"Strengthening Internal Political Party Democracy: Candidate Recruitment from a Gender Perspective"

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1. Introduction

In most legislative systems, political parties are the main vehicle through which candidates are elected to parliament. Although in some contexts and electoral systems particularly at the sub-national level, candidates are elected as independent from parties (typically running on issue-specific or particular ethnic tickets), political parties typically assume the responsibility for nomination. Parties are entrusted with perhaps the most strategic responsibility in democracy – to prepare and select candidates for election and to support them in positions of leadership and governance.[2]

The premise of this paper is that political parties cannot claim to be democratic unless they are inclusive and representative of the population they represent. The candidates parties send to parliament should include a cross-section of society, but by and large, parliaments remain male dominated. The paper will focus on the process of candidate selection by political parties, highlighting the particular obstacles that women face in this process. Because of the uneven political playing field on which women must compete with men, special measures that have be used by political parties to compensate for these challenges are also discussed.

2. Candidate Selection

The selection of candidates for election can be understood in terms of stages, but the actual process varies dramatically from country to country. Country variations result from the nature of the political regime and level of democratic development, the level of organisation of the women's lobby, the supply of women candidates, the strength and organisation of political parties and the electoral system. But in order to explain and highlight the main entry points that potentially affect the election of women to political institutions, the 'stage' approach will be used in this paper.

At the most basic level, in any given country there will be a pool of 'eligibles' (citizens that fulfil the legal and formal requirements for becoming legislators), but only a small group will consider putting themselves forward as possible candidates – 'aspirants'. There are many factors that affect a potential aspirant's evaluation of whether she will campaign for election, including an assessment of

the costs of time, energy, financial commitment and the likelihood of winning, personal ambition and the benefits of serving as an elected official in terms of remuneration, status and political power. Calculations are affected by a potential candidate's perception of whether there are substantial openings for new candidates, by how friendly the political environment is to their candidacy, and by an estimation of the resources needed to run an effective campaign.[3]

The stage at which the party gatekeepers actually choose the candidates is perhaps the most crucial stage for getting women into office. Here, parties face both external and internal pressures that affect their decisions about candidate nomination. External pressures that bear on parties include how they will be evaluated by voters and presenting candidates the party believes will maximise their vote.[4] If certain candidates are seen as liabilities (oftentimes women), they will not be nominated by the party. Additionally, an aspirant's track record and activism in the party organisation is important - those with name recognition or who are visible in the community through their profession or by holding public office will stand a better chance of nomination.

The actual process of selection of candidates differs from party to party and country to country and can be distinguished by a number of features, including, for example, the breadth of participation and centralization or decentralization of the process. Party rules and norms will affect the way in which a party carries out the actual process of nomination. For women, bureaucratically-based systems that have incorporated rules guaranteeing women's representation are a significant advantage. When the rules are unwritten it becomes much harder to devise a strategy to break into the inner circle of power

A common perception is that sexism by voters during an election serves as a brick wall for women seeking to enter parliament. The evidence is mixed and it is hard to draw firm conclusions as this will vary according to electoral systems. Studies from advanced industrialised democracies suggest that voters elect parties rather than individual candidates,[5] although this may certainly be truer for closed PR systems than majoritarian systems or open list systems. In closed list systems where electors vote for parties rather than candidates, the crucial stage is the process for women is nomination by the party. In open list systems, the voter has the option to influence which of the candidates on the party's list should be elected by altering the composition of the list by either demoting specific candidates, for example by striking their name, or promoting a candidate by advancing the candidates name to a higher position on the party list. This system is thought to harm women's chances for election. In majoritarian systems, being a female may be a liability where there are underlying cultural perceptions about the ability of women to perform leadership tasks.

