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Women in the Northern Ireland Assembly

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This paper summarises the background to women's representation in politics, outlines the legislative frameworks relevant to women's representation in the Northern Ireland Assembly and reviews some mechanisms for increasing female representation.

Executive Summary

With the exception of Dáil Éireann, the Northern Ireland Assembly has the lowest female representation of devolved and national legislatures in these islands. The introduction of quotas for women candidates in the Republic of Ireland in the next election has the potential to alter this situation.

In a European context, with the exception of Italian regional legislatures, the Northern Ireland Assembly has the lowest female representation of comparable devolved institutions in Western Europe.

International declarations, such as the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, echoed locally in the Belfast Agreement and the Gender Equality Strategy, recognise the right of women to full and equal political participation. There is debate concerning what this would mean. For example, with women 51% of the population, *descriptive representation* would entail 51% of representatives being female. However, *substantive representation* is viewed in terms of the interests of women being represented, whether by a male or female representative.

The prevalence of men in political power generates a culture that is male, which can exclude or deter women. *Presence theory* suggests that cultures can change when there are sufficient numbers of women, leading to ways of working that are more conducive to female participation. This is linked to *critical mass theory*, which examines the point at which change may take place, variously estimated at 30-40%.

Two major factors affect female representation:

- <u>Electoral systems</u> Generally, it is believed that proportional systems (PR) with high district magnitudes are more favourable to female representation, as the more available seats there are, the more chance of women being selected, as, for example, incumbents in single member districts would tend to be male. However, this is not conclusive, as first past the post systems have also returned greater numbers of women (such as the first past the post segment of elections in Wales) and PR systems have also failed to do so on occasion (such as in France).

- <u>Candidate selection</u> A clear influence on the level of female representation is the commitment of political parties to selecting women to stand for election in winnable seats. Linked to this is the need to encourage and support more women to stand to ensure a supply of eligible female candidates and counter barriers to participation they may face.

Elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly are an excepted matter, requiring Westminster legislation to change the system. The Sex Discrimination (Election

Candidates) Act 2002, however, permits political parties to practice positive discrimination in relation to the selection of candidates.

A range of other measures have been proposed to increase female political representation:

- <u>Parliamentary procedures</u> can be changed to facilitate the participation of women, for example:

    o   Family-friendly sitting hours

    o   Childcare and parental leave arrangements

    o   Cross-party group for women

    o   Policies to promote gender equality and prohibit discrimination and harassment

    o   Review of institutional behaviour, such as use of language, practices, environment, etc., from a gender perspective

    o   Formalised links with NGOs working on gender issues

- <u>Quotas</u>, while controversial, can guarantee women's descriptive representation. These vary in percentage (30%, 40% or 50%, for example) can be legal or voluntary, with or without sanctions, and can be for candidates or seats in a legislature, or both.

- <u>Support mechanisms</u> for female candidates and representatives can include training, mentoring, financial assistance or material assistance, for example.

- <u>Awareness raising</u> generally looks at the supply side of potential candidate recruitment by encouraging more women to consider a political career and building the capacity within community groups to generate interest among women in political participation.

Larger numbers of seats tend to favour women, so conversely, reductions may affect the numbers of women returned. In this case, the reduction in the number of councils and a corresponding reduction in the number of seats may indirectly influence the supply of potential female MLAs, if council representation can be seen as an initial step in political life. Similarly, any reduction in the number of seats in the Northern Ireland Assembly may potentially impact upon female representation.

Contents

1   Introduction

The Assembly and Executive Review Committee agreed on 2 July 2013 to commission research with regard to gender balance in the Northern Ireland Assembly[1], to discuss the following aspects:

• What measures are and could be put in place to ensure balanced gender representation among NI Assembly Members;

• What measures are in place in other Legislatures and Executives in the UK, Ireland and beyond to ensure balanced gender representation among Members;

• The legal basis with regard to gender equality, specifically on the issue above (including "reserved and excepted status") and the "Beijing Platform".

This paper summarises the background to the issue, outlines the legislative frameworks relevant to gender representation and reviews some mechanisms for increasing female representation used elsewhere.

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[1] Assembly and Executive Review Committee meeting, 2 July 2013.

2   Background

Statistical Outline

The Northern Ireland Assembly currently has 21 female Members out of a total of 108 (19.4%)[2], although 20 women were elected in 2011, the net increase being due to one more female than male co-option by parties replacing Members since the election. 38 female and 180 male candidates stood in the 2011 election (17.4%)[3]. No female candidates stood in Newry and Armagh. Historically, there have been 47 female MLAs (of 218 total, 21.6%) since the current institutions were established in 1998[4]. No women have been returned in East or North Antrim since 1998.

The table below compares legislatures within the UK, which shows Northern Ireland has the lowest female representation[5].

Representatives by gender

	Con	Lab	LD	Other	Total
Male					
House of Commons	257	171	50	25	503
House of Lords	172	157	63	265	657
National Assembly for Wales	10	15	4	7	36
Scottish Parliament	9	20	4	51	84
Northern Ireland Assembly				88	88
London Assembly	8	7	1	1	17
European Parliament (UK Members)	19	8	5	16	48
Female					
House of Commons	48	86	7	6	147
House of Lords	38	63	26	53	180
National Assembly for Wales	4	15	1	4	24
Scottish Parliament	6	17	1	21	45
Northern Ireland Assembly				20	20
London Assembly	1	5	1	1	8
European Parliament (UK Members)	6	5	6	7	24
% female					
House of Commons	16%	33%	12%	19%	23%
House of Lords	18%	29%	29%	17%	22%
National Assembly for Wales	29%	50%	20%	36%	40%
Scottish Parliament	40%	46%	20%	29%	35%
Northern Ireland Assembly				19%	19%
London Assembly	11%	42%	50%	50%	32%
European Parliament (UK Members)	24%	38%	55%	30%	33%

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[2] All current female MLAs are listed at Appendix 1.

