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Gender and Elections: Temporary Special Measures Beyond Quotas

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Mona Lena Krook[1]
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Summary

Gender equality in elected office has grown into a major commitment on the part of international organizations, national governments, political parties, and civil society groups around the world. To date, much of the discussion has revolved around "temporary special measures," largely defined in relation to electoral gender quotas. This report presents an overview of quota measures globally, but also seeks to widen the discussion to a range of non-quota strategies that might be employed at a variety of different levels to empower women in politics. The diversity of measures catalogued in this report – undertaken by laws, parliaments, political parties, and civil society groups – reveals a broad array of creative solutions which might be pursued to enhance women's political representation.

Introduction

Gender parity in elected office has become a central goal of national governments and international organizations around the globe. The roots of this demand extend back to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, which enshrines "the equal rights of men and women," including the right to participate in government.[2] Delegates to the United Nations (UN) World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 called on governments to "establish goals, strategies, and timetables" to increase "the number of women in elective and appointive public offices and public functions at all levels."[3] The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly and today ratified by nearly every member state, reiterated that women be ensured the right "to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government."[4]

At the end of the UN Decade for Women in 1985, the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies encouraged states to take more active steps to achieve these goals. It recommended that governments consider "legislative and administrative measures" and

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[1] Mona Lena Krook is an associate professor of Political Science at Rutgers University in July 2012. Prior to this, she was an assistant professor of Political Science and Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Washington University in St. Louis. She earned a Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University in 2005 and her doctoral dissertation entitled *Politicizing Representation: Campaigns for Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide* received an Honorable Mention from the American Political Science Association for the Best Dissertation on Women and Politics in 2006.

[2] *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art*. 2, http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/

[3] *World Plan of Action*, Par. 62, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/mexico.html

[4] *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, Article 7, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm

that parties "institute measures to activate women's constitutional and legal guarantees of the right to be elected and appointed by selecting candidates."[5] Building on these advances, the term "temporary special measures" from Article 4 of CEDAW was specified in General Recommendation No. 5 of the UN's CEDAW Committee in 1988 to refer to "positive action, preferential treatment, or quota systems to advance women's integration into education, the economy, politics, and employment."[6]

These commitments were strengthened in the Beijing Platform for Action, signed by all member states at the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. This document identified a specific target of 30 percent women, which it argued might only be achieved through the greater use of positive action in candidate selection.[7] Following the conference, debates over quotas for women in politics were initiated around the globe, leading to the passage of electoral gender quota policies in more than 100 countries – nearly all specifying 30 percent women as a minimum proportion of candidates and/or elected officials – in the ensuing years (Krook 2009).[8]

Yet, the Beijing Platform for Action did not solely focus on quotas as a solution for overcoming women's underrepresentation. It also highlighted a range of other measures to support the goal of gender-balanced decision-making, like "career planning, tracking, mentoring, coaching, training, and retraining" for women and "public debate on the new roles of men and women in society and in the family."[9] Mention of these strategies in the Platform for Action indicates that quotas alone may not suffice to achieve gender equality in elected office.

On the one hand, the outcomes of quota policies may be enhanced by programs that expand the pool of potential female candidates and promote a broader transformation in public views towards women in politics. On the other hand, formal quotas may not be an option in all states, for a variety of reasons. In these cases, alternative strategies are required to foster greater gender equality. In contrast to electoral quotas, however, "non-quota measures" to enhance women's political representation have not been subject to systematic documentation or analysis.

Recognizing the utility of quota *and* non-quota approaches, this paper draws on examples from around the globe to outline a wide range of temporary special measures that might be used to promote greater gender parity in elections. After presenting the current international thinking on these questions, which supports deliberate strategies of intervention to facilitate women's access to elected office, the paper addresses temporary special measures in five parts.

The first section provides an overview of electoral gender quotas, focusing on policy design, adoption processes, and numerical impact. The next four sections catalogue non-

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[5] *Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies,* Par. 88 and 91, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/nairobi.html

[6] http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/recomm.htm

[7] *Beijing Platform for Action*, Par. 184, 189, 192, 194, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/fwcwn.html

[8] For an updated list of quota policies, see http://www.quotaproject.org

[9] *Beijing Platform for Action*, Par. 194, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/fwcwn.html

quota strategies, organizing them according to the location of intervention: law, parliament, political parties, and civil society. The diversity of measures employed around the world points to a broad array of creative solutions, engaging a variety of actors, which might be pursued to enhance women's political representation. Together with quotas, these tactics highlight the need for a multifaceted approach to tackle the multidimensional and diverse nature of obstacles to women's political inclusion.

Value of Gender Parity

Today women occupy 20.3 percent of all parliamentary seats worldwide. [10] While this is nearly double the number of seats held by women in 1995, 11.3 percent (Inter-Parliamentary Union 1995), countries vary significantly in terms of the change that has been achieved. More than 30 states have met the 30 percent target for women in decision-making positions set by the Beijing Platform for Action. Of these, nine countries have surpassed 40 percent mark and 2 have elected 50 percent or more. On the other end of the spectrum, however, several parliaments have only a handful or no women at all.[11]

What is notable about the group of countries at the top of the list is that they do not follow any clear patterns in terms of social, economic, political, or cultural characteristics. This is in sharp contrast to the late 1980s, when the nine states in the world with the highest levels of female representation came from two groups: four were located in the Nordic region, and five were Communist countries (United Nations Office in Vienna 1992, 12). These developments cast doubt on two common objections raised when concrete strategies are proposed to increase the numbers of women in politics.

The first is that long-term structural shifts in the roles of men and women in the home, family, work force, and public sphere will eventually facilitate a transformation in access to political positions. In fact, increased opportunities for women in higher education, labor force participation, and professional employment have not translated into greater access to decision-making positions. The second claim is that processes of democratization will gradually produce an even playing field so that eventually equal numbers of women and men will be elected. Evidence from democratizing as well as highly democratic states indicates that this is not the case, with many of these countries falling below the world average – despite long and stable periods of democracy (Norris and Krook 2011).

An alternative perspective, gaining ground today across the globe, reverses these two sets of claims by suggesting causality may move in the opposite direction: equal representation can empower women and facilitate democracy. This view is reflected in a growing number of international declarations in favor of gender-balanced decision-making as a means for promoting development, democracy, and security for all citizens.[12] A host of academic studies also endorse this view, demonstrating that the increased presence of

[10] *Women in National Parliaments: Situation as of 31 October 2012*, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

[11] *Women in National Parliaments: Situation as of 31 October 2012*, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

[12] These international organizations include the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Commonwealth, the Southern African Development Community, the Organization of American States, and the African Union. For more on UN strategies in this area, see Krook and True 2012.

women in political office can help parties compete more effectively, encourage the political participation of both women and men, and draw attention to important issues that have previously been overlooked (Norris and Krook 2011). Voters, indeed, do not appear to be biased against female candidates – and in some instances, in fact prefer to vote for women over men (Murray et al 2012). Women, moreover, have proved to be diligent legislators (Anzia and Berry 2011), and according to a global survey, both men and women believe that government is more democratic when more women are present (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005).

Electoral Quotas

Early comparative research identified electoral systems, development, women's social and economic status, and political culture as reasons for why some countries elected more women than others (for a review, see Krook 2010). These patterns have unraveled in recent years, however, with the widespread introduction of electoral gender quotas, which have altered traditional candidate selection processes in ways that have enabled the election of greater numbers of women – regardless of previously assumed "prerequisites" for change. The main barriers to women's increased election thus appear to be political, rather than social, economic, or cultural. Nonetheless, quotas have not been similarly effective across contexts: some have produced dramatic jumps, while others have led to more modest changes and even setbacks in women's representation (Krook 2009). These variations stem from policy design, different paths to policy adoption, and distinct contexts shaping the ability of quotas to elect more women.

Quota Types

Quotas take three main forms – reserved seats, party quotas, and legislative quotas – which intervene in distinct ways in the candidate selection process. *Reserved seats* involve reforms to constitutions, and occasionally electoral laws, which set aside seats for women that men are not eligible to contest. They are found in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Although they first emerged in the 1930s and were the main type of quota adopted through the 1970s, since the year 2000 they have been passed in various countries that otherwise have very few women in politics.

In most instances, reserved seats provide for low levels of female representation, usually between 1 percent and 10 percent of all representatives – although since 2000, several countries have instituted much larger provisions of 30 percent. In some cases, like local elections in India, reserved seats apply to single-member districts in which only women may run for election. In others, such as Afghanistan, they are allocated in multi-member districts to the designated number of women that win the most votes. In yet others, like Uganda prior to 2006, women are selected to these seats several weeks after the general elections by members of the national parliament.

Party quotas, in contrast, entail changes to individual party statutes that commit the party to aim for a specific proportion of women among its candidates to political office. These policies were first adopted in the early 1970s by a limited number of socialist and social democratic parties in Western Europe. Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, however, they began to appear in a diverse array of parties in all regions of the world, such that today they are the most common type of gender quota.

Party quotas typically set a goal of between 25 percent and 50 percent female candidates. All the same, the phrasing of this requirement varies: some policies identify women as the group to be promoted by the quota, for example in Argentina, South Africa, and Spain, while others set out a more gender-neutral formulation, as in Italy and several Nordic countries. Party quotas govern the composition of party lists in countries with proportional representation electoral systems, which is the case in much of the world, and are directed at collections of single-member districts in countries with majoritarian arrangements, such as the United Kingdom.