3. Challenges Facing the Nomination of Women in Political Parties

Generally women are not formally discriminated against at the start of this process - in most countries there are no legal barriers to women standing for election. While the eligibility pool at the start of the process is usually more than 50 percent, by the end of the process the proportion has dropped dramatically. The under-representation of women is therefore explained by the barriers women face at different points in the process, including different cultural and political contexts.[6]

Electoral Systems

It is apparent that the type of electoral system can greatly affect women's chances of election. While electoral systems alone do not determine the level of representation of women, they are important because they can be, and regularly are, changed. Compared to the cultural status of women in society or level of development, electoral rules are more malleable and may offer

opportunities for the inclusion of women in the short-term.[7] Proportional representation systems are viewed as the most 'woman-friendly'. It is no coincidence that 13 of the 15 countries with the highest representation of women use some form of proportional representation and have an average representation of 34.7 percent women in their parliaments (see Table 1). At the other end of the spectrum, the 15 countries with the lowest representation of women use plurality or majority systems, averaging one percent women in their legislatures.[8]

Table 1: Highest Ranked Countries by Electoral System Type

Rank	Country	Electoral System	% Women
1	*Rwanda*	*Parallel*	*48.8*
2	Sweden	List PR	45.3
3	Denmark	List PR	38.0
4	Finland	List PR	37.5
5	Netherlands	List PR	36.7
6	Norway	List PR	36.4
7	*Cuba*	*TRS*	*36.0*
8	Belgium	List PR	35.3
9	Costa Rica	List PR	35.1
10	Austria	List PR	33.9
11	Germany	MMP	32.2
12	Argentina	List PR	30.7
13	Iceland	List PR	30.2
14	Mozambique	List PR	30.0
15	South Africa	List PR	29.8
Average for PR countries:		**13 List PR**	**34.7 %**

Source: Information taken from Inter-Parliamentary Union and International IDEA, 2004.[9]

There are several reasons why electoral systems matter. Firstly, PR systems have higher district magnitudes which typically produce higher party magnitudes: the district magnitude is the number of seats per district and the party magnitude is the number of seats a party can win in a district. The magnitudes are important because they affect party strategy when choosing candidates. If district magnitude is one, as in majoritarian systems, the party can only win one seat in a district and cannot 'balance the party ticket'. Female candidates must compete directly with men, and when nominating a woman, a party must deny the aspirations of all men in that district. When district magnitude increases, the chances that a party will win several seats increases and party leaders may be more conscious of balancing its ticket. Party gatekeepers may also consider balancing the demands of different factions in the party – if a women's branch of the party exists women can be one of the groups demanding to be included in winnable positions.[10]

Secondly, in PR systems, a party receives seats in direct proportion to their overall share of the national vote, with seats being filled from lists of candidates submitted by political parties. Most PR systems use closed lists where the political party determines the rank ordering of candidates.[11] This system has proven to be the most beneficial for women, provided that a sufficient number of women are nominated as candidates, and placed in electable positions on party lists. A number of political parties have adopted informal party quotas to ensure that women are placed in significant positions on party lists. In Sweden several political parties have developed 'zipper' policies, where positions on lists are alternated between men and women. However, the effect of open list systems and preferential voting is less favourable to women. While open lists provide the opportunity for

some voters to promote women, this can easily be outweighed by the opportunity for other voters to demote women, especially in traditional societies.

Woman friendly institutions, including proportional representation systems, high district magnitudes and closed party lists provide the opportunity for, but do not guarantee, high levels of female representation. Other factors that influence the election of women to parliament include the cultural standing of women, the organisation of women in civil society and funding. However the effect of electoral systems on women's representation is significant and directly affects political parties' nomination processes – where parties are willing to nominate women candidates in sufficient number and place them in electable positions, there is a higher chance that political parties will send a representative group of MPs to parliament.

Cultural Context

The cultural context influences the perception of how friendly the political environment will be to women standing for election and the likelihood of winning. In highly patriarchal and traditional societies, women seeking leadership positions are often discriminated against and view politics as hostile and aggressive. Socialisation patterns in many post-conflict countries emphasise politics as a male domain, and many voters view men as better leaders than women. Customary law often asserts that males are often heads of households and are better equipped to deal with decision-making, especially in rural areas. Traditional cultural values work against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process.[12]

Political Parties

Political parties vary substantially in different country and electoral settings with regard to the number of women candidates they nominate, where they rank on party lists and the proportion they send to parliament. They also vary in their breadth of participation and centralization or decentralization of the process.

