What strategies work?
Parliament, parties, and women's empowerment
Class Structure

1. Assignment 3

2. Gender equality in elected office:
   - Quotas Project, iKNOW politics
   - InterParliamentary Union, POGAR

3. Case studies: Iraq and Afghanistan
1. Assignment

Report II: Policy options
DPI-403 Structure

I: Advocacy

II: Diagnosis

III: Policy Options

IV: Implementation
1. **Policy advocacy?**
   - What are the benefits of democratic governance? Why is this issue important for the policy agenda?

2. **Diagnostic needs analysis (Reports I & II)**
   - Identifying the problems and opportunities for democratic governance reforms in a region

3. **Analysis of policy options (Report III)**
   - OK, if we accept there is a problem, what solutions are most effective? What choices are available? What are the consequences which follow from each? What would you do?
Assignment

- **Policy options** (30%)
  - Select *one* of the topics listed in the syllabus from Part III (classes 13-19) eg constitution building, electoral reform, strengthening women’s empowerment etc.
  - Your essay should summarize, outline and evaluate the key alternative policy options which are available for strengthening this aspect of democratic governance.
  - Compare a range of alternative program options used by different development agencies to strengthen this aspect of democratic governance.
  - Explain options and evidence-based pros and cons of each
Report Structure

I. The executive summary of the plan of your essay and the major conclusions;

II. Summary of the core topic;

III. Outline of alternative policy options

IV. Selected cases illustrating effective interventions and ‘best practice’ on this topic

V. Assessment of the pros and cons of alternative options;

VI. Conclusions and recommendations;

VII. Technical appendix (including longer tables, larger graphs/figures, definition of indicators and sources, and any multivariate analysis tables, if used.)

VIII. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.
Professional guidelines

- Your assignments are designed to be crafted as professional reports, representing evidence-based policy analysis, rather than written as personal essays or standard academic papers. The aim is to produce work which could be published by international agencies, multilateral organizations, bilateral donors, and national governments, as well as distributed internally within organizations. You need to consider how your work would be read and critiqued by representatives from governments and national stake-holders in the region. It needs to be carefully written and supported by direct evidence derived from the available datasets and from citations to existing research.

- Communicate your argument in a clear, concise and effective manner, designed for a non-technical readership. These are not academic research papers designed for journal publication.

- Use appendices and endnotes to explain more technical matters.

- Use effective endnote references citing sources from the peer-reviewed research literature, as suggested from the extensive readings listed in the syllabi and others related publications. Use endnotes to support any contentious claims, to provide your client with further sources of evidence, and to acknowledge any data sources.

- Use professional graphs, figures and tables with clear, short descriptive titles, and with full explanatory notes and data sources below each one.

- Integrate short, vivid cases and concrete illustrations to illustrate specific ‘good practice’ programs and strategies.

- The standard you should seek to achieve is equivalent to the World Bank Development Report or the UNDP Human Development Report. Consult these sources to check the format and writing style.
Policy Options

- Human rights, justice, rule_law, Amnesty
- Media freedom, CPJ
- Civic society, soc cap, CIVICUS
- PAR, decentralization, anti-corruption, TI
- Elections, ACE/UNDP, IFES
- Parlt, parties, women Quotas Project
- Constitutions, IDEA
Choice of questions to address

- Class 13-19 Discussion questions e.g.

- 13. Which *strategies* are most *common* and which are most *effective* for multilateral agencies seeking to strengthen democratic governance: external pressures...or long-term capacity building?

- 14. What are the key contrasts between ‘consensus’ and ‘majoritarian’ *institutions*? Compare and contrast two developing countries exemplifying each type.
Possible questions to address

15. Compare two countries and discuss the primary advantages and disadvantages of PR or majoritarian electoral systems for each.

16. Why have quotas spread so rapidly worldwide and what are the consequences of their adoption?

17. Does decentralization strengthen or weaken good governance?
The logic of your selection

- **Pick a topic which is an important problem for your region:**
  - Use your data skills to illustrate the issue in your region
  - Use one or two graphs/tables to show eg types of electoral system, % women in parliament, levels of Human Rights, levels of decentralization etc. in your region.