[3] All female candidates in the 2011 Assembly election are listed at Appendix 2.

[4] A list of all female MLAs, past and present, is at Appendix 3.

[5] House of Commons Standard Note SN/NG/1250 *Women in Parliament and Government*, 13 May 2013, p.3: http://www.parliament.uk/Templates/BriefingPapers/Pages/BPPdfDownload.aspx?bp-id=SN01250.   Note the Northern Ireland Assembly figure is 20, i.e. those elected in 2011, not the current number of 21.

The Dáil Éireann has 25 female and 141 male TDs (15%) and 18 of the 60 Senators are female (30%)[6]. Parallels have been drawn between the political cultures in both jurisdictions on the island of Ireland which give women's representation a low priority[7].

If placed in international perspective alongside national legislatures the Northern Ireland Assembly would rank 70th in the world[8]. In terms of devolved institutions, the following table summarises women's representation in the regional assemblies of some western European states.

Devolved Legislatures	% Female
German Länder	32 (2011)[9]
Spanish Comunidades Autónomas	43.8 (2013)[10]
Italian Regioni	15.9% (2013)[11]
Belgian regional and community parliaments	36.4 (2009)[12]
Austrian Länder	39.7 (2013)[13]

Apart for the Italian regional legislatures, the Northern Ireland Assembly has significantly lower female representation than comparable western European legislatures.

The following figures place the Assembly in the perspective of female political representation in Northern Ireland in general[14]:

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[6] For statistics for female members of legislatures on these islands, see the Centre for the Advancement of Women Observatory, Queen's University Belfast: http://www.qub.ac.uk/cawp/observatory.html.

[7] Yvonne Galligan and Kathleen Knight (2011), 'Attitudes Towards Women in Politics: Gender, Generation and Party Identification in Ireland', in *Parliamentary Affairs* 64(4), 585-611.

[8] Inter-Parliamentary Union, 'Women in National Parliaments', accessed 17 July 2013: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm. This is reproduced at Appendix 4.

[9] Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (2013), *Atlas zur Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern in Deutschland*, Berlin: BfFSFJ, p.8: http://www.bmfsfj.de/RedaktionBMFSFJ/Broschuerenstelle/Pdf-Anlagen/2.-Atlas-zur-Gleichstellung-in-Deutschland,property=pdf,bereich=bmfsfj,sprache=de,rwb=true.pdf.

[10] Instituto de la Mujer, Participación en los Parlamentos Autonómicos Según Comunidad Autónoma, accessed 18 July 2013: http://www.inmujer.gob.es/estadisticas/decisiones/poderLegislativo/2009/parlAutoCCAA.xls.

[11] Derived from the websites of the 20 Regioni, accessed on 18 July 2013 via the website of Conferenza dei Presidenti delle Assemblee Legislative delle Regioni e delle Province Autonome: http://www.parlamentiregionali.it/assemblee/consigli-consiglieri.php.

[12] Institut pour l'Égalité des Femmes et les Hommes (2011), *Femmes et Hommes en Belgique*, Brussels: IÉFH, p.96: http://igvm-iefh.belgium.be/fr/binaries/GenderStat_F_Hfdst1-8_tcm337-160843.pdf.

[13] Derived from Landtag websites, accessed 19 July 2013 via the Republik Österreich Parlament website: http://www.parlament.gv.at/PERK/BOE/LT/.

- 23.5% of local councillors in 2011 were women (compared with 31% in England)

- 5 of 26 mayors/chairs of councils were women

- 4 of 18 MPs are women (compared with 22% in GB)

- 2 of 3 MEPs are women (compared with 30% in GB)

- 4 of 15 ministers and junior ministers are women

The representation of women in politics in Northern Ireland has a direct association with candidate selection. An examination of the 2011 Assembly elections indicates that female candidates generally fared better than their male counterparts in terms of votes won, but the lower numbers elected were more reflective of lower numbers of candidates[15].

Policy

The Beijing Platform for Action of 1995, which consists of a range of commitments by governments to address structural disadvantages experienced by women internationally, includes specific measures to increase women's participation in power and decision-making. These include[16]:

Strategic Objective G.1: Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.

Strategic Objective G.2: Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.

A full list of actions to be taken is at Appendix 5.

The Venice Commission in 2010 outlined a set of principles for the operation of democratic systems. Principle 6 states the following[17]:

All individuals and groups that seek to establish political parties must be able to do so on the basis of equal treatment before the law. No individual or group wishing to associate as a political party should be advantaged or disadvantaged in this endeavour by the state, and the regulation of parties must be uniformly applied. In order to eliminate historical inequalities, measures can be taken to ensure equal opportunities for women and minorities. Temporary special measures aimed at promoting de facto equality for women and ethnic, "racial" or other minorities subject to past discrimination may be enacted and should not be considered discriminatory.