Party Organisation

Party rules and norms will affect the way in which a party carries out the actual process of nomination. For women, bureaucratically-based systems that have incorporated rules guaranteeing women's representation are a significant advantage, especially if they include a party quota guaranteeing women a certain percentage of the candidacies. Even when there are no explicit rules to guarantee representation, having clear bureaucratic procedures by which candidates are chosen can be a distinct advantage to women. When the rules are unwritten it becomes harder to devise a strategy to break into the inner circle of power.[13]

In post-conflict elections, the status of parties and preparedness to take part in the process is an important consideration. The absence of an institutionalised party system allows for the dominance of elites, patronage and clientelism where candidate recruitment tends to be hierarchical and dominated by party or faction leaders, reinforced by patriarchy, ethnic ties and loyalty. Alternatively, some states are characterised by a number of smaller parties which can be based on regional, religious, tribal or linguistic representation. In these settings, the opportunity for the party to aggregate the interests of the larger population, or facilitate the participation of women, is low. "The party system is clearly a reflection of the society from which it has come; in it the politicians reproduce the styles and conduct of society."[14]

With weak internal organisation and rules of recruitment that are not clear, decisions are made by a limited number of elites, typically men. Women are usually on the outside and excluded from the

'all boys' network. While it is not uncommon for there to be some women who are on the inside, they are few in number, and promoting the greater representation of women is rarely seen as a party goal. Patronage systems are fairly closed and not likely to be favourable to women.[15]

Pool of Women Candidates

Political party leaders often argue that there are not enough women willing to stand for election as they lack experience and confidence to stand. This is particularly pronounced in post-conflict states which are influenced by the regime that precedes it - in highly militarised or authoritarian regimes such as those that existed in Latin America, few women held office and there were sometimes few mobilised women. Regimes may suppress the conventional political sphere, often banning activities of trade unions, political parties and civil society movements. Where women are largely sidelined in transitional processes, this may result in their absence in post-conflict electoral processes unless political parties actively recruit women members to their ranks.

Women may be deterred from politics by the 'masculine model' of politics and the competitive and confrontational environment. A further deterrent is that many women find that the parliamentary work schedule is difficult to balance with demands of family life and sometimes full time careers, often referred to as the double or triple burden. However, a certain degree of mobilisation among women can lead to a greater pool of candidates to take up political positions. The number may be increased by the presence of women's movements, and national and international organisations that have been involved in encouraging, preparing and training women for election. The openness of parties to women and their perception of women as a legitimate constituency are more likely to result when women are organised effectively and make the increased representation of women in legislature and the party an explicit goal.[16]

Campaigning

Another aspect which may affect women's candidature is the financing of election campaigns and the influence of money in electoral processes. Women typically have access to less power and fewer resources than men in general, which is especially pronounced in post-conflict states. A certain amount of funding is needed in order to secure a political party's nomination. The challenge of funding also applies to men, but there are several reasons why obtaining financial resources is especially problematic for women:

Psychological Barriers: Gender socialization remains a barrier for some women, particularly in traditional, patriarchal societies where men have traditionally been positioned as "breadwinners" and accustomed to raising money for their own use. Where women are traditionally relegated to the private sphere, they are not typically accustomed to raising funds on their own behalf.

Networks: It is common that men are able to campaign more effectively outside the party structure because they are more likely to be linked to business and professional networks which can provide the financial resources and expertise. The network argument reaches further into what is traditionally understood as the "all-boys network" within the party—most party leaderships today remain male-dominated, and women are often excluded from the circle of power. The absence of women from network occasions works against their effective participation in decision making. The exceptions to this are often the spouses, daughters and sisters of well-known politicians who by virtue of their relationship have access to family capital and connections.[17] In many Arab states, the large majority of political women usually come from well-off classes, as they are "able to mobilise or win over a volunteer force of largely male solidarity and support."[18]

Early Money and Nomination Contests: Early money is the initial financing a candidate requires to launch a campaign for candidature, enabling the candidate to establish name recognition, gain

exposure and organize a campaign team. Much early money will often come from the candidate him/herself. This self-financing is often a major obstacle for women in particular. Women still earn less than their male counterparts, and the situation most women candidates find themselves in is not conducive to putting large sums of personal money into a campaign.

Scarcity of Resources: In many developing democracies the lack of money to pay even modest candidate deposits can exclude women from the election process. In Tanzania, women candidates are affected by a relative lack of resources for campaigning compared with their male counterparts. One result of this inequality is that few women run in the country's constituency seats, relying instead on the system of intra-party elections for access to reserved seats. The scarcity of resources is often felt hardest among new parties or those not represented in parliaments as they are unable to access to public funding, where it exists.