Legislative quotas, finally, are measures enacted through reforms to electoral laws and sometimes constitutions that require all parties to nominate a certain percentage of female candidates. They tend to be found in developing countries, especially Latin America, and post-conflict societies, primarily in Africa, the Middle East, and Southeastern Europe. They are the newest kind of gender quota, appearing first only in the 1990s, at a time when the issue of women's under-representation in electoral politics had reached the agenda of many international and non-governmental organizations.

Legislative quotas generally call for women to constitute between 25 percent and 50 percent of all candidates, and in most instances, the language of these measures is gender-neutral, speaking of women and men together or making reference to the "underrepresented sex." Yet, legislative quotas vary in terms of how strictly their goals are articulated: some speak vaguely about "facilitating access," as is the case in France, while others offer concrete guidelines regarding the selection and placement of female candidates, like in Argentina, Belgium, and Costa Rica. Similar to party quotas, these policies are implemented in different ways depending on the electoral system, applying alternatively to party lists, the case in much of the world, or to a broader group of single-member districts, as in France. However, given their status as law, a distinctive feature of these quotas is that they may contain sanctions for non-compliance and be subject to oversight from external bodies, as in Mexico and Portugal.

Quota Adoption

Quotas are not only a widespread but also a relatively recent political phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1980, only ten countries established quota provisions, followed by twelve states in the 1980s. Over the course of the 1990s, however, quotas appeared in more than 50 countries and have been joined by more than 50 more since the year 2000 – most recently, in some of the new regimes emerging in the wake of the Arab Spring, such as Tunisia and Libya. Case studies suggest that quotas reach the political agenda in at least one of four ways: women's mobilization, elite strategies, international pressure, and transnational influences (Krook 2009).

Women's groups tend to mobilize for quotas when they come to view quotas as an effective, and perhaps the only, means for increasing women's political representation. In these instances, women pursue quotas for both principled and pragmatic reasons. They believe that there should be more women in politics in order to achieve justice, promote women's interests, and make use of women's resources for the good of society. Absent any "natural" trend towards change, however, they recognize that this is likely to be achieved only through specific, targeted actions to promote female candidates.

Political elites are more likely to adopt quotas for strategic reasons, generally related to competition with other parties. Various case studies suggest, for example, that party elites often adopt quotas when one of their rivals adopts them. This concern may be heightened if the party is seeking to overcome a long period in opposition or a dramatic decrease in popularity. In other contexts, elites view quotas as a way to demonstrate a degree of commitment to women without actually intending to alter existing patterns of inequality. Alternatively, elites treat quotas as a convenient means to promote other ends, like maintaining control over rivals within or outside the party.

International pressures often work together with transnational influences. Over the last two decades, many international organizations – including the UN, the Socialist International, the Council of Europe, the European Union, the Commonwealth, the African Union, the Southern African Development Community, and the Organization of American States – have issued declarations recommending that all member-states aim for 30 percent women in all political bodies. In some cases, international actors are directly involved in quota adoption, directly applying quotas or by compelling national leaders to do so themselves. In others, international events provide new sources of leverage in national debates, shifting the balance in favor of local and transnational actors pressing for adoption. In still others, women's movements and transnational non-governmental organizations share information on quota strategies across national borders, bolstered by international declarations (Krook 2006).

Quota Effectiveness

Quota measures and the reasons for their adoption are diverse, and as such, differences in their impact might be expected. Yet, pinpointing why some are more effective than others is a complicated task: in addition to features of specific policies, which affect their likelihood of being implemented, quotas are introduced when variations already exist in the percentage of women in national parliaments. Cross-national variations are thus the combined result of quotas, where these are present, and other factors that were at work before quotas were established.

Three broad reasons have been offered to untangle these effects. The first focuses on *details of these measures*, namely differences in their wording, requirements, sanctions, and perceived legitimacy, all of which may have intended and unintended effects. In France, for example, financial penalties associated with the 50 percent quota law have been found to create distinct incentives for parties of different sizes: larger parties tend to ignore the requirements, while smaller parties are more likely to comply, for the simple reason that the latter are under greater pressure to maximize the amount of state funding they receive (Murray et al 2012).

A second explanation relates to the *"fit" between quotas and other political institutions*. Quotas often have the greatest impact in countries with proportional representation electoral systems with closed party lists and high district magnitudes. In Sweden, for example, multiple seats are available in each constituency and candidates are elected from lists put forward by political parties. In contrast, it is more difficult to apply quotas where only one seat is available per district, unless the quota entails reserved seats, as in Tanzania.

Quotas also tend to improve women's representation in countries where several parties co-exist and larger parties respond to policy innovations initiated by smaller parties, as well as in parties with left-wing ideologies where the party leadership is better able to enforce party or national regulations. Party fragmentation, however, can undercut the impact of quotas, if parties win only one seat per district, as occurred with the parity law implemented in Tunisia in 2011. Quotas can also be more successful where political cultures emphasize sexual difference and group representation, and less so where they stress sexual equality and individual representation. This is because quotas have been challenged in some states as a violation of constitutional principles of equality, as was the case in Italy and the UK in the 1990s and Mexico and Spain in the 2000s.

A third set of reasons points to the *role of political will*. Party elites are most directly responsible for variations in quota impact, since effective application of quotas largely hinges around elites' willingness to recruit female candidates. In a large number of cases, elites take steps to mitigate quota impact, ranging from passive refusal to enforce quotas to more active measures–including large-scale electoral fraud–to subvert their intended effects. Elites in Bolivia, for example, went so far as to change male names to female ones as a means to circumvent the 30 percent quota law. However, other actors may play a direct or indirect role in enforcing quota provisions, including women's organizations, national and international courts, and ordinary citizens, all of whom may monitor party compliance with quota measures in ways that lead elites to honor, and possibly even exceed, quota requirements (Krook 2009).

Beyond Quotas: Legal Measures

Both scholars and international organizations have spent more than a decade intensely analyzing gender quotas, generating a wide body of knowledge on the topic. Much less is known about non-quota tactics to promote gender equality in elected office. A more systematic search, however, uncovers substantial variety in such initiatives – thus presenting many options beyond gender quotas for encouraging the greater inclusion of women in politics. Law-based measures have the potential to be the most effective non-quota strategies in steering party and public behavior, given that they are – in theory – enforced centrally by the state. These measures include party funding regulations, publicly-provided campaign support, and laws seeking to combat violence against female politicians. As a group, these strategies seek to influence how parties approach the nomination and capacity building of female candidates, as well as to provide resources and security that may increase women's willingness to participate.

Party Funding Regulations

In countries where political parties are publicly funded, regulating how these funds are used can be an effective way of promoting women's political participation. A relatively recent innovation, these policies take a number of different forms. While all establish a set of guidelines and conditions for the use of direct public funds, these regulations may be directed at candidate nomination and/or capacity building of women inside the party (for a

full list, see Appendix 1). All data is from the International IDEA Political Finance Database,[13] unless explicitly specified in the text.

Candidate-centered regulations present incentives for political parties to nominate or elect greater numbers of female candidates, with the amount of public funding being conditioned on how many women are put forward by a given party. Parties may lose a share of funding if they do not nominate a certain percentage of female candidates, as in France where state subsidies are reduced by 75 percent of the difference between the proportions of women and men if these exceed more than 2 percentage points, and in Ireland, where party funding will be reduced by 50 percent if parties do not nominate at least 30 percent women (rising to 40 percent in subsequent elections).[14] An even stronger formulation exists in Serbia, where parties that do not have at least one-third candidates of each sex are prohibited from participating in elections, rendering them ineligible for any state subsidy.

A slightly different approach, which is becoming increasingly more common, frames the issue in a more positive way. In these countries, parties are rewarded for nominating women – rather than punished for falling short of legal mandates. In Ethiopia, a required percentage is not specified, but rather, financial support is determined according to how many women are nominated by each party in the context of all parties. In South Korea, the subsidy also depends on how parties compare with one another, with the overall scheme depending on how many parties exceed 30 percent female candidates. In Georgia and Italy, rewards are more explicitly enumerated. In Georgia, a party will receive an addition 10 percent of the funds it is entitled to if there are at least 20 percent candidates of a different sex per group of 10 candidates. In Italy, the proportion of state funding lost by parties that do not respect the legislative quota for European Parliament election is, in turn, distributed as a bonus to parties that do comply.

As is well-known from the literature on gender quotas, however, simply nominating more female candidates does not always translate into the election of greater numbers of women (see section above). A growing number of countries therefore allocate party funding according to the share of women who are actually elected. Apart from Kenya, where a party loses eligibility for state funding if more than two-thirds of its elected officials are of one gender, these provisions generally take the form of positive rather than negative incentives. In states as diverse as Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Colombia, Mali, and Niger, between 5 and 10 percent of state funding is allocated to parties based on their share of women elected – thereby encouraging parties to elect as many women as possible.