- **Use debates in the academic research literature as evidence of the general pros and cons**
  - Start with readings listed in the syllabus; what is known about the pros and cons?
  - Find other journal articles and books on the topic – Web of Science SSCI

- **To illustrate the pros and cons, select a few concrete cases in your chosen region; apply your readings**
  - The countries illustrate the contrasts in the topic; ‘Most different’ or ‘most similar’ design. Eg similar states which are high or low on women in parl in your region
  - The countries are debating or implementing reforms; it is a genuine matter of concern; you have established from your indicators that this is a major problem; multilateral agencies are working on these issues in the region/country; the issues were recently in the news; leaders have said that this is a problem.
  - Use also successful cases outside your region which are ‘hegemonic’ worldwide eg Truth and Reconciliation Commission in S.Africa, decentralized participatory budgeting in Brazil, local gender quotas or social audits in India, electoral reform in New Zealand
Format and structure

- Your report should be structured with subheadings to cover the following topics:
  - The executive summary of the plan of your report and the major findings;
  - Summary of the core topic;
  - Assessments of the effectiveness of alternative policy options;
  - Conclusions and implications;
  - Technical appendix (including longer tables, larger graphs/figures, definition of indicators and sources, and any multivariate analysis tables, if used.)
  - Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

- You are encouraged to work collaboratively, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade.

- The report should be about 2,500-3,000 words in length in professional format.
2. Gender equality in elected office
Topic Resources

1. www.quotaproject.org
2. www.iknowpolitics.org
3. Inter-parliamentary union www.ipu.org
4. www.undp-pogar.org
Why is gender equality a problem?

1995 Beijing Platform for Action

- “Women’s empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace.”

What has changed in the last decade?
## Global trends

### Table 1: Women prime ministers or elected presidents currently in office (*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Date from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Presidents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Mary McAleese</td>
<td>November 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>Vaira Vike-Freiberga</td>
<td>June 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Tarja Halonen</td>
<td>March 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo</td>
<td>January 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf</td>
<td>January 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Michele Bachelet</td>
<td>January 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Micheline Calmy-Rey</td>
<td>January 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Pratibha Patil</td>
<td>July 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Cristina E. Fernández Wilhelm de Kirchner,</td>
<td>October 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
<td>Borjana Kristo</td>
<td>October 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prime ministers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Helen Clark</td>
<td>December 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Begum Khaleda Zia</td>
<td>October 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Luisa Dias Diogo</td>
<td>February 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sao Tome and Principe</td>
<td>Maria do Carmo Silveira</td>
<td>June 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Angela Merkel</td>
<td>November 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Portia Simpson Miller</td>
<td>March 2006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** (*) As at November 2007. The list excludes hereditary monarchs, appointed Governor Generals, and leaders of dependent territories.

**Source:** www.guide2womenleaders.com
Global trends

Figure 1: Trends in women’s legislative representation 1985-2006, worldwide

Note: The proportion of women elected to the single or lower house of national parliaments in 191 contemporary nations worldwide. Data calculated from the Inter-Parliamentary Union database. The figures are from 31st January per annum.

Regional Trends

% of women in the Lower House of parliament:
Change 1990-2005 (IPU)
Worldwide comparison

% Women in the lower house, Nov 2005.

www.ipu.org
Agencies
Global Database of Quotas for Women

A joint project of
International IDEA and Stockholm University

Quota Details by Country
Begin by selecting a country from the drop-down list:

---Choose a country---

(Only countries with quotas are included. See also a list of countries without quotas.)

Country Case Studies
Detailed information on quotas by region and country

Working Papers
Stockholm University working paper series

Discussions
Discussion forum on topics related to gender quotas

News:
- 2007-03-19: New Publication About the Relationship Between Quotas and Electoral Systems
- 2007-03-15: New International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics
- 2007-02-17: Quotas in Mauritania

Latest updates
- Ireland (2007-09-06)
- Haiti (2007-08-23)
- Philippines (2007-08-10)

Illustration by Anoli Perera from Sri Lanka

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Welcome to iKNOW Politics!

our KNOWLEDGE

Women and Political Participation in the United Arab Emirates
This study is an attempt to examine the political system in the United Arab Emirates and identify obstacles and challenges facing women's political empowerment.

Gender Equality for Development Effectiveness: National Development Planning in the Commonwealth of Independent States
This paper highlights the importance for gender equality advocates to focus on development planning cycles and budget processes while creating plans for national development in the CIS region.