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[14] Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment (2012), *Women in Northern Ireland 2012*, Belfast: DETI, p.22: http://www.detini.gov.uk/women_in_northern_ireland_september_2012_final_version.pdf.

[15] Yvonne Galligan (2013), 'Gender and Politics in Northern Ireland: The Representation Gap Revisited', in *Irish Political Studies* 28(3), 420-423.

[16] Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995, pp.79-84: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf.

[17] Venice Commission (2011), *Guidelines on Political Party Regulation*, Warsaw: OSCE, p.25: http://www.osce.org/odihr/77812.

The Belfast Agreement 1998 includes a commitment to 'the right of women to full and equal political participation'[18].

The vision for the Gender Equality Strategy for Northern Ireland states[19]:

Men and women will be able to realise their full potential to contribute equally to the political, economic, social, (including caring roles) and cultural development of Northern Ireland and benefit equally from the results.

One of the Key Action Areas of the strategy is 'representation in public life/decision-making', which is associated with the following strategic objectives[20]:

- To achieve better collection and dissemination of data

- To achieve gender balance on all government appointed committees, boards and other relevant official bodies

- To actively promote an inclusive society

- To ensure the participation of women and men in all levels of peace building, civil society, economy and government

Key Concepts

Political representation has been defined in two senses[21]:

Descriptive representation indicates that representatives share characteristics with those they represent, i.e. women representing women.

Substantive representation indicates that representatives serve the interests of those they represent, i.e. promoting issues relevant to women.

Presence Theory explains how organisational cultures change as numbers of people with a different approach increase. In this case, political cultures are deemed to alter as numbers of women increase and introduce different ways of working and different perspectives to men[22].

Critical Mass Theory examines the proportion of people with a different approach that are required for organisations to change. In this case, the proportion of women in a legislature required to make a difference has been variously estimated at 30-40%, but

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[18] The Agreement: Agreement Reached at Multi-Party Talks, 1998, 'Rights, Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity: Human Rights': https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/136652/agreement.pdf.

[19] Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2006), *Gender Equality Strategy: A strategic framework for action to promote gender equality for women and men 2006-2016*, Belfast: OFMDFM, p.14: http://www.ofmdfmni.gov.uk/genderequalitystrategy2006-2016.pdf.

[20] Ibid., pp.17, 23.

[21] Mercedes Mateo Diaz (2005), *Representing Women? Female Legislators in West European Parliaments,* Colchester: ECPR, p.14.

[22] Joni Lovenduski (2005), *Feminising Politics*, Cambridge: Polity, p.142.

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there has been a shift from an emphasis on numbers to more interest in what 'critical actors' do when they become legislators[23].

[23] Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook (2008), 'Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation', in *Political Studies* 56, pp.725-736.

3   Legislative Framework

This section reviews the current legislation in force in Northern Ireland with regard to the election of Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs).

Elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly are provided for in the Northern Ireland Act 1998[24]. There are no provisions for gender equality relating to elections in the Act.

The Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002[25] amends the Sex Discrimination (Northern Ireland) Order 1976 to exempt the selection of election candidates from the provisions of the Order[26]. This enables political parties to use positive discrimination for the promotion of women candidates over men. This provision has been extended to 2030.

The Northern Ireland (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill[27] provides for some changes in elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly, but does not include legislative provisions for a gender balance, nor have there been any such proposed amendments. The Bill was awaiting Report Stage at the time of writing.

In terms of legislative competence, the following are excepted matters under Schedule 2 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998[28]:

Elections, including the franchise, in respect of the Northern Ireland Assembly, the European Parliament and district councils

The subject-matter of the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000[29] with the exception of Part IX (political donations etc. by companies)

This paragraph does not include the funding of political parties for the purpose of assisting members of the Northern Ireland Assembly connected with such parties to perform their Assembly duties

The following are reserved matters under Schedule 3 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998[30]:

Disqualification for membership of the Assembly; privileges, powers and immunities of the Assembly, its members and committees greater than those conferred by section 50[31]

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[24] Part IV of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 relates to elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/47/contents.

[25] Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002, Section 2: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/2/contents.

[26] Sex Discrimination (Northern Ireland) Order 1976, Article 43A: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1976/1042/contents.

[27] Northern Ireland (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill: http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2013-14/northernirelandmiscellaneousprovisions.html.

[28] Paragraphs 12-13 of Schedule 2 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998.

[29] Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2000/41/contents.

[30] Paragraph 8 of Schedule 3 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998.

[31] Section 50 relates to privileged matters in the Assembly with relevance to defamation legislation.

4   Mechanisms

This section examines some mechanisms that have been suggested or are in place elsewhere to increase women's representation in legislatures.