In other countries, the regulation is more explicitly formulated as a bonus to parties that elect women. In Romania, a specific figure is not mentioned, but simply that state funding will increase in proportion to the number of women elected. In Cape Verde, public funds are awarded to parties that elect at least 25 percent women, while in Papua New Guinea, parties receive a particular amount for each female candidate that wins at least 10 percent of the vote. Interestingly, the PNG law states that parties must not simply endorse a female candidate, but must have spent an amount of expenses on her campaign. Premiums for electing women are most clear in a handful of other cases. In ascending order, political parties are entitled to a bonus of 10 percent of the amount allocated for each

[13] http://www.idea.int/political-finance/
[14] http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2012/0720/1224320450882.html

elected member of the underrepresented sex in Croatia; a 50 percent increase in public funding if 30 percent of elected officials are women in Burkina Faso (UNDP-NDI 2011, 29); and a doubling of funding if a party nominates at least 30 percent women and succeeds in electing at least 20 percent women in Haiti. In Togo, a unique case, the nomination fee that parties must pay to contest elections is reduced by 25 percent if the party list contains female candidates.

Capacity building regulations provide a more indirect route towards greater gender equality in elected office. Rather than seeking to influence party calculations in candidate nomination processes, these laws require that parties earmark a certain percentage of their public funding for activities that contribute to the political development of women (and in some instances, youth and ethnic minorities as well). In some cases, the activities themselves are not specified, thus permitting political parties to elaborate their own programs. In Colombia and Ireland, requirements are especially vague: parties must simply spend some amount of their public funding to promote the inclusion and participation of women. In Brazil, Italy, and South Korea, an amount is identified – between 5 and 10 percent of state subsidies – but activities are not, referring only to those promoting the participation or development of women.

Other laws, however, do stipulate what funds must be used for – although the activities in question do vary. A support fund in Morocco must be directed towards enhancing women's political representation. Along similar lines, each party in Mexico must devote 2 percent of their annual public funding to the training, promotion, and development of women's leadership skills. In Panama, at least 10 percent of the 25 percent of party funding dedicated to civic and political education activities must be channeled solely towards the training of women. A specific percentage is not stated in Costa Rica, but parties there must certify that they spent an equal amount of resources on the training of women and men – and if they do not, the money for such activities will not be reinstated. Slightly different requirements exist in Finland, where all parliamentary parties must use 12 percent of their annual party subsidy to fund a women's wing, and Honduras, where parties are assessed a fine of 5 percent of their public funding if they do not develop and provide proof of a non-discrimination policy within their party.

Campaign Support Opportunities

In addition to direct funding of political parties, the law may also be used to provide indirect funding of political campaigns. One way to do this is through the provision of free air time on television and radio stations, whether on state- or privately-owned media. In Timor Leste, more broadcast media time is given to parties that place women in high positions on their party lists, which in past elections has had the effect of encouraging the nomination of women and their visibility during the campaign (Sidhu and Meena 2007, 31; UNDP-NDI 2011, 30).

In Afghanistan, where elections are candidate-centered rather than party-centered, the state-run media is required to provide equal facilities to all candidates, including providing broadcasting and advertising messages free of cost.[15] While gender-neutral in its formulation, it is notable that a higher proportion of female candidates (76 percent) took

[15] http://aceproject.org/epic-en/CDCountry?set_language=en&topic=ME&country=AF

advantage of this opportunity in 2005 than did male candidates (55 percent). This may stem from the fact that, according to a survey of 300 parliamentarians worldwide conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, one of the most significant factors deterring women from entering politics is the lack of finances to contest electoral campaigns (Ballington 2008, 18).

Increased awareness of campaign finance issues as potential obstacles to women's candidacies– as also detailed among the party and civil society initiatives enumerated below– has led to two further law-based policies to reduce such barriers for women. In many developing countries, for example, even relatively modest fees required to register a candidacy can exclude women from the election process (Sidhu and Meena 2007). In Nigeria, where money plays a key role in election campaigns, the federal government – acting through the Ministry of Women Affairs and Development– launched the Nigerian Women's Trust Fund in 2011. The aim of the trust fund is to provide aspiring female politicians with financial and other types of resources towards their political campaigns, regardless of political affiliation. This initiative was followed by a second trust, set up by the wife of the president, under the auspices of the Women for Change Initiative,[16] to distribute various sums to each of 809 female candidates. This complements the steps taken by several political parties to exempt women from paying some of the fees associated with participating in elections (for more details, see below).[17]

Laws on Violence Against Women in Politics

A third set of legal measures have very recently reached the political agenda, namely laws seeking to ensure women's safety while running for and holding elected positions. "Electoral violence" refers to use of force by political parties or their supporters to intimidate opponents. This can include a wide range of actions– undertaken before, during, or after elections– including character assassination, discouragement and harassment, abuse and rape, threatening of lives and physical attacks, and even murder and attempted murder (SAP International 2010, 15-16).

"Violence against women in politics" is an instance of electoral violence perpetrated against a female politician, but can also be treated as a broader category of violence against women. SAP International defines violence against women in politics as any act of violence seeking to inflict physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to female politicians, with the intention of deterring their political participation. Importantly, the definition put forward by SAP International recognizes that such violence can occur in public or private life: within political parties, across political parties, at the level of the state, as well as within a woman's own family (2010, 27).

Acknowledging this problem, legislators in several Latin American countries, including Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Mexico, have sought laws to prevent and punish all forms of persecution, harassment, and violence against women in politics. In 2012, Bolivian legislators approved the ground-breaking Law against Harassment and Political Violence against Women. Its passage came in response to demands from women's organizations who which pointed out that, over the previous eight years, police had received

[16] http://ngonewsafrica.org/archives/3802
[17] http://www.nigerianbestforum.com/generaltopics/?p=97889

more than 4,000 complaints of harassment from women participating in politics – a figure that most likely does not reflect the full extent of the problem, given that many incidents are not reported.

The increase in violence against female politicians in Bolivia appears to stem in part from the adoption of a legislative quota in 1997, which has increased the number of women elected, but has also led to pressures on women to renounce their positions in favor of their male substitutes. Recognizing the many forms that such violence may take, the law stipulates a two- to five-year prison sentence for anyone who pressurizes, persecutes, harasses, or threatens an elected woman. The penalty for physical, psychological, or sexual aggression is three to eight years in prison.[18] To avoid taking decisions against their will, further, resignations tendered by elected women are valid only if the woman in question appears in person before the National Electoral Court, acknowledging that some women have been forced to sign their resignations under duress (Salguero Carrillo 2009).

Beyond Quotas: Parliament Reforms

A second group of non-quota initiatives focus on parliaments as an institution, seeking to signal both that political institutions are open to women and to make politics a more attractive career for women. These initiatives recognize that particular aspects of parliamentary routines and infrastructure affect men and women in different ways, such that women often feel like outsiders within what they perceive to be overwhelmingly "masculine" institutions (Palmieri 2011, 83-84; cf. Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995; Krook and Mackay 2011). These include a sense of parliament as a "gentlemen's club," with a plethora of unwritten rules and codes of conduct, on one end, and disparaging or condescending sexist remarks, on the other (Palmieri 2011, 84). For women and other underrepresented minorities, surviving in such an environment often entails adapting to, rather than changing, existing institutions (Celis and Wauters 2010), perpetuating biases that reinforce women's exclusion and isolation.

Parliament-based strategies to promote gender equality fall into two broad categories. The first seeks to tackle *infrastructural issues* that may – in symbolic or actual terms – deter women's participation by suggesting that politics is not open to them. A second set of strategies aims to *support women in parliament* once they are elected by providing resources to help them be more effective legislators. As with other non-quota strategies, these innovations are relatively new but also quite diverse, pointing to numerous solutions for rethinking political institutions in ways that may make them more inclusive.

Infrastructural Issues

Infrastructural issues can be divided into two facets: those pertaining to language and symbols, and those connected to operating procedures. Parliaments around the world are saturated with practices and images that can reinforce as well as challenge social

[18] http://www.unwomen.org/2012/06/bolivia-approves-a-landmark-law-against-harassment-of-women-political-leaders/

hierarchies.[19] For actors inside institutions – as well as visitors to them – these can implicitly suggest which actors are valued and can participate.

Language issues can be especially acute in countries where masculine and feminine forms are used, with the masculine plural form referring to a mixed group. In Spain, the term "señores diputados," or "male deputies," has long been used when addressing male and female deputies as a whole, following Spanish-language rules. Legislators came to recognize, however, that such linguistic conventions, in effect, rendered women invisible within the institution. During the 2008-2012 session, the Standing Orders of Congress were therefore revised to be more inclusive and non-sexist by using both masculine and feminine forms in plenary and committee debates.[20] A decision was also taken at that time that any future constitutional amendments would be issued in the name of "Congress," a more gender-neutral term than "Congress of Deputies," employing the masculine plural form (Palmieri 2011, 86; see also Waring et al 2000).

