainstreamed into all policy debates and priorities of the party, including promoting gender equality in areas like access to justice, health, nationality, labour, land rights, social security, and inheritance.⁵⁷ Parliaments can also ensure that international commitments, like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) are translated into national legislation and inform government action.

The capacities of party group members, both men and women, should be developed to undertake analyses from a gender perspective. Policy development, review of legislation and resource allocations must be informed by their effects on men and women. This may also include supporting the capacities of specialized committees that deal with gender equality to conduct gender analyses of budgets and have access to data. A related organizational measure is to ensure that resolutions and recommendations from women's wings, internal policy committees, or the women's parliamentary caucus inform policy development within the political party.

■ **SPAIN:** The Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) sponsored the passage of a gender equality law and sought to mainstream gender into the policy-making process. Since 2004, the PSOE has introduced several pieces of legislation, including on agricultural reform, dependent care, and legislated candidate quotas.

■ **MOROCCO:** The USFP has highlighted issues such as the citizenship law and the passage of a gender equality law in Parliament.

■ **RWANDA:** Legislative reform has focused on the law on inheritance and succession (1999), the child protection law (2001), and the gender-based violence law (2009). Women have also been influential in ensuring that other pieces of legislation are gender-sensitive and child-friendly, including the law on national citizenship, the classification of genocide crimes, and the protection of witnesses.

In some cases, parliamentarians may have a limited ability to address gender equality issues because of party discipline. For the most part, the policies of parties

GENDER MAINSTREAMING REQUIRES THAT POLICY DEVELOPMENT, REVIEW OF LEGISLATION AND RESOURCE ALLOCATIONS MUST BE INFORMED BY THEIR EFFECTS ON MEN AND WOMEN.

determine the way the party group in parliament votes on a particular issue. It is therefore necessary to avoid placing unrealistic demands on individual women members; where party identity is very strong, the space for individual parliamentarians to act other than in line with the party may be limited.⁵⁸ This reinforces the importance of ensuring gender mainstreaming in the policies of the party.

(e) Ensure women access to vacancies and retention

The number of women holding seats in parliament can go up and down during a parliamentary term. Women members may resign or take up a ministerial position and thereby have to vacate their parliamentary seats. In these instances (where no by-election is held), political parties can ensure that women replace women in the vacant seats. A party can also decide that any vacated seat will be filled by a woman as a way to increase the proportion of women members. Political parties may also consider ways in which they can ensure the retention of women members in future elections. There is usually a higher turnover rate of women parliamentarians than men, and asking the women themselves what kind of incentives or support they need might reverse this trend. In **GHANA**, for example, several political parties have stated that they will seek to retain sitting women MPs in future parliamentary elections, and ensure that a woman replaces a sitting woman in the event of a vacancy.⁵⁹

(f) Support cross-party networks of women and women's parliamentary caucuses

Women the world over have realized that as a minority in parliament, there are strategic advantages to forming alliances and coalitions to affect policy change. Women's caucuses can be effective forums for bringing women together across political party lines to channel their interests and concerns, as well as to mainstream gender in policy development and oversight of government action.⁶⁰ Concretely, caucus activities may include providing capacity support to women parliamentarians, conducting analyses of bills, holding hearings with CSOs, convening public workshops on relevant issues, defining common positions on issues so that women members may seek to influence their own party leaders, and overseeing government action on gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment.

Party support for women's caucuses can yield positive results:

■ **MEXICO:** The quota law came to fruition because women from all the major political parties worked together both inside and outside of the congress to pressure their male colleagues to support quotas.

■ **ARMENIA:** A multi-party coalition was able to convince most of the major parties to agree on a quota for parliament; women party members took the commonly agreed messages and tailored them for their own internal advocacy efforts within their individual parties.

■ **EL SALVADOR:** The Association of Salvadoran Women Parliamentarians and Ex-Parliamentarians seeks to strengthen

women's political voices both inside and outside of parliament. The Association offers training and workshops on communication and organizing skills that help women become more effective in their political work.

■ **KYRGYZSTAN:** The Association for Women's Legal Initiatives, which unites women MPs, gender experts, and activists of women's non-governmental organizations, has been instrumental in strengthening women's caucuses including in areas such as capacity development for conducting analyses of bills.⁶¹

(g) Form strategic partnerships with civil society organizations

Coalition building between political women and civil society can be effective to advance policy agendas. In many cases, particularly when parties seek to change the constitution or enact legislation to promote women's political empowerment, activists within political parties have worked closely with civil society organizations to achieve their goals. In other cases, CSOs and women's



organizations strategically target women party activists to advocate for their desired policy changes. In both scenarios, the CSOs are able to put pressure on governments and build public demand for reform.

■ **MOROCCO:** Both domestic and international CSOs have worked together to bring women from several political parties together, to build momentum to form a women's caucus, and strategize about how to support a quota law.