The barriers to women's participation in legislatures have been summarised as follows[32]:

Political Barriers

1. *Masculine model of politics* – political structures have been designed by and for men and as such reflect a culture and way of working more conducive to male participation

2. *Lack of party support* – political parties as male domains do not adequately promote the participation of women

3. *Lack of co-operation with women's organisations* – groups that support women in communities are potential resources for nurturing future female politicians, but these are not utilised

4. *Electoral systems* – the mechanisms of elections can indirectly disadvantage women

Socio-Economic Barriers

1. *Feminisation of poverty and unemployment* – political participation often requires a degree of financial resource

2. *Dual burden* – women bear the primary responsibility for caring, child-rearing and domestic chores, leaving less time for political participation

3. *Education and training* – in many countries, women do not have the same education opportunities as men and the contexts in which women are educated tend to stream women and girls to particular occupations

Ideological and Psychological Barriers

1. *Traditional roles* – politics is seen as traditionally 'male' and women and men are socialised into maintaining this perception

2. *Lack of confidence* – not necessarily a lack of assertiveness, but a lack of awareness of existing skill sets that are transferable to politics and a sense of exclusion

3. *Perception of politics as 'dirty'* – many women are deterred by political cultures

4. *Role of mass media* – images of politicians tend to be of males and of public life being male-oriented

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[32] Nadezhda Shvedova (2005), 'Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament', in Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Stockholm: IDEA, pp.33-48.

Examples of proposed mechanisms to overcome barriers to participation are set out below.

Party Policies

Political parties have a role to play in the selection of female candidates to stand for election. There are three stages of selection barriers that women have to overcome[33]:

1.   Self-selection – while men are socialised to see politics as a viable option, women tend not to put themselves forward.

2.   Party selection – some party selection processes are women-friendly, others less so.

3.   Voter selection – this is the least difficult barrier, as, generally speaking, research suggests voters opt for parties rather than personalities.

Strategies that parties can undertake to increase the number of female candidates have been suggested as follows[34]:

  All-women shortlists for certain parliamentary seats

  Twinning – a woman is selected for every man selected

  Clustering – party selection takes place across two or more constituencies to ensure equal female and male representation across constituencies

  Zipping – women and men are alternated on party lists

Parliamentary Procedures

Rather than adapting women to the political environment, suggestions have been made as to how the political workplace can be more women-friendly. Suggestions include the following[35]:

* Promotion of gender equality in the legislature

* Rules to provide for gender-neutral language

* Less aggressive parliamentary language and behaviour

* Family-friendly sitting hours

* Childcare facilities, parental leave and family-friendly spaces

* Gender-sensitive training programmes for all Members

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[33] Richard Matland (2005), 'Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems', in in Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds), Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers, Stockholm: IDEA, pp.94-5.

[34] From the report on the conference 'Encouraging Women into Political and Public Life', Hillsborough Castle, 13 November 2006, pp.53-4: http://www.ofmdfmni.gov.uk/women-in-political-and-public-life-conference-3.pdf.

[35] Sonia Palmieri (2011), *Gender-Sensitive Parliaments: A Global Review of Good Practice*, Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, pp.107-110: http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/gsp11-e.pdf.

- Gender mainstreaming in all work processes and outputs

- Women's caucus or cross-party group of female Members

- Regularised links with women's groups and other civil society organisations working on gender issues

- Legislative change to ensure more women gain seats in the legislature

- Increase in the number of women in leadership positions in the legislature

- Code of conduct to prohibit behaviour such as sexual harassment

- Review of the 'maleness' of the institution, such as working practices, ceremonies, artwork, etc.

- Increase in the level of visibility of gender issues in parliamentary practice

- Gender Equality Committee, or a dedicated equality committee that deals with mainstreaming gender in the business of the legislature

- Gender mainstreaming in the business of all committees

- Enhance parliamentary research in gender issues

- Parties to have a 'women's wing' or group

One example of a flexible response to accommodate women is the Spanish Congress of Deputies, where in June 2012 Deputy Olga Iglesias was the first person to avail of distance voting due to a regulation change in July 2011, allowing for Deputies kept away from Congress due to illness or pregnancy to vote[36].

Quotas

Quotas for women have been proposed because progress for equal representation has been considered to be too slow and the barriers to women too great. Kinds of quotas have been described as follows[37]:

- Candidate quotas, legal or voluntary

- Reserved seats in the legislature

- Gender-neutral quotas, such as at least 40% of either sex

- Fast-track quotas, where representation is traditionally low

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[36] 'Una diputada embarazada estrena el voto a distancia en el Congreso', *El Mundo* 12 June 2012: http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2012/06/12/espana/1339517558.html.

[37] Drude Dahlerup (2005), 'Increasing Women's Political Representation: New Trends in Gender Quotas' in Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds), Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers, Stockholm: IDEA, pp.141-2.

In the UK, quotas are voluntary. This is provided for in legislation by the Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002 exempting electoral candidate selection from sex discrimination legislation (see Section 3 above).

In the Republic of Ireland, Section 42 of the Electoral (Amendment) (Political Funding) Act 2012[38] provides for the financial punishment of political parties that do not have 30% of either sex standing as candidates in the next election, and 40% of either sex in any election after seven years from the first election, by a 50% reduction in state funding. The relevant text is reproduced at Appendix 6.

In France, the law of 6 June 2000[39] requires political parties to have an equal number of male and female candidates on party lists for relevant PR list elections. In this case, the list is rejected if there is not 50-50 representation. This only applies to elections to the European Parliament, half of the Senate (departments having four senators or more), regional councils and larger municipal councils (of 3,500 inhabitants or more).

For the single-member district elections to the Assemblée Nationale, this is more difficult to apply. In this case, there is a complex equation that deducts a certain amount of state subsidy to political parties relative to how far the proportion of candidates falls below 50% of either sex[40].