Other steps taken on a *symbolic plane* to signal openness to women's participation include the revision of parliamentary websites. Certain legislatures, for instance, provide a separate list of female members, drawing attention to the fact that women serve in parliament.[21] Some websites also showcase events taking place related to gender equality, like anniversary celebrations of women's right to vote and the passage of women-friendly legislation (Palmieri 2011). In France, a special section was added to draw attention to the history of women in politics,[22] including an extensive set of videos and other links on women's role in French politics.[23]

In other countries, like Brazil, special exhibitions have been organized to showcase the role of women in politics. In Sweden, a five-party motion in 1989 pointed out that nearly all portraits in the parliament building were of men. The aim of the motion was to make women visible who had, over the years, made meaningful contributions to Swedish politics. Pieces of artwork by female artists depicting women's lives were therefore installed in a hallway where members of parliament often passed in order to go from the chamber to committee rooms – a hallway that also formed part of the visits of both Swedish and foreign visitors. In 2005, a proposal was made to go further with the "women's room" to inspire visitors with the portrayals of "strong, brave, successful Swedish women."[24] The current exhibition features women from different parties who have been political pioneers and role models, including the first female member of parliament, the first female party leader, and the first female speaker.

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[19] http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/gcrp/

[20] Similar steps have been taken in some Latin American parliaments as well. See, for example, the website of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, referring to "Diputadas y Diputados": http://www.diputados.gob.mx/inicio.htm

[21] http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Parliamentary_Handbook/womennow; http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/mps/; http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/histoire/femmes/index.asp

[22] http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/histoire/femmes/citoyennete_politique.asp

[23] http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/histoire/femmes/citoyennete_politique_PARITE.asp

[24] http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Forslag/Motioner/Riksdagens-kvinnorum_GT02K239/?text=true

Operating procedures refer to how parliament operates, both literally and figuratively, as an institution. These elements have come into the spotlight as growing numbers of women have become members of parliament. They include basic elements of the parliamentary building, as well as the daily and weekly routines of members, both of which appear to be based on assumptions that parliamentarians are men.

In numerous parliament buildings, for example, there are few female toilet facilities. In South Africa, there were only male restrooms when elections in 1994 brought in an unprecedented share of women to parliament, 25 percent. The immediate solution was to hang a hand-lettered sign on the door of the bathroom farthest from the parliamentary floor – one that still hung on the door more than five years later (Ross 2002). These problems can reinforce perceptions that women are not expected or welcome participants, but rather an "afterthought" within the institution.

In recent years, the greater presence of younger female members has also raised new issues related to childcare and breastfeeding. The response has been uneven. In Germany, childcare centers cater to parliamentary staff, but not members themselves, while in Sweden, all members – both male and female – are entitled to use the childcare center. In Scotland, childcare facilities are available to both members and visitors from the public, a center which the governing body views as "an important part of creating an open and accessible Parliament."[25] In a similar vein, new challenges to parliamentary rules – prohibiting food and "visitors" on the chamber floor or in committee rooms – surfaced in the late 1990s in Australia and the United Kingdom, when a string of new female members needed to breastfeed their babies.[26] In some countries, like Peru, a solution has been to set up a room for this purpose with the parliament building itself (Palmieri 2011, 95).

In terms of the routines of parliament, both male and female parliamentarians – but especially women – highlighted "work-life balance" issues as the greatest challenge when serving in parliament (Palmieri 2011, 97). There are a number of elements of parliamentary schedules that make it difficult to combine work and family obligations. One set of issues concerns the timing of sittings. Many chambers work late into the night, precluding members from being home with their families in the evening.

Recognizing that this was a problem for all members, but especially for women as societal expectations often placed a greater burden on them for such tasks, several legislatures have established new rules concerning hours. In Denmark, no votes may take place after 7 PM, while in Sweden evening votes are avoided as much as possible. Additionally, voting is generally not done on Mondays or Fridays, which has the further bonus of allowing members to spend more time in their districts. Another family-friendly provision involves aligning the parliamentary schedule with the school calendar, which has now been done in nearly 40 percent of parliaments (Palmeri 2011, 92).

Another broad swathe of issues concerns parental leave. Debates surround the question of whether to bring policies in line with those of other government officials (like civil servants) or those of citizens – or whether to simply negotiate leaves on a case-by-case basis. This problem came to a head several years ago in Colombia, where a proposed bill

[25] http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/visitandlearn/12522.aspx
[26] http://www.economist.com/node/303977

stipulated that legislators would lose their seats if they did not attend a certain number of sessions – a law that was intended to curb absenteeism, but one that also had particular implications for pregnant women (and was later defeated on these grounds). Voting can also be an issue in cases of parental leave. In parliaments with substitute members, this problem can be more easily resolved, with alternates taking the place of the member. In some countries, like Australia, Armenia, and France, members are not replaced, as their office is not considered to be vacant. However, in Australia a special provision for nursing mothers was introduced in 2008, which permitted them to ask their party whip to vote on their behalf by proxy (Palmieri 2011, 95).

Institutional Support

Beyond addressing infrastructural issues, legislatures around the world have also devised various ways to support women in parliament once they are elected, with the goal of making them more effective legislators, both individually and as a group. Many legislatures globally offer orientation or induction sessions for newly elected members. Yet, especially for those who may be outside "old boys' networks," the resources for translating this knowledge into practice may be incomplete – particularly for women, who must also navigate the various challenges of entering a male-dominated environment (see above). Initiatives along these lines come in at least three forms: research/training centers, women's caucuses, and gender equality committees.

Gender-specific research and training within parliaments is relatively new (see below, however, for the many civil society initiatives that exist). The aim of these bodies is to support female legislators, as well as the broader goal of women-friendly policy-making. The Research Center for Women's Advancement and Gender Equality was established in Mexico in 2005, for example, to provide specialized technical support and analytical information services. While they work with both male and female legislators, with the overall aim of promoting greater gender equality in the legislative process,[27] in practice they work in large part with female deputies to craft bills. The demand for such services is clear, as evidenced by the fact that, during the first two terms of its existence, the center provided 428 information services to parliamentarians, including 65 reports on legislation, 35 research papers, and 49 analyses (Palmieri 2011, 55). A similar center, the Technical Unit on Gender Equality and Equity, was created in Costa Rica in 2009 to provide gender training to staff, provide expert advice, and coordinate with civil society.[28]

Women's caucuses are not an entirely new idea, having been established in many state legislatures in the United States for many years (Thomas 1994). They can be especially crucial, however, when there are relatively few female parliamentarians and women can gain strength by working together (Archenti and Johnson 2006; Reingold 2000). Their main function is to bring women together across partisan lines, but they can also serve as a means to connect with actors in civil society and the private sector. They can range from more formal organizations, with permanent offices and objectives; to more informal groups, with meetings convened as necessary; to non-formal gatherings, like monthly breakfast meetings. Their funding can derive from voluntary fees, as in Pakistan,

[27] http://www3.diputados.gob.mx/index.php/camara/001_diputados/006_centros_de_estudio/05_centro_de_estudios_para_el_adelanto_de_las_mujeres_y_la_equidad_de_genero/000d_que_hacemos

[28] http://www.asamblea.go.cr/Centro_de_informacion/Unidad_Tecnica_Igualdad/default.aspx

all the way to international sources, like in Peru (Palmieri 2011, 48). The degree of formality and cooperation often depends on the strength of party politics, with women being less likely to come together formally where partisan divides are strong.
In addition to coordinating women's legislative activity, women's caucuses can play a role in leadership training, speech writing, and gender budgeting. One particularly comprehensive model is the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians, established during the transitional assembly in 1996, with the goal of strengthening the role of female parliamentarians. All female members in both houses of parliament are included. Formally recognized by parliament, with its own office, the Forum engages in advocacy on behalf of women, identifying legislative priorities and reviewing legislation to ensure that it is gender-sensitive. To this end, the caucus coordinates with the Gender and Family Promotion Committee inside parliament, as well as with women's groups in civil society (Palmieri 2011, 46). At the same time, it also seeks to build up the capacity of members through training workshops, administrative assistance, and expert technical advice.[29]

Gender equality committees more specifically focus on developing women-friendly legislation. These committees may take a variety of different forms, focusing on gender equality, women's status, and often family issues. Their tasks are varied, but can include generating legislation, providing oversight regarding bills proposed in other committees, monitoring the implementation of laws, requesting briefings from ministers and government departments, and conducting study tours. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, 86 countries worldwide have one or more parliamentary bodies (a total of 101) dedicated to the status of women and gender equality.[30] Appendix 2 lists these bodies, with web links to more information about their work.

Beyond Quotas: Political Party Initiatives

Political parties form the third locus of non-quota strategies to promote women in politics. Given their central role in candidate selection processes, as well as politics more generally around the world, parties have been the subject of closer scrutiny in recent years as a potential intervention point for the political empowerment of women (Norris and Krook 2011; UNDP-NDI 2011). In addition to party quotas (detailed above), parties may employ a number of tactics to recruit women and enhances their chances of being elected. These include softer and more indirect quota provisions, establishment of women's sections, as well as recruitment, training, and campaign funding support.

Soft Quotas

For ideological reasons, many parties around the globe reject or resist the idea of positive action as an option for bringing more women into political office. This may stem from party values or the broader context in which parties operate. Some of these parties, however, are committed to increasing women's representation. In lieu of formal quotas, they introduce regulations that seek to encourage, but do not require, parties to promote the selection of more female candidates. In some cases, these "soft quotas" can influence candidate recruitment processes to an equal or greater degree than "hard quotas", in part because they are often functionally equivalent to formal quotas (Krook et al 2009).