These funding obstacles are most pronounced in candidate-centred electoral systems but also affect aspiring candidates in proportional representation systems. Women still need to build name recognition, canvass and be elected onto the party ticket. However, once elected onto a party list (especially closed lists), women in list-PR systems have an advantage over women contesting in constituency systems. Where political parties are responsible for campaigning, rather than the individual candidate in the constituency, women stand a greater chance of election provided they are placed in "electable" positions on the party list.

4. Positive Action Measures

It is because of the obstacles that women face in the electoral process that positive action measures have been proposed and in many cases implemented by political parties. Positive action strategies vary. In terms of political parties, positive action strategies may consist of developing incentives to attract women to the party, providing training and skills development for women candidates to stand for election, or setting a target within the party that a certain number of executive positions will be held by women.

Other measures may include drafting legislation that creates incentives for political parties to increase the number of women candidates. For example, it has been suggested that public funding can be regulated in a way to create incentive for parties to include more women. Public funding aims to reduce the influence of special interest groups and help create a level playing field for all political actors in the electoral process. Public money is provided usually with some obligations for the recipients, but it can be regulated in such a way as to ensure that parties nominate a certain percentage of women candidates for election. In France and Cape Verde, the allocation of public funds is influenced by the number of women candidates fielded by a political party. Another way of providing indirect public funding is access to the state and privately run media. Media time free of charge is a subsidy in kind, and was used in East Timor as one way to help women candidates: Those parties that had women placed in high positions on party lists received additional media time.

Arguably the most common and effective positive action measures are electoral quotas, which are defined as mandatory or targeted percentages of women candidates for public elections. Gender quotas have become an important policy tool to increase women's access to decision-making bodies. When properly implemented, they ensure women entry to decision-making positions rather than leaving this to the good faith of political parties or the traditional procedures of candidate selection. The introduction of gender quotas is highly influenced by recommendations from international organisations and used to a great extent by those lobbying for quotas.

Quotas in Comparative Perspective

International IDEA and Stockholm University are engaged in a global research project on the implementation and practice of quotas worldwide. A website database on Electoral Quotas for Women (www.quotaproject.org) contains information for 80 countries where quotas exist, previously existed or are currently under discussion. Although there are many different variations, quotas fall into three main groups:

Reserved Seats: where a certain number of seats are set aside for women, filled either by representatives from regions or filled by political parties in direct proportion to their overall share of the national vote. Reserved seats typically exist in plurality or majoritarian electoral systems, and are often entrenched in a country's constitution (e.g.: Afghanistan, Uganda, Rwanda and India at the local level).

Legislated Party Quotas: can be constitutionally binding, or legislated in political party and electoral laws. The law stipulates a minimum target of women candidates in political parties for election, and generally applies to PR electoral systems. However, this law does not always guarantee that the target is met unless there is strict placement and enforcement mechanisms guaranteeing women are placed in electable positions on party lists, i.e. every second or third place on the list. E.g.: 11 Latin American countries adopted legislated quotas in the 1990s.

Voluntary Party Quotas: are similar to above, with the exception that the quota is not a legal quota but has voluntarily been adopted by the party. It may apply to political parties in all electoral systems. As the quota is voluntary, there is no guarantee the quota target will be met by parties, and in many cases they are not (e.g. many parties in Western Europe and parts of Africa).

Today 12 countries have quotas entrenched in the constitution (including most recently Afghanistan where the constitution stipulates that two female delegates must be elected from each province amounting roughly to a 25 percent quota)[19], 30 countries have legislated quotas, and at least 129 parties in 61 countries have adopted their own voluntary party quotas. In terms of regional spread, 19 African countries have adopted quotas of some sort, 16 in Europe, 16 in Latin America and 12 from Asia. In terms of electoral system type, 21 countries in plurality or majority systems have quotas, 14 in semi-PR electoral systems and 45 in PR systems.[20]

Enforcing Quotas

Quotas are by their nature controversial. Yet the evidence to date suggests that where quota are implemented, and properly enforced, they are an extremely effective way to guarantee women representation in parliament. If we take the earlier Table 2 with the top-fifteen countries in terms of women's representation and add a column with Quota Type, we find that 12 of the 15 highest placed countries have quotas, with Denmark reaching the stage where quotas have now been abolished by political parties. Eight of the 12 are voluntary party quotas, three have legislated quotas and one has reserved seats.