■ **PERU:** Building on the wave of new gender quotas in Latin America, a coalition of women's organizations was able to work with women inside parties to advocate for the passage of a candidate quota law.

■ **SLOVENIA:** A cross-party coalition of women leaders and other public figures successfully advocated for a constitutional amendment to incorporate temporary guarantees for the equal representation of women in politics, i.e. a 40 percent quota for all electoral lists in the European Parliament elections of 2004.⁶²

(h) Sensitize party members and work in partnership with men

Institutionalizing gender equality means that policies and procedures adopted by a party are put into practice by party members, particularly the caucus members in parliament. Party ambitions, like establishing concrete targets and articulating policy commitments, mean little if they are not accompanied by support and buy-in from party members, men and women. As men are the majority in most parliaments and dominate leadership structures in parties, they are essential partners for implementing change. This may require internal training processes to sensitize party members, especially men, about gender equality. Orientation training, usually provided to new members of parliament, should include provisions on gender equality.

The support and vision of party leadership is extremely important in this regard. In **SPAIN**, the PSOE leader Zapatero declared himself to be a committed feminist and in doing so has changed sensibilities around feminism in Spanish politics. This has had a ripple effect whereby women are treated as equal with men in the party, with their views given as much consideration as those of their male counterparts.

CONCLUSION



The inclusion of the perspectives of women and their participation in politics are prerequisites for democratic development and contribute to good governance, and political parties are the primary vehicles for political participation. It can be politically and financially advantageous for political parties to actively promote women's empowerment initiatives throughout the electoral cycle. By openly and formally supporting women's participation through reforms, political parties can alter public opinion, generate new support bases, attract new members, increase the flow of public funding to the party, and improve their standing with other countries, among other political and practical benefits.

The formal support of political parties is required to overcome the barriers to women's participation in politics. Gender biases are prevalent in all

the countries of the world and are reflected in social, economic, and political life. In many countries women continue to be discouraged from direct competition with men and from public exposure and interactions, and are instead assigned roles that steer them away from decision-making.

Such biases fuel and perpetuate women's lower economic status and relative poverty worldwide, which are among the most important and immediate barriers that make women's political participation near impossible at any stage of the electoral cycle. For example, women have control over fewer resources, if any at all, and therefore cannot finance their own campaigns to be nominated or stand for elections. They also have access to fewer resources than men to support their campaigns, such as external funding, knowledge products, networks of influence, role models, and experienced mentors. Within political parties, such biases are prominently reflected in the limited number of women in leadership and decision-making positions.

Instead, women are overrepresented in positions and activities supporting political parties at the grassroots level or supporting male party leadership. Positions of power in political parties can often be informal, centralized, and supported by well-established relationships and networks of influence that are inaccessible to new arrivals, and particularly to women. Without access to the institutional knowledge and memory embedded in such networks, and with very limited resources, few role models and mentors, and sometimes even limited family and community support, it is understandable that women's participation in political parties has remained well below that of men.

The multitude of challenges confronting women who wish to enter politics and join political parties can be addressed through a diversity of measures at various

levels and entry points of the electoral cycle. This Guide has illustrated how targeted strategies can succeed in bringing more women into positions of leadership and ensure that they remain in such positions. Successful strategies range from wide-scale change in the political system to internal party reform and capacity building for women. A good number of cases show that reforms to increase women's participation in political parties have gone hand in hand with initiatives to improve the gender responsiveness of party platforms. The most meaningful strategies simultaneously combined reforms to political institutions and the provision of targeted support to women party activists, candidates, and elected officials that addressed the socio-economic and capacity challenges faced by women.

Political parties across the world have demonstrated that no one starting point is better than another as long as there is commitment to gender equality. Successful parties have been creative in their approaches to women's empowerment and matched those approaches to their respective history and contexts. Despite the diversity of strategies and approaches, however, it is important to note that established measures such as quotas have repeatedly been shown to be effective in putting more women into positions of power.

The Guide has aimed to provide a concise and easily accessible list of potential strategies, organized according to the stages of the electoral cycle, together with practical examples from the case studies. It is hoped that members of political parties, particularly the leadership of those parties, civil society organizations and gender equality activists are motivated to take action to promote the political participation of women. It is also hoped the Guide will be helpful to stakeholders looking for guidance on how to proceed in their efforts to promote women's participation in political parties.