[29] http://www.rwandaparliament.gov.rw/parliament/forumrwpf.aspx
[30] http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/instanceadvanced.asp

Soft quotas most often appear as informal targets and recommendations. While they are not intended to bind the hands of political parties that adopt them, they can directly affect the nomination of female candidates, despite the care taken to distance these policies from quotas *per se*. In New Zealand, party quotas were proposed by the leader of the NZ Labour Party following the adoption of a new electoral law in 1993. This idea was rejected in favor of changing the party constitution to include a principle of "gender balance" for all selection procedures (Drage nd). At each candidate selection conference, the party is thus supposed to "pause for thought" after each bloc of five candidates to consider the balance of gender, ethnicity, age, and experience (Catt 2003).

Similarly, in Sweden, parties have viewed formal quotas as a last resort to be applied only when softer measures fail to produce change. In the 1960s and 1970s, several parties passed informal "resolutions" stating that they would try to elect more women. In the 1980s and 1990s, these commitments slowly radicalized into more specific "recommendations" and "targets" to increase this proportion to at least 40 percent. By the mid-1990s, a number of parties further pledged themselves to strict alternation between women and men on all party lists. While this last policy is technically a 50% party quota, party officials often insist that it is not a "quota" but rather the principle of "every other one for the ladies" (Freidenvall 2006; Krook 2009). The soft measures applied by some parties, combined with the formal policies adopted by others, resulted in the election of 44.7 % women in 2010.[31]

Internal Leadership Quotas

Quotas for internal party bodies reflect a more indirect type of soft quota. While typically addressing positions of leadership within the party, these regulations can involve targets to increase the proportion of female members as well. Typically, they provide for women to be included on party governing boards or national executive committees, but they may also be applied to party committees more generally. At a glance, these policies are sorely needed: a joint report by the United Nations Development Program and the National Democratic Institute estimated that women were between 40 and 50 percent of party members globally, but occupied only 10 percent of party leadership positions (UNDP-NDI 2011, 15). This disparity can have implications for women's representation in elected positions, as research has shown there to be a correlation between the percent of women in the party leadership and the proportion of women in a party's parliamentary delegation (Kittilson 2006).

Examples of such rules can be found in India, Germany, and South Africa. In 2008, the Bhatariya Janata Party in India amended its constitution to reserve 33 percent of the party's leadership positions for women. The head of the women's branch (see below) was also made a member of the central election committee. In Germany, the Christian Democratic Union adopted a 33 percent quota for party officials in 1996. If the quota is not met, the internal elections must be repeated (UNDP-NDI 2011, 16). In 2010, the African National Congress amended Rule 6 of its party constitution to stipulate that women occupy no less than 50 percent of all elected positions within the party.[32]

[31] http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm
[32] http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=207

Women's Sections

Another way to incorporate women into the party, with the hopes of stimulating their participation, is through the creation of a women's section – also known as women's associations, women's wings, and women's committees. Around the world, women's sections have traditionally played a role in recruiting female party members and in performing important tasks for the party, including electoral canvassing. Historically, the goal has thus been more for women to serve the interests of the parties, rather than for the parties to serve the interests of women. Yet, over time women's sections in many countries have come to serve as an important platform for women inside political parties, both in mobilizing around women's issues and in gaining commitments from party leaders for the increased recruitment of female candidates (Lovenduski and Norris 1993).

Theoretically, these organizations can bring together all of the women who are members of a particular party – although in practice, they have traditionally involved a smaller proportion of women. One way to ensure that a separate women's section does not result in the sidelining of women's issues is to provide for the section chair to have seat and vote on the party's governing board. Some of the tasks that can be performed by these groups is to contribute to policy development, coordinate the activities of female party members, and provide support and training to newly elected female office-holders – as well as to support a more general transformation within the party by sensitizing party members, male and female, to the importance of gender equality (UNDP-NDI 2011, 17).

Women's sections in Vietnam and Serbia, for instance, play a direct role in pressing for the nomination of women, including lobbying party leaders to ensure that women were given high positions on electoral lists. In Cambodia, the women's wing of the Sam Rainsy Party has advocated for women in the party by seeking quotas for party leadership positions, providing training for female candidates, and engaging in civic education and voter outreach. Along similar lines, most parties in Morocco have set up women's sections to address women's issues and the needs of female party members – including, in one party, an equality council to ensure women's participation in party decision-making processes (UNDP-NDI 2011).

Recruitment Initiatives

Aside from these institutional forms, political parties have also sought new ways of recruiting female candidates. Although this strategy is more common among civil society groups (see below), it represents a crucial first step towards greater gender equality in elected office. An instructive party-based example comes from Sweden in the 1970s prior to the adoption of formal quota policies. To combat the claim that no qualified women could be found, women's sections inside the major political parties assembled databases containing the names and curriculum vitae of potential female candidates, which could be presented to party officials as they sought to find women to put on their lists (Wistrand 1981). While women's sections may have more contacts with women inside and outside the party, such a job need not be restricted to their organization. A local party leader in Sweden, for example, used the list of female party members in his district to contact women personally, one-by-one, to ask them to consider putting themselves forward as candidates.[33]

[33] Based on research by Jessika Wide, University of Umeå.

Training Programs

A second prong of these efforts is the development of training programs to enhance the capacities of female candidates. Such strategies are necessary not because women lack the skills and qualifications to hold political office, but rather because women have not yet had the same opportunities as men to access a political career (Lawless and Fox 2005). Training can be offered to women currently running for office, as well as to women who might consider doing so in the future. Topics can include fostering motivation, improving public speaking, and demystifying the campaign process.

While training is, again, a strategy more often associated with civil society organizations (see below), a party-based initiative can be seen in the Women2Win campaign in the British Conservative Party. The group, supported by a broad cross section of men and women inside the party, argues that supporting women is crucial in order for the party "to win the trust and confidence of the British people" through a "modern and rejuvenated Conservative Party." Women2Win seeks to promote "the brightest and best women the party has to offer" by support, advice, and training in public speaking and media skills to conservative women who wish to get more politically involved. It also hosts networking events for women at all levels of politics to meet with one another. Recognizing that capacity-building may also be required of party officials, Women2Win aims as well to convince grassroots party associations of "the benefits of putting their trust in female candidates."[34]

In Mexico, the National Action Party (PAN) runs seminars, workshops, forums, and courses directed at female candidates in an effort to level the political playing field. Above and beyond what is done in the British Conservative Party, PAN officials also offer courses for women who may be interested in getting involved in political campaigns, especially as campaign coordinators, viewing this as an additional opportunity to stimulate women's interest in politics (Llanos and Sample 2009). Another example can be seen in El Salvador, where the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional sends money from the party budget to the National Ministry for Women, which uses it for national assemblies for party women, trainings, and consultations with women (Sidhu and Meena 2007, 20). Mentoring programs have also become more common as a way to enhance the confidence and skills of female candidates. In Australia, the Labor Party – through its EMILY's List program (see more below under civil society work) – has established a mentoring program pairing first-time candidates with more experienced politicians (UNDP-NDI 2011, 33).

Campaign Funding

A third possibility is financial support for female candidates, which can help overcome perceptions that women are not viable candidates (an assumption disproved in many studies), as well as compensate for the fact that women often lack access to the formal and informal networks that supply campaign funds – most of which tend to be dominated by men. Further, women may have additional expenses not often incurred by men, for example to help with household tasks and childcare or to cover extra costs of security (see section above on violence against women in politics) (Sidhu and Meena 2007, 10-11). One approach

[34] http://www.women2win.com

is to create a special internal party fund for women's campaigns, while another is to provide subsidies of one kind or another to female candidates.

An internal party fund was established by the Liberal Party in Canada, for example, to assist women with their campaign costs. The money is raised through fundraising events, direct mailings, and the internet, and the party maintains centralized control in determining who is prioritized in receiving contributions. Female candidates can also be reimbursed up to CAD 500 for childcare expenses incurred when seeking a nomination, CAD 500 for travel when campaigning in geographically large constituencies, and a further CAD 500 when pursuing a nomination in districts where an incumbent is retiring (UNDP-NDI 2011, 28). These provisions recognize that women often assume primary parenting responsibilities, despite recent changes in gender roles, while also seeking to encourage them to contest "winnable" districts.

Party subsidies to female candidates are somewhat rare, but typically seek to overcome one of the key financial barriers to women's participation, especially in developing countries: the need to pay a deposit in order to register a candidacy. While Togo provides a financial incentive through law (see above), it is more common for this to occur at the party level. In Cambodia, the Sam Rainsy Party offers assistance with membership dues and candidate nomination fees, which can be prohibitively high for women. It also provides female candidates with basic items, like clothes and a bicycle to use while campaigning (UNDP-NDI 2011, 28). In Sierra Leone, several political parties – including the main opposition party – have reduced or waived nomination fees for women.[35] Similarly, the ruling People's Democratic Party in Nigeria introduced a waiver of the mandatory registration fees for women aspiring to any elective post on the party label.[36] As this policy spread to other parties, however, some party executives began to use this policy as a reason to exclude women for being "insufficiently committed" to the party.[37]

Beyond Quotas: Civil Society Initiatives

A fourth node of intervention is at the civil society level, where non-quota strategies are perhaps the most developed and longstanding. A key reason is that quotas are not available as an option for societal groups: while they can lobby legislators and political parties, they cannot themselves introduce electoral gender quotas. This has led civil society groups of various kinds to devote time to devising institutions and programs to help support female candidates, particularly in the area of capacity building. In addition to providing women with the skills and resources to run effective campaigns, this work can be effective in raising broader awareness on the need for more women in politics.