Table 2: Highest Ranked Countries by Quota Type

Rank	Country	Electoral System	% Women	Quota Type
1	Rwanda	Parallel	48.8	Legislated Quota
2	Sweden	PR	45.3	Voluntary Party Quota
3	Denmark	PR	38.0	Previously Political Party
4	Finland	PR	37.5	No

5	Netherlands	PR	36.7	Voluntary Party Quota
6	Norway	PR	36.4	Voluntary Party Quota
7	Cuba	TRS	36.0	No
8	Belgium	PR	35.3	Legislated Quota
9	Costa Rica	PR	35.1	Legislated Quota
10	Austria	PR	33.9	Voluntary Party Quota
11	Germany	MMP	32.2	Voluntary Party Quota
12	Argentina	PR	30.7	Legislated Quota
13	Iceland	PR	30.2	Voluntary Party Quota
14	Mozambique	PR	30.0	Voluntary Party Quota
15	South Africa	PR	29.8	Voluntary Party Quota
Average all countries:			**35.7 %**	**12 with Quotas**

It is important to note quotas often do not work in isolation: they usually interact with other factors such as the nature of the electoral and party system and the presence of an organised and strong women's lobby both within and outside political parties. There is a tendency that quotas that rest on a previous mobilisation and integration of women in all spheres of society have a better chance of success than those without. Political will to increase women's representation is obviously an important factor. However, the way the quota provisions are formulated directly affects their implementation: many quotas are simply not enforced, either because the law stipulates a target but does not specify how to reach it, or because political parties ignore it in the absence of enforcement mechanisms. As a result, political parties may meet a 30 percent target of women on lists, but place women at the bottom of the lists in largely un-electable positions.

Reserved seats are by their nature enforceable – a certain number of seats are set aside for women – although some argue that they set a glass ceiling for women. Legislated quotas that apply to political parties need to be framed in such a way so as to ensure compliance. In Latin America, several quota laws stipulate a minimum threshold of representation of women on party lists, as well as placement mandates where for example, every second or third candidate must be a woman. This has led to a unique oversight role for the Electoral Management Body (EMB) where lists that do not comply with the law will not be registered for election, as in Costa Rica, Argentina and Mexico. Legislated quotas bring with them the danger that male dominated party leaderships may select and choose candidates that are close to them, either ideologically or literally in terms of family or blood ties.

With voluntary quotas, some parties may adopt placement mandates on party lists - 'zipping' in many Scandinavian parties means that lists will alternate one man, one woman on lists. But as the quota is voluntary, there is every chance that a party may not to implement it unless it is established as a regulation of the party. In South Africa, the ANC's Adopted List Process for National Elections states that affirmative action for women will be a central part of being representative, and no less than one-third of the lists are to made up of women.[21] Political will from party leadership is a necessary condition for the enforcement of party quotas.

Lobbying for Quotas

When lobbying for quotas, the institutional setting, the party structure and the influence of the women's movement are crucial. Because of space constraints, this will not be dealt with here in detail suffice to highlight some key points. Discourses on types of quotas are very much related to the electoral system a country uses, as well as nomination systems. Quotas are less likely to succeed in electoral systems based on single-member constituencies, where a party presents one candidate, unless reserved seats are used in that system. Evidence to date suggests that political party quotas (legislated with placement mandates) in multi-member districts are most likely to increase the

political representation of women. Is it better to lobby for voluntary or involuntary party quotas? The evidence is mixed, although in Argentina both types were lobbied for simultaneously which resulted in the eventual passage of a quota law in 1991.

Who are the main actors behind the introduction of quotas? Different country experiences point to an array of actors that intersect at different stages. Of critical importance however, is the presence of mobilised women, both inside and outside political parties. Support from the upper echelons of power is also important – women in Peru lobbied for quotas in the early 1990s, but it took the public support of then President Fujimori to send a quota bill to parliament in 1997, and opponents to the law soon fell into line after public support from the party leader. Another consideration is timing – there are certain 'golden opportunities' that exist in the political process that facilitate the introduction of quotas. In countries undergoing transition, constitutional and legal reform, there is a small window of opportunity for the introduction of quota laws. It is much harder to amend the constitution and rewrite electoral or parties laws in established regimes.