Participation and leadership in Latin America and the Caribbean: gender indicators

our VOICES

Who was Shirley Chisholm?
Submitted by baolinova on Mon, 2008-03-03 10:27.
I have just come across a very interesting article about Shirley Chisholm, the first black woman elected to the United States Congress.

The Need for Women in Peace Building
Submitted by Emily Edgecombe on Thu, 2008-02-07 19:14.
It is essential that women play a key role in the peace building process in conflicts around the world.

Iranian Women Crucial In Majlis Election
Submitted by Emily Edgecombe on Wed, 2006-01-30 21:34.
More than 7,000 candidates have registered for the Iranian parliamentary election scheduled to be held on 14 March. About 600 of them are women.

our STORIES

World: New Gender Equity Index 2008: Social Watch
The economic dimension is the next challenge towards global gender equity. More than half the women in the world live in countries that have made no progress towards gender equity in recent years. That is one of the findings of the Gender Equity Index (GEI) 2008 that Social Watch launched here as a contribution to the 52nd Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women that will end March 8, the International Women’s Day.

World: UN Deputy Secretary General Declares Women’s Role Essential to Reaching Development Goals
The United Nations (UN) Deputy Secretary General Asha-Rose Migiro announced in a speech that efforts to reach the U.N. Millennium Development Goals must focus on empowering women. Deputy Secretary

latest questions to experts

Women in Politics in Nigeria
Welcome to UNDP-POGAR!

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Regional Bureau for Arab States (RBAS) launched the Programme on Governance in the Arab Region (POGAR) in early 2000. POGAR was developed at the request of Arab governments, and therefore specifically addresses national needs and concerns.

POGAR is dedicated to the promotion and development of good governance practices and related reforms in the Arab states; it works in partnership with key governance institutions including legislatures, judiciaries, and civil society organizations to identify needs and solutions.

POGAR's activities, which include providing policy advice, engaging in institutional capacity building, and testing policy options through pilot projects, revolve around three main concepts:

1. Participation
2. Rule of Law
3. Transparency and Accountability

The website's objective is to provide resources and information on governance reform in the Arab states, including general and country-specific essays on the themes pertaining to each concept and regularly updated. The website provides access to:

- Thematic comparisons between countries
- Governance related publications and empirical studies
- Arab statistics and indicators
- Specialized Databases
- Useful web links
- List of our partners
- List of our publications and how to get them
- List of our activities sorted by theme or year, and...
What are the major options?

Gender equality strategies

Electoral system
- Majoritarian
- Mixed
- Proportional

Equal opportunity policies
For women and men

Fast track strategies
To increase women’s participation

- Voluntary quotas for legislative candidates in party rules
- Legal quotas for legislative candidates applying to all parties
- Reserved legislative seats for women

Equality in legal citizenship rights
Equality in education, jobs, & welfare
Help with costs of election campaign
Training for candidates & elected members
Electoral reform

Mean Percentage of women in the Lower House of Parliament, 2008 (IPU)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Electoral family (4-major categories) (IDEA 2004)</th>
<th>0.0</th>
<th>5.0</th>
<th>10.0</th>
<th>15.0</th>
<th>20.0</th>
<th>25.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majoritarian</td>
<td>13.59</td>
<td>15.99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21.37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No elections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Option: Reserved seats

### Table 1: Examples of reserved seats for women used in the lower house of parliaments worldwide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Election Year</th>
<th>Total number of MPs in the lower house</th>
<th>Number of seats reserved for women</th>
<th>% Of seats reserved for women</th>
<th>Appointed or elected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea(i)</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>Indirectly elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>Appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>Appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>Appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>Varies</td>
<td>Varies</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** *Reserved seats for women* in the lower house of the national parliament are defined as those that by law can only be filled by women, either by appointment or election. (i) It should be noted that the parliament in Eritrea is currently suspended.
# Option: Statutory quotas

Table 2: Examples of statutory gender quotas used worldwide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Date of Law</th>
<th>Gender Quota %</th>
<th>Legislative Body</th>
<th>Electoral system</th>
<th>List open or closed</th>
<th>% Women MPs before law (i)</th>
<th>% Women MPs after law (ii)</th>
<th>Change (i)-(ii)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Majoritarian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Unicameral</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia &amp; Herzegovina</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>+21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Unicameral</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Unicameral</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Rep</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Unicameral</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Proportional</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea, North</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Majoritarian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Majoritarian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>+25.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Average**: 30

| Change (i)-(ii) | 10 | 14 | +4 |
Option: Voluntary party quotas

More than 100 countries now have at least one party using voluntary gender quotas to nominate parliamentary candidates

Source: www.quotaproject.org
What works?