Recruitment Initiatives

A necessary first step towards greater gender equality in elected office is to identify and encourage women to run for office, whether in the immediate or distant future. The common thread in these projects is to convince women to consider a political career – and, more broadly, to promote a shift in women's mentalities over the long term. Recruitment

[35] http://www.ndi.org/node/14065
[36] Nigeria Report to the UN CEDAW Committee, April 2003, 19.
[37] http://www.idea.int/parties/upload/Nigeria_report_14June06.pdf

initiatives organized by civil society organizations are particularly well-developed in the United States, where the use of a majoritarian electoral system, combined with hostility to gender quotas, make it difficult to achieve dramatic increases in women's political representation, at least overnight.

A recent campaign along these lines is the 2012 Project, a non-partisan campaign initiated by the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University.[38] The Project focused on the year 2012 because, following the 2010 census, every congressional and state legislative district was being redrawn – thereby creating a number of new and open seats. The campaign, which included a video titled "Consider this Your Invitation,"[39] was directed at women aged 45 and older, especially those in professions that were generally under-represented in politics, such as finance, environment, science, health, technology, and small business. The 2012 Project targeted older women on the grounds that women of this age are more likely to be at the top of their professions, hold fewer family responsibilities (because children may be older), and be financially independent. Women interested in being candidates were connected to leadership institutes, think tanks, campaign training programs, and fundraising networks designed to help them succeed in their own states.

A group named Running Start, in contrast, centers its work on a younger demographic, arguing that the key to increasing women's representation in the U.S. is getting more women engaged in politics and elected to office at a younger age. Running Start's Young Women's Political Leadership Program introduces secondary school (high school) girls to the importance of women in political leadership and trains them in public speaking, networking, on-camera media training, and platform development. The Running Start/Wal-Mart Star Fellowship places seven university-aged women in the offices of female representatives or senators for a semester long internship, with each Friday spent in a seminar learning the "nuts and bolts" of political office. [40] In 2012, the national Girl Scouts organization launched To Get Her There, a long-term campaign to create "balanced leadership" and "equitable representation of women in leadership positions in all sectors and levels of society in the course of a generation."[41]

Two final U.S.-based recruitment initiatives include She Should Run, an online nomination tool and resource, inspired by statistics that women are much less likely than men to think about becoming a candidate – but when they do run, they tend to win at equal rates to men. An individual can submit a form with the information of a woman who he or she believes should run for office someday, and the program will guarantee that she gets positive encouragement, connections, and resources that are necessary to take the next step.[42] A related project is the Appoint Her campaign organized by the Women's Campaign Forum Foundation. It provides a national resource for women seeking appointed office by

[38] http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/education_training/2012Project/index.php
[39] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Mn601QUwP0
[40] http://www.runningstartonline.org/
[41] http://www.examiner.com/article/girls-scouts-of-america-launches-to-get-her-there-on-100th-anniversary
[42] http://sheshouldrun.org

informing women of available positions, sharing skills and traits of women currently in office, and discussing how they launched their own careers.[43]

Training Programs

Candidate training initiatives have developed exponentially since the 1980s, when only a few programs existed worldwide. Such programs are now run by non-partisan networks, university centers, and even international organizations. Networks like the 300 Group in the United Kingdom were founded from the realization that women often did not know where to start when pursuing a nomination for office.[44] In the U.S., many of these programs are based at universities.[45] The NEW Leadership Program, for example, is dedicated to expanding political knowledge and participation among female university students through programs serving educational institutions in 25 states.[46]

University-based training programs, however, may serve diverse publics beyond university students. The Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University, for example, runs a number of programs for women interesting in running for office. The Ready to Run program is divided into two parts, one tailored to women who plan to run in the near future, and one for those who are thinking about running sometime in the future. Additional sessions are targeted towards African-American, Hispanic, and Asian-American women, to address potential group-specific challenges in the campaign process.[47]

Trainings organized by non-university groups come in a variety of forms. Emerge provides a seven-month program for Democratic women who want to run for elected office, working in nine states.[48] The White House Project offers interactive leadership development through two-three hour online and in-person trainings, full-day conferences, and three-day summits.[49] More internationally-grounded, the newly established Women in Public Service Project (WPSP) seeks to build a new generation of global female leaders. Founded through a partnership between the U.S. Department of State and five leading women's colleges, the WPSP aims to train women to enter the public sector by cultivating the "strategic leadership skills, energy, and commitment required to tackle today's global challenges."[50]

Another internationally-oriented initiative is the Women Can Do It program, designed by women inside the Norwegian Labour Party. This program arranges candidate training opportunities in more than 25 countries worldwide. Funded by Norwegian People's Aid, the topics covered in the program range from democracy and women's participation to communication, argumentation/speeches/debate, handling the media, negotiations, networking, advocacy training, and violence again women. Seeking to facilitate women's

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[43] http://www.wcffoundation.org/pages/programs/appoint-her/appoint-her.html
[44] Personal interview with Lesley Abdela, founder of the 300 Group.
[45] For a comprehensive state-by-state list, see http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/education_training/trainingresources/index.php
[46] http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/education_training/NEWLeadership/newleadership_devnet.php
[47] http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/education_training/ReadytoRun/Diversity_Initiative.php
[48] http://www.emergeamerica.org/
[49] http://thewhitehouseproject.org/
[50] http://womeninpublicservice.org/

participation in public affairs, the program offers training in particular skills, but also views the program as a chance for women to meet and form networks.[51]

Fundraising Networks

In addition to convincing women to run for office, civil society organizations have developed a variety of fundraising initiatives to ensure that female candidates have the financial resources required to wage successful campaigns. A focus on removing the financial obstacles to elected office takes on special importance in countries where public funding is not available for candidates' campaigns (see above for examples of opportunities where campaigns are publicly financed).

Perhaps the most well-known among these initiatives is the U.S.-based EMILY's List, a group founded in 1985 which recruits and trains women, but more uniquely, publicizes their names to solicit campaign contributions from supporters across the country.[52] Recognizing that early campaign money is crucial for establishing the viability of a political campaign (and thus inspiring other people to donate funds to a candidate), EMILY is an acronym which stands for "Early Money Is Like Yeast" – because it makes the dough [a slang term for money] rise. The aim is to publicize the campaigns of selected female candidates, bringing them together with potential supporters across the country. The group claims to have helped elect 87 pro-choice Democratic women members of Congress, 16 senators, 9 governors, and over 500 women to state and local office.[53]

Similar fundraising groups have been established in other countries on the model of EMILY's List, including in Australia, the UK, and Italy. Because EMILY's List focuses on electing more women from leftist parties, its success in the U.S. has spurred the establishment of political fundraising groups for women on the political right. A group known as WISH List (WISH = Women in the Senate and House) was founded in 1992, with the mission to provide strategic advice, training, and financial support to pro-choice Republican women running for local, state, and national offices all across the country.[54] The Susan B. Anthony List was created in 1993 as a further counterpart to EMILY's List and is dedicated to electing candidates and pursuing policies to end abortion, with an emphasis on the election, education, promotion, and mobilization of pro-life women – but also with a willingness to support the election of pro-life men over pro-choice women.[55]

Outside the U.S., the Fiji Women's Rights Movement undertook a Women in Politics Appeal in the run-up to national elections in 2006. Highlighting that one of the major obstacles faced by women in politics was access to electoral funding, the group raised $11,000 and divided the money among the 30 women standing for office, regardless of their party affiliation (Clark 2009, 21)

[51] http://www.womencandoit.no
[52] http://www.emilyslist.org
[53] Testimonies from some of these women are available at http://emilyslist.org/who/we_are_emily/
[54] http://www.thewishlist.org/
[55] http://www.sba-list.org/

Raising Awareness

One of the most powerful ways that civil society actors can influence gender equality in elected office is by reshaping public attitudes towards women in politics. Beliefs that women should not run for political office are informed and reinforced by gender stereotypes, which associate men with the public sphere of politics and women with the private sphere of the home. Changing these stereotypes can increase the number of women considering a political career, as well as alter how voters – and political parties – view female candidates. Strategies for combating such stereotypes include media-based campaigns aimed at changing how citizens think about gender and politics, as well as the generation and publication of data and strategies for overcoming women's exclusion.

Media campaigns are quite varied, but share the basic goal of highlighting the current lack of gender balance in the political sphere and the need to elect more women for the sake of democracy. In the Czech Republic, for instance, a poster campaign was sponsored by the group Fórum 50% in the run-up to the 2006 elections. The group placed posters in the Prague subway and street network featuring a long row of pants or ties and the question with the caption: "Do you really have a choice?" The message implied that while there were some differences among men in politics, there was actually little true "choice" among candidates – who still were almost exclusively men. Excluding women therefore undermined democracy by restricting the options available to voters (see Image 1).