Reserved seats are used in the Kosovo Assembly and in municipal elections in Kosovo. The General Election Law of 2008 requires each party list to be at least 30% male and female, and the final allocated seats to the Assembly to have the same quota[41]. Quotas were initially unpopular in post-conflict Kosovo, being seen as an imposition of the international community. Indeed parties claimed they had difficulty finding accomplished female politicians, filling quotas to fulfill the rule, and a number of female legislators resigned once in post in the first local elections, to be replaced by males[42]. However, following safeguards to prevent this happening again, in the spirit of international commitments to gender equality, such as UN Resolution 1325[43], and the gradual acceptance of quotas, the Assembly currently has 40 female Members out of 120.

Quotas are regarded as controversial, because, it is argued, they are less democratic, against equality of opportunity, implies female politicians are there for their gender alone, women politicians do not want to be in politics just because they are women and

[38] Electoral (Amendment) (Political Funding) Act 2012: http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/2012/en/act/pub/0036/index.html.

[39] Loi n° 2000-493 du 6 juin 2000 tendant à favoriser l'égal accès des femmes et des hommes aux mandats électoraux et fonctions electives: http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000400185.

[40] Mariette Sineau (2008), 'France: '*parité*' under the law' in Drude Dahlerup and Lenita Freidenvall (eds) *Electoral Gender Quota Systems and their Implementation in Europe*, Brussels: European Parliament, p.51: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/200903/20090310ATT51390/20090310ATT51390EN.pdf.

[41] Articles 27 and 111.6 of Law No.3/L-073 on General Elections in the Republic of Kosovo: http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_03-L073_en.pdf. These articles are reproduced at Appendix 7.

[42] Milica Antić and Sonja Lokar (2006), 'The Balkans: From Total Rejection to Gradual Acceptance of Gender Quotas' in Drude Dahlerup (ed) *Women, Quotas and Politics*, London: Routledge, pp.155-6.

[43] UN Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000 outlines international commitments to a gender perspective in conflict and post-conflict societies, including increased representation in all decision-making levels: http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf.

quotas create conflicts in party organisations. On the other hand, it is contended that quotas compensate for barriers to women, they ensure the few women who manage to get into politics are not alone, women have a right to equal representation, women's experiences are needed in politics, it is parties that control representation rather than voters, women are minimised in a 'male' political system and conflicts caused by quotas are only temporary[44].

It has also been argued that quotas are not sufficient for the meaningful equal representation of women, needing to be part of a suite of measures to support women in and into legislatures, and also that the incremental approach to quotas has been disappointing, necessitating a fast-track approach, that is, a higher proportion of guaranteed seats in the legislature for women through reserved seats or more stringent penalties for infringement of candidate selection quotas[45].

Electoral Systems

The way candidates are elected has a bearing on the number of women returned. Indeed, some assert that the impact of some electoral systems on female representation can be quite dramatic, with Proportional Representation (PR) systems with high district magnitudes being most effective[46].

A recent survey of 15 countries compared outcomes for a range of electoral systems:

- Single Member Simple Plurality (SMSP): United Kingdom Also known as First Past the Post (FPTP), the majoritarian nature of the system, single-member constituencies, a two-party system with a tradition of safe seats and parties' decentralised selection practices are said to disadvantage women, but the key element to the question of who gets elected is party selection[47].

- Two-Round Single Member District (SMD): France Despite the so-called 'parity laws' that introduced quotas (see above), the local vote focus on the most visible candidate, the practice of multiple office-holding (double-jobbing) and the need for 12.5% of the vote for the second round run-off are said to be barriers to women. However, it is also noted that women are rarely selected for safe seats[48].

[44] Drude Dahlerup (1999), 'Using Quotas to Increase Women's Political Representation' in Azza Karam (ed) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Stockholm: International IDEA, p.94.

[45] Drude Dahlerup and Lenita Freidenvall (2005), 'Quotas as a 'Fast Track' to Equal Representation for Women: Why Scandinavia is no Longer the Model' in *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(1), pp.26-48.

[46] Richard Matland (1999), in Azza Karam (ed) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Stockholm: International IDEA, pp.75, 80.

[47] Sarah Childs, Rosie Campbell and Joni Lovenduski (2012), 'The "Mother of All Parliaments": Westminster's Male Face', in Manon Tremblay (ed), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Sex Quotas*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.47, 50.

[48] Mariette Sineau (2012), 'The Single-Member District System: The Hidden Bonus for Notables', in Manon Tremblay (ed), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Sex Quotas*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.93-95.

- Closed Lists: Spain Since 2004, Spain has consistently returned 36% women to the national parliament. This 'feminisation' of the current parliament has been attributed to the PR electoral system, more egalitarian views on gender roles in society and greater labour market and higher education representation of women. However, the main causal factor is said to be the implementation of gender quotas in left-wing political parties[49].

- Preferential (Open) Lists: Belgium Voters can cast multiple preferential votes for candidates and vote for a party, there being equal weight for personal and party list votes in a PR system. A quota law requires an equal number of men and women on a party list or it is rejected, but position on the list is important. Quotas are said to only be effective in a small number of districts, but factors against women include financial resources available to women to pursue a political career and the sexual division of labour in the home[50].

- Single Transferable Vote (STV): Republic of Ireland STV facilitates voters' wishes to a high degree, but fewer women are elected, primarily attributed to party selection and women standing in districts of lower magnitude, districts of six seats or more deemed more favourable to the election of women candidates[51]. It remains to be seen what effect the new quota law will have on representation (see above).