- **Reserved seats**
  - Most radical option
  - Can increase the number of women in office
  - If by appointment, may limit women’s autonomy and status
  - Most common in majoritarian electoral systems with weak party organizations & traditional cultures

- **Statutory gender quotas**
  - Impact varies depending upon design
    - Level, penalties, ranking of lists, party compliance etc
  - Most common in consolidating democracies

- **Voluntary gender quotas**
  - Most widely used strategy
  - Can be effective where party rules matter
  - But also can be a symbolic gesture
What consequences?

- Current research agenda
  - Voice for women’s diverse concerns?
  - Strengthens legitimacy of elected bodies?
  - Work of parliamentarians? Eg constituency service?
  - Mobilizes women at the grassroots?
    - Win-win: Reforms to parliament *also* engage citizens
3. Cases
Iraq and Afghanistan
Regional comparison

% Women in the lower house, Nov 2005.
www.ipu.org
Summary comparison

- **Afghanistan**
  - Single Non Transferable Vote
  - Constitutional reserved seats for women in each province
  - 25% of all members
  - Results Sept 2005:
    - Women are 27.3%

- **Iraq**
  - Party List proportional representation
  - Legal quotas for women candidates ranked on national party lists
  - 25% of all candidates
  - Results Dec 2005:
    - Women are 25.5%
Afghanistan: Electoral systems for the Wolesi Jirga (Lower house)

- Single Non-Transferable Vote electoral system:
  - Multimember constituencies and simple plurality elections
  - Election through free, general, secret and direct elections for 5 year term
- 249 seats allocated among the provinces in proportion to their population
- Tot. pop 28m/249=seat allocation quota, with the exception that all provinces must have at least two seats
- One member per 112,450 electors
- Parties may nominate a list of candidates in each province up to the total number of seats
- The candidates with the most votes wins seats in each province
Positive action policy

- Reserved seats for women
- The Afghan constitution stipulates that the number of female representatives in the Wolesi Jirga must be at least twice the number of provinces \((2 \times 32 = 64/249 = 25\%)\).
- The election commission sets the minimum female quota per province.
- The female candidate with the most votes in each constituency will be elected until the minimum quota for female candidates in each province is met.
- Other women can then be elected based on their share of the vote in each province.
Elections 18th September 2005

- Complex electoral choices
  - 8,500 candidates for Wolesi Jirga & provincial councils
  - 69 ballot papers – in Kabul, 390 names on 7 pages
- 26,000 men-only or women-only ballot stations
- Low turnout (est. 55%?)
- In total, 328 women stood out of 2,707 candidates for the Wolesi Jirga (12%)
- Results: 68 women were elected out of 249 members of the Wolesi Jirga (27.3%)
Iraq case

- Elections held on 30\textsuperscript{th} January 2005 for:
  - 275 members of new Transitional National Assembly
  - 18 Provincial assemblies
  - Kurdish parliament
- Electoral system
  - PR elections – simple (Hare) quota (total vote/275 members)
  - One national constituency w. 275 seats
  - Each party must present ranked lists of 12-275 candidates
  - Policy of legal quotas - Women every third name down candidate’s lists
- 200 parties registered with the Electoral Commission
- Plus individual candidates w. 500 signatures qualify
Positive action policies

- Quotas for women candidates
- Constitution specifies that at least 25% of the parliament must be women
- Zippering principle for party lists:
  - Electoral law requires that at least one woman must be among the first 3 nominees on a party list, at least two women must be among the first 6 nominees, and so on.
- Results: 83 women elected out of 273 members of the National Assembly (31.5%).
Iraqi elections- December 15th 2005

- Elections for the Council of Representatives
- Electoral system: Regional party list proportional representation
- 230 members elected from 18 regions
- Members allocated by number of registered voters in each region
- Plus 45 compensatory seats allocated for those parties above a vote threshold but which did not win any list seats
- Women 70 out of 273 (25.5%)
Conclusions

Pros and cons?