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ANNEXES



UNDP GEORGIA

ANNEX 1 – CASE STUDY LIST

Listed below are the 20 case study examples that were commissioned by UNDP (and conducted by NDI during 2009-2010) which inform a large part of the examples provided in the Guide. In a few instances, some examples outside the scope of that research are presented to illustrate a particular point.

| COUNTRY | TITLE | EXAMPLE | KEYWORDS |
|-----------------|---|---|--|
| Armenia | Coalition Building to Push For the Implementation of Quotas | Women's Leadership Forum (civil society organization) | Women's mobilization Legislated quota |
| Australia | Internal Party Quotas and Fundraising Networks to Promote Women's Advancement in Politics | Australian Labor Party | Internal party quotas Fundraising networks |
| Burkina Faso | Voluntary and Legislated Political Party Quotas | Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP) | Voluntary party quotas Legislated quotas Funding mechanisms |
| Cambodia | Women's Wing Organization to Promote Women within the Party and Into Elected Office | Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) | Women's mobilization Campaign support for women candidates |
| Canada | Supporting Women Candidates through Funding Networks and Candidate Nomination Rules | Liberal Party | Funding networks Candidate nomination rules Party platforms |
| | Diversified candidate recruitment and subsidies for campaign expenses | New Democratic Party (NDP) (box) | Candidate nomination Campaign expenses |
| Croatia | Women's Wing Support for Candidate Quotas and Capacity Building Trainings | Social Democratic Party (SDP) | Women's mobilization Women's wing Internal party quota |
| El Salvador | Strategies for Promoting Women's Participation in Post-Liberation Politics | Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN) Association of Salvadoran Women Parliamentarians and Ex-Parliamentarians (ASPARLEXAL) | Internal party organization Voluntary quota Women's caucus |
| India (box) | Quotas, reservations and political parties | General Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) | Reserved seats in parliament |
| Indonesia (box) | Candidate recruitment and political party quotas | Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) | Candidate recruitment |
| Mexico | Supporting Women's Representation through Quotas and State Funds for Training | National Action Party (PAN) | Women's mobilization Funding of candidates Internal party quotas |
| Morocco | Cross sector activism to promote party candidate quotas | Union of Popular Forces (USFP) | Candidate quota Women's mobilization Party policies |
| Peru (box) | Coalition of women's organizations targeting party leaders to gain buy-in for a quota | General | Quotas |
| Rwanda | Using the Constitution to Institutionalize Women's Post-Conflict Gains | Rwandan Patriotic Front | Voluntary and legislated quotas Women's mobilization |
| Serbia (box) | Women's Wing Mobilization for Political Change | G17 Plus | Women's mobilization Women's wing |

| COUNTRY | TITLE | EXAMPLE | KEYWORDS |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| South Africa | Transforming the Agenda from Liberation Movement to Political Clout | African National Congress | Women's mobilization Voluntary party quotas |
| Southern Africa (box) | Regional lessons on leveraging transition periods and institutionalizing party gender equality practices | Mozambique (Liberation Front of Mozambique, FRELIMO) Namibia Mauritius | -- |
| Spain | Working in Partnership with Men to Transform the Political Environment for Women | Socialist Party (PSOE) | Partnership with men Internal quota Women's mobilization |
| Timor-Leste (box) | Creating incentives to advance women's candidate recruitment | UNTAET | Quotas Media airtime |
| UK | Nominating Women Candidates in Winnable Seats | Conservative Party | Candidate nomination Party policy reform |
| USA | Fundraising Networks and a Gender Equity Policy for Party Conventions | Democratic Party | Women's mobilization Funding networks Party organization |