- Mixed Member Proportional (MMP): New Zealand There has been a dramatic increase in female representation in New Zealand since the electoral system was changed from First Past The Post (FPTP) to MMP in the 1990's. Voters have two votes: one for an individual candidate in a single-seat member district and one for a closed party list, with the Sainte Laguë system used to allocate seats. However, more women tend to be on the party list than stand as electoral candidates[52].

In summary, voting systems can have a major effect on the representation of women, but the role of parties and the use of quotas have to be taken into account. While PR systems are in general considered to be more conducive to women's representation, there are significant counter-examples: PR systems in Hungary and Japan return fewer women than majoritarian systems in the UK and USA; more women were returned in Scotland and Wales under the majoritarian tier than the PR tier; and the brief introduction of PR in France in the 1980s did not affect female representation[53]. A

[49] Celia Valiente (2012), 'Women in Parliament: The Effectiveness of Quotas' in Manon Tremblay (ed), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Sex Quotas*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, p.129.

[50] Petra Meir (2012), 'The Collateral Damage of Electoral System Design', in Manon Tremblay (ed), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Sex Quotas*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.144-153.

[51] Yvonne Galligan (2012), 'STV: A gender-Proportional System?', in Manon Tremblay (ed), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Sex Quotas*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.158-9.

[52] Jennifer Curtin (2012), 'Gendering Parliamentary Representation: A Mixed System Producing Mixed Results' in Manon Tremblay (ed), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Sex Quotas*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.198-9, 206.

[53] Manon Tremblay (2012), Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Sex Quotas, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.240-1.

combination of factors rather than electoral systems alone explains the increased representation of women.

Support Mechanisms

Strategies to increase the political participation of women are said to be on three levels[54]:

1. Equality rhetoric – public acceptance of women's claims for political equality

2. Equality promotion – mechanisms such as training for would-be female candidates, financial support, targets for female representation, etc.

3. Equality guarantees (positive discrimination) – such as quotas (discussed above)

The most prevalent strategies for increasing participation have been candidate training by political parties and women's organisations and voluntary party quotas, quota laws being less widespread. Additional support to women, apart from government measures to persuade or force parties to field more female candidates and electoral system structuring of the political landscape discussed above, can comprise the following[55]:

- Women's organisations mobilising women to stand – this increases the pool of potential candidates and raises awareness among women in the community of the potential for political participation

- Dedicated campaign funds for women – to provide financial resources for women candidates to raise their profile and campaign effectively

Certainly, the literature suggests that a combination of measures is required to increase representation, addressing demand through changing political cultures and attitudes towards women and the introduction of structures more conducive to women's participation, and supply side measures, such as encouraging more women into politics and introducing training and support initiatives to sustain women in political life.

In broad terms, a paper prepared for the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) proposes a six-step action plan for gender equality in elected office. These comprise constitutional rights to guarantee the participation of women, an electoral system that is conducive to women's representation, legal quotas, party rules and procedures to encourage and support women candidates, capacity development to support women and parliamentary reform to create an environment more accepting of women[56]. This action plan is reproduced below.

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[54] Joni Lovenduski (2005), *Feminising Politics*, Cambridge: Polity, pp.90-1.

[55] Yvonne Galligan and Manon Tremblay (2005), *Sharing Power: Women, Parliament, Democracy*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp.235-6.

[56] Pippa Norris and Mona Lena Krook (2011), *Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six-Step Action Plan*, Warsaw: OSCE, p.7: http://www.osce.org/odihr/78432.

Constitutional rights
Guarantee equal rights for women and
men, including rights to the voting suffrage
and to candidate nomination

Electoral system
Reform the type of electoral system; proportional
representation with large district magnitudes
maximizes opportunities for women

Legal quotas
Review laws regulating candidate recruitment
processes for all parties; the use of reserved seats
for women members or gender quotas for candidates
generally expand women's representation

Party rules and recruitment procedures
Review internal candidate recruitment processes
within each party; adopt fast track strategies
in party rulebooks and regulations to achieve
gender equality for nominated candidates

Capacity development
Strengthen the skills and resources of women
in the pipeline for elected office, with initiatives
by parties, the media and NGOs, including
knowledge networks, mentoring programs, skills
training and funding for women candidates

Parliamentary reform
Reform the rules and internal procedures within
parliament, including the facilities and working
conditions, hours of sitting, principles for leadership
recruitment, and provision of childcare facilities

Appendix 1: Female Members of the Legislative Assembly[57]

Member	Party	Constituency	Minister	Committees	All-Party Groups
Judith Cochrane	Alliance	East Belfast Elected May 2011		Social Development 2011-present Finance and Personnel 2011-present Assembly Commission 2011-present	UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2011-2012 Cancer 2011-present Rugby 2011-present Mental Health 2012-present SMEs (Chair) 2013-present Infertility 2013-present
Arlene Foster	DUP	Fermanagh and South Tyrone Elected November 2003	Environment 2007-8 DETI 2008-present Acting First Minister 2010		
Bronwyn McGahan	Sinn Féin	Fermanagh and South Tyrone Replaced Michelle Gildernew 2012		Ad Hoc Committee, Conformity with Equality, Welfare Reform Bill, 2012-13 OFMdFM 2012-present Employment	UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2012-present

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[57] Information correct as at recess, July 2013.