It is now common for quotas to be discussed as a way of securing women representation in post-conflict states. In fact most of the recent country experiences with quotas have emerged from transitional and post-conflict states. They have taken varying forms, ranging from voluntary party quotas adopted by the ruling (liberation) parties in Mozambique and South Africa, to reserved seats and constitutional quotas most recently in Rwanda and Afghanistan. The implementation of quotas is often surrounded by a cloud of controversy and debate, dividing the women's movement, political leaders and the international community on the issue.

In many instances though, quotas have secured women positions in the post-conflict dispensation. In South Africa it was the implementation of a voluntary party quota by the ANC in 1993 that accounted for the mass of women who entered the first democratic parliament in 1994, raising the levels of female representation from three percent to 25 percent in one election. A similar situation evolved in Mozambique where the adoption of a 30 percent quota by the Frelimo party secured women representation in parliament.

5. Conclusion

After first examining the general stages of candidate selection by political parties, the particular obstacles that confront women in this process have been discussed. It is apparent that the electoral system type, the influence of culture, party organisation and rules, the pool of women candidates, and election campaigning can work against women securing a political party nomination. In light of the challenges that women face, special measures that can compensate for these have been highlighted, including providing incentives to political parties to nominate more women through public funding, and through the application of more direct special measures, such as electoral quotas.

It is apparent that in many instances quotas have contributed to an increase in the number of women in parliament. However, it is not the quota in isolation, but how it interacts with the type of electoral system, the nature of women's movement and how the laws have been drafted and enforced. Quotas will not be successful when introduced as a single measure. In the short terms they may provide women with visibility within the party, but alone they do not equate to internal party democracy. They lay the groundwork for the achievement of gender equality within these institutions, but how this leads to democracy with the party is a question of political will and commitment of party leadership.

Endnotes

[1] Julie Ballington is a Programme Officer in the Political Parties Programme at International IDEA based in Stockholm. This is a revised version of the paper prepared by Julie Ballington and Richard Matland, "Political Parties and Special Measures: Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes" presented at the UN Expert Meeting on Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes in Post-conflict Countries, OSAGI and DPA, Glen Cove, New York, USA, 19 to 22 January 2004.
[2] Karen Fogg, "Preface," in Reginald Austin & Maja Tjernstrom (eds.), 2003. *Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns,* International IDEA: Stockholm, p. v.
[3] Richard E. Matland and Kathleen A. Montgomery, 2003. "Recruiting Women to National Legislatures: A General Framework with Applications to Post-Communist Democracies," in Richard E. Matland and Kathleen A. Montgomery (eds.), *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-Communist Europe,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 21.
[4] Richard Matland, 1998. "Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems," in International IDEA, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers,* IDEA: Stockholm, p. 70.
[5] Matland and Montgomery, 2003, p. 25.
[6] Ibid., p. 20.
[7] Matland, 1998, p. 75.
[8] This is not to assert that only electoral systems matter as representation will be affected by other factors including inter alia the level of democratic development. Data taken from Inter-parliamentary Union, *Women in National Parliaments,* 30 October 2003, at http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm.
[9] See IPU, Idem. International IDEA Database on Electoral System Design at http://www.idea.int/esd/data/world.cfm. TRS = Two Round System; MMP = Mixed Member Proportional.
[10] Matland and Montgomery, 2003, p. 27.
[11] Julie Ballington, 1998. "Women's Parliamentary Representation: The Effects of List PR," in *Politikon*, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 79.
[12] Nadezhda Shvedova, "Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament," in International IDEA, Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers, IDEA: Stockholm, p. 33.
[13] Matland 1998, p. 71.
[14] International IDEA, 2003. *The Implementation of Quotas: Latin American Experiences Workshop Report*, IDEA: Stockholm, p. 108.
[15] Matland and Montgomery, 2003. p. 33.
[16] Ibid. pp. 24-25.
[17] International IDEA, 2003. p.83.
[18] Azza Karam, 2000. ""Democrats without Democracy: Challenges to Women in Politics in the Arab World", in Shirin Rai (ed.), *International Perspectives on Gender and Democratisation*, Women's Studies at York, Basingstoke: Macmillan, p. 72.
[19] The countries include Afghanistan, Argentina, China, Eritrea, France, Guyana, India, Kenya, Nepal, Philippines, Rwanda, and Uganda.
[20] See Global Database of Quotas for Women, at www.quotaproject.org
[21] Ballington, 1998, p. 79.