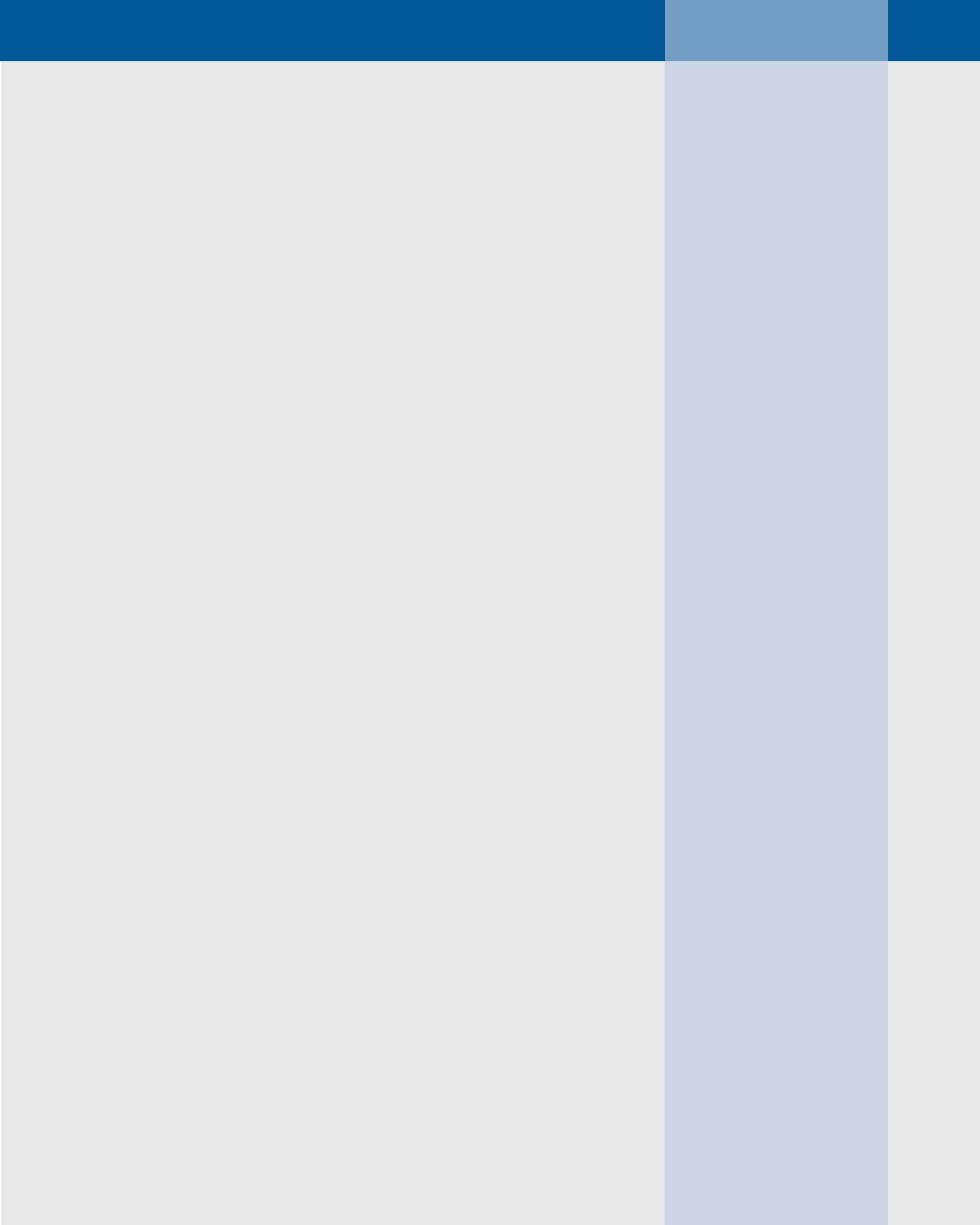
ANNEX 2 – COUNTRIES WITH 30% WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND EXAMPLES OF QUOTAS

(in lower or single houses of parliament)

| COUNTRY | % WOMEN | QUOTA |
|----------------------|---------|---|
| Rwanda | 56.3 | Reserved seats: 30% women Voluntary party candidate quota |
| Andorra | 53.6 | N/A |
| Sweden | 45.0 | Voluntary party candidate quota |
| South Africa | 44.5 | Voluntary party candidate quota |
| Cuba | 43.2 | N/A |
| Iceland | 42.9 | Voluntary party candidate quota |
| Finland | 42.5 | N/A |
| Norway | 39.6 | Voluntary party candidate quota |
| Belgium | 39.3 | Legislated quota for women candidates on party lists |
| Netherlands | 39.3 | Voluntary party candidate quota |
| Mozambique | 39.2 | Voluntary party candidate quotas |
| Angola | 38.6 | Legislated quota of at least 30% of each sex on party lists |
| Costa Rica | 38.6 | Legislated quota of 40% of each sex on party lists |
| Argentina | 38.5 | Legislated quota for women candidates on party lists |
| Denmark | 38.0 | N/A |
| Spain | 36.6 | Legislated candidate quota of minimum 40% of either sex |
| Tanzania | 36.0 | Reserved seats: 30% women |
| Uganda | 34.9 | Reserved seats for women (and other groups) |
| New Zealand | 33.6 | Voluntary party candidate quota |
| Nepal | 33.2 | Legislated quota of 33% women candidates on party lists |
| Germany | 32.8 | Voluntary party candidate quota |
| Ecuador | 32.3 | Legislated quota for women candidates on party lists |
| Burundi | 32.1 | Legislated quota of 30% women candidates on party lists |
| Belarus | 31.8 | N/A |
| The FYR of Macedonia | 30.9 | Legislated quota: On candidate lists, every third position will be reserved for least represented sex |
| Guyana | 30.0 | Legislated quota of 33% women candidates on party lists |

N/A=Not applicable

Source: Table adapted from *Quota Project: Global Database of Quotas for Women*, available at <http://www.quotaproject.org/country.cfm>, accessed September 16, 2011; and Inter-Parliamentary Union <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>, August 2011.



“ENSURING WOMEN’S EQUAL PARTICIPATION
IN THE DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES
OF PARTIES IS ESSENTIAL FOR PROMOTING
GENDER EQUALITY WITHIN THEM – AND,
ULTIMATELY, WITHIN SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.”



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