				and Learning 2012-present	
Maeve McLaughlin	Sinn Féin	Foyle Replaced Martina Anderson 2012		HSSPS 2012-present ETI 2012-present	
Brenda Hale	DUP	Lagan Valley Elected 2011		CAL 2011-12 Education 2011-present OFMdFM 2012-present	Cancer 2011-present Human Trafficking 2012-present
Michelle O'Neill	Sinn Féin	Mid Ulster Elected 2007	DARD 2011-present	Education 2007-11 HSSPS 2007-11	Autism 2008-11 Disability 2008-11 (Chair) Visual Impairment 2009-12 Learning Disability 2009-11 Cancer 2009-11 (Chair 2009-10) Sexual Health 2009-11 UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2011 Mental Health 2012-present
Sandra Overend	UUP	Mid Ulster Elected 2011		OFMdFM 2011 Employment and Learning 2011-12	Children and Young People 2011-present Science and

				AERC 2011-12	Technology 2012-present
				Standards and Privileges 2011-present	SMEs 2013-present
				ETI 2012-present	Cycling 2013-present
				Business 2012-present	Congenital Heart Disease 2013-present
Megan Fearon	Sinn Féin	Newry and Armagh Replaced Conor Murphy 2012		OFMdFM 2012-present Finance and Personnel 2012-present	UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2012-present Motor Insurance 2013-present
Paula Bradley	DUP	North Belfast Elected 2011		Environment 2011-12 Standards and Privileges 2011-12, 2013-present Ad Hoc Committee, Conformity with Equality, Welfare Reform Bill, 2012-13 HSSPS 2011-present Social Development 2012-present	Sexual Health 2011-present (Chair 2013-present) UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2011-present (Chair) Heart Disease & Stroke 2012-present Mental Health 2012-present Infertility 2013-present (Chair)
Carál Ní Chuilín	Sinn Féin	North Belfast Elected 2007	DCAL 2011-present	Business 2007-11 AERC 2007-8	Children and Young People 2007-9, 2011-

				HSSPS 2007-8	present
				Ad Hoc Committee on the draft Criminal Justice Order 2007-11	Disability 2008-11
					Cancer 2008-9 (Chair)
				Social Development 2008-11	Community and Voluntary Sector 2009-10
				Ad Hoc Committee on the Private Security Industry Order 2009-11	Organ Donation 2013-present
				Justice 2010-11	
				Business 2011	
Pam Brown	DUP	South Antrim Elected 2011		Social Development 2011-present	Cancer 2011-present
				HSSPS 2011-present	Muscular Dystrophy 2011-present
					Human Trafficking 2012-present
					Heart Disease and Stroke 2012-present
					Organ Donation 2013-present
					Postal Issues 2013-present
					Infertility 2013-present
Anna Lo	Alliance	South Belfast		Social	International

		Elected 2007		Development 2007-10

Employment and Learning 2007-11

Audit 2010, 2011-present

Regional Development 2010-11

Environment 2011-present (Chair) | Development 2007-present

Ethnic Minority Communities 2008-present (Chair 2010-11)

Sexual Health 2010-present (Chair 2011-13)

Co-operatives and Mutuals 2010-11

UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2011-present

Human Trafficking 2012-present (Chair 2012-13)

Community and Voluntary Sector 2011-present

European Environmental Regulations, Directives and Decisions 2011-present

Infertility 2013-present |
| Karen McKevitt | SDLP | South Down

Elected 2011 | | CAL 2011-present

Business 2011-present | International Development 2011-present

Autism 2011-present

Muscular |

					Dystrophy 2011-present
Catríona Ruane	Sinn Féin	South Down Elected 2003	Education 2007-11	OFMdFM 2011-12 Finance and Personnel 2011 Ad Hoc Committee, Conformity with Equality, Welfare Reform Bill, 2012-13 Business 2012-present AERC 2012-present Assembly Commission 2013-present	UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2011-12
Michelle McIlveen	DUP	Strangford Elected 2007		Education 2007-present Social Development 2007-9 Regional Development 2009-11 CAL 2009-10, 2011-present (Chair)	Children and Young People 2007-present (Chair 2011-present) Funerals and Bereavement 2008-present Voluntary and Community Sector 2010-present Rugby 2011-present Human Trafficking 2012-present

					Football 2012-present
Jo-Anne Dobson	UUP	Upper Bann Elected 2011		Education 2011-present ARD 2011-present	Diabetes 2011-present Disability 2011-present Sexual Health 2011-present Heart Disease and Stroke 2012-present Learning Disability 2012-present Organ Donation 2013-present (Chair) Congenital Heart Disease 2013-present Infertility 2013-present
Dolores Kelly	SDLP	Upper Bann Elected 2003		OFMdFM 2007-11 Ad Hoc Committee on the draft Sexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 2007-11 HSSPS 2009-10 Environment 2009-10 (Chair), 2012-present	Ethnic Minority Communities 2008-11 Rural Sustainability 2008-11 Visual Impairment 2009-present UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace & Security 2011-12 Congenital Heart