In Turkey, the Association to Support Women Candidates, Ka-Der, has also waged a series of innovative public awareness campaigns. In preparation for general elections in 2007, for example, the group created posters of well-known businesswomen and female artists wearing a tie or mustache, asking "Is it necessary to be a man to enter parliament?" (see Image 2). In the run-up to local elections in 2009, they used billboards depicting the three male leaders of the main political parties shoulder to shoulder, with text implying that the three parties were united in preferring male candidates over female ones.

A similar initiative was launched in France in early 2012 by the Laboratory for Equality, a group set up in 2010 to promote equal treatment at all levels of decision-making. Its over 700 members include men and women of different political orientations and professional backgrounds. In addition to pressuring all presidential candidates to commit to a "Pact for Equality," the group created posters showing men sitting on women, with the caption: "What place are we ready to give women?" (see Image 3). The Laboratory also produced a video[56] suggesting that women are essentially invisible in society, with men ignoring their contributions and stepping in front of them in a variety of situations. Additional images,[57] as well as the film, appeared in news outlets, public spaces, and on the internet,[58] with the ultimate goal being to raise awareness and contribute to true equality in all aspects of French life, including politics.

[56] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7W8z5DTqwo
[57] http://www.laboratoiredelegalite.org/spip.php?rubrique67
[58] http://www.laboratoiredelegalite.org/

Data generation can also be a powerful tool. The data produced by university research centers on women and politics,[59] as well as international organizations like the Inter-Parliamentary Union,[60] have been instrumental in raising awareness on the extent of women's exclusion – as well as where and when major gains have been made. Websites like the Global Database of Quotas for Women,[61] a joint project of Stockholm University and International IDEA, have been a vital resource in assembling data on the existence and design of electoral quotas in countries around the world. The ability to compare countries to one another can be a useful tool in spurring governments to take action in this area (Towns 2010).

A related tactic is the "naming and shaming" of political parties. Publicizing a list of the worst performing political parties in terms of women's participation can damage the party's reputation and ultimately its electoral success. In the run-up to the 2010 parliamentary elections in the United Kingdom, for example, the significantly lower percentage of female members of parliament elected the Liberal Democrat party, compared with in the Labour and Conservative parties, was extensively discussed in the media and was the subject of much negative attention. This brought the issue of women's representation further onto the popular agenda and meant that parties were forced to discuss and justify their own records.

In terms of *knowledge sharing*, the internet has also proved to be a useful tool for raising public awareness – as well as for building connections among women in politics. At the global level, a group of transnational non-governmental organizations have come together to facilitate the exchange of information on how to empower women in politics through the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, or iKNOWPolitics.[62] The website is jointly funded by the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Development Fund for Women, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. The project is described as an "online workspace" designed to serve the needs of elected officials, candidates, political party leaders and members, researchers, students, and other practitioners interested in advancing women in politics.

In Europe, the European Women's Lobby (EWL) founded in 1990 and based in Brussels has been active in campaigning for the increased representation of women in the European Parliament (EP). The EWL has organized a campaign before each EP election since the early 1990s, with the goal of getting parties to nominate more women. It does so by mobilizing its network of 2500 women's groups across Europe. However, it also provides a number of lobbying tools on its website, available in a range of languages, to help ordinary citizens put pressure on elites in their own countries to take gender balance seriously in their nominations, particularly through its 50/50 campaign.[63]

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[59] See for example http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/index.php
[60] http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm and http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm
[61] http://www.quotaproject.org
[62] http://www.iknowpolitics.org/
[63] http://www.womenlobby.org

Conclusions

Gender equality in elected office has grown into a major commitment on the part of international organizations, national governments, political parties, and civil society groups around the world. To date, much of the discussion has revolved around "temporary special measures," largely defined in relation to electoral gender quotas. This report presents an overview of quota measures globally, but also seeks to widen the discussion to a range of non-quota strategies that might be employed at a variety of different levels to empower women in politics. The diversity of measures catalogued in this report – present in laws, parliaments, political parties, and civil society groups – reveals a broad array of creative solutions which might be pursued to enhance women's political representation.

Exploring options beyond quotas is vital for all countries. In states with quotas, additional strategies may serve as an important complement to these policies; expanding the pool of potential female candidates and promoting a broader transformation in public views towards women in politics (cf. Franceschet et al 2012). In countries where quotas are unlikely to reach the agenda, or where quotas have been rejected or overturned, non-quota strategies present a crucial alternative path to women's political integration. As noted above, evidence from around the world suggests that the main barriers to women's increased election are political, rather than social, economic, or cultural. Dramatic changes are thus not likely to occur without deliberate interventions to increase the number of viable female candidates, whether this is through quotas or through non-quota initiatives to empower women in politics.

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APPENDIX 1: GENDER EQUALITY PROVISIONS IN POLITICAL PARTY FINANCE LAWS

Provision of direct public funding to political parties related to gender equality among candidates*
Bolivia: 5% of public funds are distributed in accordance with the share of elected women candidates.
Bosnia-Herzegovina: 10% of public funds are distributed to parties in proportion to the number of seats held by the "less represented gender."
Burkina Faso: A 50% increase in the amount of public funding is provided to parties if 30% of the elected candidates are women. ***
Cape Verde: Public funds are awarded to parties that elect at least 25% women.
Colombia: 5% of public funds are distributed in accordance with the share of elected women candidates.
Croatia: For each elected member representing the underrepresented sex, political parties shall be entitled to a bonus of 10% of the amount allocated for each member.
Ethiopia: Financial support from the government shall be apportioned according to the number of female candidates nominated by the party.
France: If the gender difference among nominated candidates is greater than 2%, public funding is reduced by 75% of this difference.
Georgia: A party receives an additional 10% of funds if in its party list representatives of a different sex are represented by at least 20% among every 10 candidates.
Haiti: Any political party that has at least 30% female candidates and succeeds in electing 20% will receive double the party funding.
Ireland: State funding to a political party will be reduced by 50% if they do not nominate at least 30% female candidates (rising in subsequent elections to 40%). ***
Italy: For elections to the European Parliament, neither sex should exceed 2/3 of candidates on party lists. If this quota is not implemented, public subsidies to the party are reduced in proportion to the number of candidates exceeding the maximum allowed (up to 50%). The withheld amount is disbursed as a "premium" to parties adhering to the law.
Kenya: A party is not eligible for funding if more than 2/3 of its elected officials are of one gender.
Republic of Korea: Female candidate nomination subsidies are distributed to political parties based on the ratio of National Assembly seats held and the votes polled. Distribution and disbursement varies depending on the presence of parties with ratios of female candidate nomination of at least 30%.
Mali: 10% of state funding is proportionately shared among political parties which have women elected as deputies or municipal councilors.

Niger: 10% of public funding is allocated proportionately to political parties which have women elected at all levels.

Papua New Guinea: Parties receive a specified amount for each female candidate that wins at least 10% of the vote. Women must not only be endorsed by the party as a candidate, but the party must have spent an amount as campaign expenses on her behalf.

Portugal: A party that does not present at least 1/3 women and/or violate placement requirements in their candidate nominations can lose between 25% and 80% of its public funding.

Romania: State funding will increase in proportion to the number of seats obtained in the election of female candidates.

Serbia: Parties must have at least 1/3 candidates of each gender. Parties not complying cannot contest elections and therefore are ineligible for state funding.

Provisions for other financial advantages to encourage gender equality in political parties**

Brazil: A minimum of 5% of the direct public funding shall be used to promote the political participation of women. Parties that do not comply must increase this proportion by 2.5% the following year.

Colombia: Some of the public funds provided should be used for activities aiming at the inclusion of women, youth, and ethnic minorities.

Costa Rica: Each party determines how to distribute their public funding, but must provide a certificate on the equal amount of resources used in the training of both genders. If that certificate is not provided, the money spent in that area will not be reinstated.

Finland: All parliamentary parties must use 12% of their annual party subsidy to fund a women's wing.

Honduras: Political parties are obliged to develop a no gender discrimination policy and to submit it to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal prior to any election. If they fail to comply, a fine equivalent to 5% of their public funding will be imposed on the corresponding party.

Ireland: Public funding must be spent on the promotion of the participation of women and young persons, but a specific percentage is not specified.

Italy: At least 5% of provided funds must be used for activities to promote the participation of women in politics.

Republic of Korea: 10% of public funding to political parties must be used for the political development of women.

Mexico: Each party must devote 2% of their yearly public funding to the training, promotion, and development of women's leadership.

Morocco: A support fund was established to promote women's representation.

Panama: At least 10% of the public funding devoted to civic and political education activities shall be channeled to solely support the training of women.

Togo: The nomination fee is 25% less if a party list contains female candidates.

Source: International IDEA Political Finance Database, http://www.idea.int/political-finance/
*174 countries with data; 98 no, 18 yes, 58 not applicable
**171 countries with data; 157 no, 14 yes, 11 no data
***List updated to include the cases of Ireland and Burkina Faso, found in other sources.

