

Gender Sensitive Parliaments

- "Effective and Sustainable Participation of women in elected assemblies", Algiers Dec.2013
- *by*
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First problem: Women's under-representation

- Quotas is about women's numerical representation.
- But quotas do not in itself solve all the other problems.
- Gender balance in politics can be viewed as a goal it itself (a human right) or as a means to change political life and public policies

World Average 2013

(single or lower Houses of Parliament)

World Average: 21.8 % women

Nordic countries	42.0 %
Americas	24.2 %
Europe (OSCE),exl Nordic	23.0 %
• Sub-Saharan Africa	21.1 %
• Asia	19.1 %
• Arab countries	17.8 % (2003: 6 %)
• Pacific	13.1 %
• <i>WWW.IPU.ORG</i>	

Many different types of gender quotas

- An effective and sustainable quota system has to match the electoral system in the country and include sanctions for non-compliance.
- Gender quotas are popular and controversial
- - but it works!

Two types of quotas by law

- A. Quotas for the candidate lists (% women + rank order rules)
- B. Quotas for elected (reserved seats)
 - Ex. Jordan 15 reserved seats for women*
 - Morocco: 60*
 - Rwanda: 2 per governorate*

Women in Arab Parliaments, selec.

	<i>% W</i>	<i>Gender Quotas</i>	<i>Quota Type</i>
• Algeria	32 % (2012)	Yes	Cand.+R.S
• Tunisia	27 % (2011)	Yes	Cand.
• Iraq	25 % (2010)	Yes	Cand.+ R.S
• Morocco	17 % (2011)	Yes	Res.seats
• Libya	17 % (2012)	Yes	Cand.
• Palestina	13% (2010)	Yes	Cand.
• Jordan	12 % (2013)	Yes	Res.seats
• Syria	12% (2012)	No	
• Lebanon	3% (2009)	No	
• Egypt	2% (2011)	No	(yet, at least one woman)

Quotas for Elections

A major electoral reform in the world today

- 86 countries have now introduced electoral gender quotas in their constitution or electoral law.
- In around 40 other countries some political parties make use of voluntary party quotas for their electoral list
- www.quotaproject.org

Historical leaps – on the fast track

- Rwanda: from 26 % to 56 % women in 2003.
Now 64% women
- Costa Rica: from 19 % to 35 % in 2002
- Senegal: from 23 % to 43 % in 2012
- Algeria: from 8 % to 32 % in 2012

A Gender Sensitive Parliament

- “A gender sensitive parliament is one in which there are no barriers – substantive, structural or cultural- to women’s full participation and equality between its men and women members and staff”

A Gender Sensitive Parliament

- "It is not only a place where women can work, but also one where women want to work and contribute.
- A gender sensitive parliament is therefore a modern parliament".
- *Inter-Parliamentary Union 2012.*

*What is male dominance in politics?
What needs to be changed?*

- 1. Women numerical under-representation
- 2. Male-coded norms and practices
- 3. Vertical sex segregation – the higher up in the hierarchy, the fewer women

What needs to be changed, cont.

4. Horizontal sex segregation:

limited access of women to a range of portfolios and committees

5. Framing: "A real politician is a man"

6. Public policy: No concern for gender equality

The Paradox of Quota Adoption

- Gender quotas for elections are only about the numerical representation.
- *But feminists, who support gender quotas, want women to make a difference in politics,*
- *while male dominated parliaments have passed quota laws based on mixed motives.*

The diagnosis

- Why are women under-represented?
- Why are men over-represented?

Is there an 'old boys network' – Do men tend to select other men?

Common arguments

- - "women do not vote for women"
- "women are not qualified"
- *How qualified are the men?*

The political parties are the gatekeepers

- When the voter enter the polling station, the candidates have already been nominated.
- The political parties have already placed some candidates in good seats or at the top of the list with good chances to be elected (so-called 'safe seats').

The 'secret garden' of nominations

- How are candidates actually selected?
- Nomination processes should be more formalised and more transparent
- This will contribute to the process of democratization in all countries

Sustainable representation?

- *57 parliamentary elections took place in 2012 (single, lower and upper houses)*
- In 39 elections women's representation increased
- In 14 elections a decrease
- In 4 no change

The political parties

- The political parties have the power to change women's historical under-representation
- Gender quotas for election make the political parties more seriously search for potential women candidates

Electoral systems

- Proportional representation with party lists (PR)
- Majoritarian system with only one candidate per party
- Even without quotas, PR tends to give higher representation for women and is easier to combine with a quota system.

Mixed electoral systems

- *Balance between PR and majoritarian seats:*

	Part of the parliament elected by		
	Total	PR	Majoritarian
• Germany	598	50 %	50 %
• Libya	200	40 %	60 %
• Egypt	498	66 %	33 %
• Jordan	150	18 %	82 %

Double standards

- "Women politicians are not qualified" /
- "Women politicians are an elite"
- "Women politicians predominantly come from political families" (so do the men!)

Rank-order rules are necessary

- *Candidate quotas:*
 1. Zipper system – alternation
 2. The top two cannot be of the same sex (Belgium´+ 50 % for whole list)
 3. 40:60 for every 5 posts on the list.
 4. One out of every group of 4 candidates must be a woman (East Timor)

Sanctions for non-compliance:

- *legal quota systems:*
 - 1. Rejection of the list
 - 2. Financial penalty
 - (3. Financial incentives)

Women in parliament. Top ranking countries 2013

	Country	Women in parliament, percentage (election year)	Quotas	Election system
1.	Rwanda	64,0 (2013)	Legal Quotas	PR
2	Cuba	45,2 (2008)	NA	Plurality/Maj
3	Sweden	45,0 (2010)	Party Quotas	PR
4.	Senegal	42,7 (2012)	Legal Quotas	Mixed
6.	Finland	42,5 (2011)	No Quotas	PR
6	South Africa	42,3 (2009)	Party Quotas	PR
7.	Nicaragua	40,2 (2011)	Party Quotas	PR
8.	Iceland	39,7 (2013)	Party Quotas	PR
9	Norway	39,6 (2009)	Party Quotas	PR
10.	Mozambique	39,2 (2009)	Party Quotas	PR
11.	Denmark	39,0 (2011)	No Quotas	PR
12.	Netherlands	38,7 (2012)	Party Quotas	PR
13	Costa Rica	38,6 (2010)	Legal Quotas	PR
14	Timor-Leste	38,5 (2012)	Legal Quotas	PR
15.	Belgium	38,3 (2010)	Legal Quotas	PR
16.	Argentina	37,4 (2011)	Legal Quotas	PR

Election day figures
37 countries over 30
% women in their
parliament (lower or
single house)