APPENDIX 2: PARLIAMENTARY BODIES DEALING WITH GENDER EQUALITY ISSUES

Doc. No	Country	Specialization	Parliamentary body
Doc. 1	ALBANIA	gender equality	Work,Social Issues and Health Committee
Doc. 2	ALGERIA	gender equality	Committee on legal and administrative affairs and freedoms
Doc. 3	ANDORRA	gender equality	Parliamentary Committee on Social Affairs
Doc. 4	ANGOLA	gender equality	Committee on Health, the Environment, Social Work, Labour, Veterans, Families, Children and the Promotion of Women (Seventh Committee)
Doc. 5	ARGENTINA	gender equality	Population and Human Development Committee
Doc. 6	AUSTRIA	gender equality	Committee for Equal Treatment Affairs
Doc. 7	BAHRAIN	gender equality	Committee for Women and Children
Doc. 8	BELARUS	gender equality	Standing Committee for Education, Science, Culture and Social Development
Doc. 9	BELGIUM	gender equality	Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women
Doc. 10	BELGIUM	gender equality	Advisory Committee on Social Emancipation
Doc. 11	BELIZE	gender equality	Health and Human Development Committee
Doc. 12	BHUTAN	gender equality	Committee on Social and Cultural Affairs
Doc. 13	BHUTAN	gender equality	Committee on Women and Children
Doc. 14	BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	gender equality	Committee for Gender Equality

Doc. 15	BRAZIL	gender equality	Committee on the Status of Women
Doc. 16	BULGARIA	gender equality	Human Rights, Religion, Citizens' Complaints and Petitions Committee
Doc. 17	BURKINA FASO	gender equality	Gender Caucus
Doc. 18	BURUNDI	gender equality	Committee on Social Affairs, Repatriation, Equal Opportunity and the Fight against AIDS
Doc. 19	BURUNDI	gender equality	Standing Committee on Social Issues, Education, Health, Youth and Culture
Doc. 20	CAMBODIA	gender equality	Commission on Health, Social Affairs, Labour and Women's Affairs
Doc. 21	CANADA	gender equality	House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women
Doc. 22	CHAD	gender equality	Committee on Health, Social Affairs, the Status of Women and the Rights of the Child
Doc. 23	CHILE	gender equality	Standing Committee on the Family
Doc. 24	COSTA RICA	gender equality	Select Standing Committee on Women
Doc. 25	CROATIA	gender equality	Committee on Gender Equality
Doc. 26	CUBA	gender equality	Standing Committee on Children, Youth and Women's Equal Rights
Doc. 27	CYPRUS	gender equality	House Standing Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women
Doc. 28	CZECH REPUBLIC	gender equality	Permanent Commission on Family Issues
Doc. 29	CZECH REPUBLIC	gender equality	Permanent Commission on Family Issues and Equal Opportunities
Doc. 30	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO	gender equality	Socio-Cultural Committee
Doc. 31	DENMARK	gender equality	Gender Equality Committee
Doc. 32	EL SALVADOR	gender equality	Committee on Families, Women and Children
Doc. 33	ESTONIA	gender equality	Constitutional Committee
Doc. 34	ESTONIA	gender equality	The Social Affairs Committee

Doc. 35	FINLAND	gender equality	Employment and Equality Committee
Doc. 36	FRANCE	gender equality	National Assembly Task Force on the Rights of Women and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women
Doc. 37	FRANCE	gender equality	Senate Task Force on the Rights of Women and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women
Doc. 38	GERMANY	gender equality	Committee on Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth
Doc. 39	GHANA	gender equality	Committee on Gender and Children
Doc. 40	GREECE	gender equality	Committee on Equality, Youth and Human Rights
Doc. 41	HUNGARY	gender equality	Sub-Committee on Gender Equality of the Committee on Human Rights, Minorities, Civil and Religious Affairs
Doc. 42	ICELAND	gender equality	Standing Committee on Social Affairs
Doc. 43	INDIA	gender equality	Committee on the Empowerment of Women
Doc. 44	INDONESIA	gender equality	Committee VIII (Religious Affairs, Social Affairs, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection)
Doc. 45	IRELAND	gender equality	Joint Committee on Justice, Defence and Equality
Doc. 46	ISRAEL	gender equality	Standing Committee on the Status of Women
Doc. 47	JAMAICA	gender equality	Human Resource and Social Development Committee
Doc. 48	JAPAN	gender equality	Committee on Health, Labour and Welfare
Doc. 49	JAPAN	gender equality	Committee on the Cabinet
Doc. 50	KAZAKHSTAN	gender equality	Deputies' Group "Obatsy - Family"
Doc. 51	KAZAKHSTAN	gender equality	The Committee on Social and Cultural Development
Doc. 52	KUWAIT	gender equality	Parliamentary Committee on Women's Affairs
Doc. 53	LATVIA	gender equality	Sub-Committee on Gender Equality
Doc. 54	LEBANON	gender	Committee on Women and Children

		equality	
Doc. 55	LITHUANIA	gender equality	Committee on Human Rights
Doc. 56	LUXEMBOURG	gender equality	Committee on Families, Equal Opportunities and Youth
Doc. 57	MALAWI	gender equality	Social and Community Affairs Committee
Doc. 58	MALI	gender equality	Committee on Labour, Employment, Promotion of Women, Youth and Sports
Doc. 59	MALTA	gender equality	Standing Committee on Social Affairs
Doc. 60	MEXICO	gender equality	Commission on Equity and Gender Issues
Doc. 61	MONACO	gender equality	Committee on the Rights of Women and the Family
Doc. 62	NEPAL	gender equality	Committee for Women and Children
Doc. 63	NEW ZEALAND	gender equality	Government Administration Committee
Doc. 64	NIGER	gender equality	Network of Niger Parliamentarians on Gender Issues
Doc. 65	NIGERIA	gender equality	House Committee on Women's Affairs and Youth Development
Doc. 66	NORWAY	gender equality	Standing Committee on Family and Cultural Affairs
Doc. 67	PAKISTAN	gender equality	Standing Committee on Women Development
Doc. 68	PARAGUAY	gender equality	Committee on Equality, Gender and Social Development
Doc. 69	PHILIPPINES	gender equality	Committee on Women
Doc. 70	PHILIPPINES	gender equality	Committee on Youth, Women and Family Relations
Doc. 71	POLAND	gender equality	Committee on Family and Social Policy
Doc. 72	POLAND	gender equality	Committee on Family and Women's Rights
Doc. 73	PORTUGAL	gender equality	Sub-committee on Equal Opportunities of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Liberties and Guaranties
Doc. 74	REPUBLIC OF KOREA	gender equality	Gender Equality and Family Committee

Doc. 75	REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA	gender equality	Committee on Human Rights
Doc. 76	ROMANIA	gender equality	Committee for Equal Opportunities
Doc. 77	ROMANIA	gender equality	Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men
Doc. 78	RWANDA	gender equality	The Political and Good Governance Commission
Doc. 79	SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE	gender equality	Committee on Human Rights, Citizenship and Gender
Doc. 80	SENEGAL	gender equality	Committee on Constitutional Laws and Legislation, Labour Decentralisation and Human Rights - Committee on Health, Population, Social Affairs and National Solidarity (CSPASSN)(Single Chamber)
Doc. 81	SIERRA LEONE	gender equality	Committee on Social Welfare, Gender, Children's Affairs and Industrial Relations
Doc. 82	SLOVAKIA	gender equality	Committee on Human Rights, Minorities and the Status of Women
Doc. 83	SLOVENIA	gender equality	Commission for Petitions, Human Rights and Equal Opportunities
Doc. 84	SLOVENIA	gender equality	Committee on Labour, Family, Social Affairs and the Disabled
Doc. 85	SOUTH AFRICA	gender equality	Joint Monitoring Committee on Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women
Doc. 86	SPAIN	gender equality	Committee on Equality
Doc. 87	SURINAME	gender equality	Committee dealing with issues regarding women and children's rights
Doc. 88	SWEDEN	gender equality	Committee on the Labour Market
Doc. 89	SWITZERLAND	gender equality	Group of Women parliamentarians
Doc. 90	TAJIKISTAN	gender equality	Committee on Social Issues, Family, Protection of Health and Ecology
Doc. 91	TAJIKISTAN	gender equality	Committee on Social Issues, Health, Science, Education and Youth and Women's Policy
Doc. 92	THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF	gender equality	Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men

	MACEDONIA		
Doc. 93	THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA	gender equality	Women Parliamentarians' Caucus
Doc. 94	TUNISIA	gender equality	Committee on Social Affairs and Public Health
Doc. 95	UGANDA	gender equality	Standing Committee on Equal Opportunities
Doc. 96	UKRAINE	gender equality	Sub-Committee on Promotion of Gender Equality
Doc. 97	URUGUAY	gender equality	Special Committee on Gender and Equality
Doc. 98	YEMEN	gender equality	Human Rights Committee
Doc. 99	ZAMBIA	gender equality	Committee on Legal Affairs, Governance, Human Rights and Gender Matters
Doc. 100	ZIMBABWE	gender equality	The Portfolio Committee on Gender and Women's Affairs
Doc. 101	ZIMBABWE	gender equality	Zimbabwe Women's Parliamentary Caucus

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/instanceadvanced.asp

IMAGE 1: FORUM 50% CAMPAIGN IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Source: http://www.5050democracy.eu/

IMAGE 2: KA-DER CAMPAIGN IN TURKEY

Source: http://www.ka-der.org.tr/

IMAGE 3: LABORATORY FOR EQUALITY CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE

Source: http://www.laboratoiredelegalite.org