				Employment and Learning 2010-11 (Chair) Justice 2010 ARD 2011-12 Regional Development 2011-present	Disease 2013-present
Jennifer McCann	Sinn Féin	West Belfast Elected 2007	OFMdFM 2012-present	Finance and Personnel 2007-11 (Chair 2009-11) ETI 2007-11, 2012 Ad Hoc Committee on the draft Sexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 2007-11 Justice 2011-12 Public Accounts 2011-12	Ethnic Minority Communities 2008-10 (Chair 2009-10) Energy 2008-11 Voluntary and Community Sector 2009-11 C-operatives and Mutuals 2010-11 UNSCR 1325 Women, Peace and Security 2011-12 Human Trafficking 2012-present International Development 2012-present
Sue Ramsey	Sinn Féin	West Belfast Elected 1998 Replaced Bairbre de Brún 2004 Elected 2007		HSSPS 1999-2003, 2007-11, 2012-present (Chair) Public Accounts 1999-2002 Financial	Children and Young People 2007-present Disability 2008-11 Sexual Health 2010-11, 2012-present

				Investigations (NI) Order 2000-1 Proceeds of Crime Bill 2001 Business 2002-3 Employment and Learning 2007-11 (Chair 2007-10) Ad Hoc Committee on the draft Sexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 2007-11 Procedures 2011-12 (Chair) ETI 2011-12	Co-operatives and Mutuals 2011-present Mental Health 2012-present (Chair) Organ Donation 2013-present Congenital Heart Disease 2013-present Infertility 2013-present
Rosaleen McCorley	Sinn Féin	West Belfast Replaced Paul Maskey 2012		Justice 2012-present CAL 2012-present	Infertility 2013-present
Michaela Boyle	Sinn Féin	West Tyrone Elected 2011		HSSPS 2011-12 ARD 2012 Education 2011-present Public Accounts 2012-present Audit 2012-present	Autism 2011-12 Sexual Health 2011 Disability 2011-present Mental Health 2012-present Visual Impairment 2012-present

Appendix 2: Female Candidates in the 2011 Assembly Election

Constituency	Name	Party	1st Preference Votes	Result
Belfast East 13 men 4 women	Judith Cochrane	Alliance	4329	Elected
	Ann Cooper	BNP	337	Eliminated count 6
	Dawn Purvis	Independent	1702	Eliminated count 11
	Magdalena Wolska	SDLP	250	Eliminated count 6
Belfast North 9 men 2 women	Paula Bradley	DUP	3488	Elected
	Carál Ní Chuilín	Sinn Féin	2999	Elected
Belfast South 11 men 3 women	Clare Bailey	Green	889	Eliminated count 5
	Anna Lo	Alliance	6390	Elected
	Ruth Patterson	DUP	3800	Eliminated count 5
Belfast West 12 men 2 women	Jennifer McCann	Sinn Féin	5239	Elected
	Sue Ramsey	Sinn Féin	4116	Elected
East Antrim 11 men 2 women	Geraldine Mulvenna	Alliance	1620	Eliminated count 9
	Ruth Wilson	TUV	1346	Eliminated count 5

East Londonderry 10 men 2 women	Bernadette Archibald	Sinn Féin	2639	Eliminated count 7
	Lesley Mcauley	UUP	1472	Eliminated count 3
Fermanagh and South Tyrone 8 men 3 women	Arlene Foster	DUP	6876	Elected
	Michelle Gildernew	Sinn Féin	9110	Elected
	Hannah Su	Alliance	845	Eliminated count 3
Foyle 11 men 1 woman	Martina Anderson	Sinn Féin	6950	Elected
Lagan Valley 9 men 2 women	Brenda Hale	DUP	2910	Elected
	Mary-Kate Quinn	Sinn Féin	1203	Eliminated count 6
Mid Ulster 11 men 2 women	Michelle O'Neill	Sinn Féin	5178	Elected
	Sandra Overend	UUP	4409	Elected
North Antrim 8 men 3 women	Jayne Dunlop	Alliance	1848	Eliminated count 5
	Audrey Patterson	TUV	668	Eliminated count 3
	Evelyne Robinson	DUP	3256	Eliminated count 8

North Down 12 men 1 woman	Anne Wilson	Alliance	2100	Eliminated count 11
South Antrim 9 men 1 woman	Pam Lewis	DUP	2866	Elected
South Down 7 men 4 women	Naomi Bailie	Sinn Féin	3050	Eliminated count 7
	Karen McKevitt	SDLP	3758	Elected
	Margaret Ritchie	SDLP	8506	Elected
	Caitríona Ruane	Sinn Féin	5955	Elected
Strangford 10 men 1 woman	Michelle McIlveen	DUP	4573	Elected
Upper Bann 8 men 4 women	Jo-Anne Dobson	UUP	3348	Elected
	Dolores Kelly	SDLP	4846	Elected
	Sheila McDaid	Alliance	786	Eliminated count 4
	Barbara Trotter	UKIP	272	Eliminated count 3
West Tyrone 10 men 1 woman	Michaela Boyle	Sinn Féin	5053	Elected

Appendix 3: Female Members of the Assembly: Historic by Constituency

Constituency	Female Members
East Antrim	None
East Belfast	Judith Cochrane, Alliance, 2011-present Naomi Long, Alliance, 2003-10 Dawn Purvis, PUP 2007-10, Independent 2010-11
East Londonderry	Pauline Armitage, UUP, 1998-2003
Fermanagh and South Tyrone	Joan Carson, UUP, 1998-2003 Arlene Foster, DUP, 2003-present (Minister 2007-present) Michelle Gildernew, SF, 1998-2012 (Minister 2007-11) Bronwyn McGahan, SF, 2012-present
Foyle	Martina Anderson, SF, 2007-12 (Minister 2011-12) Mary Bradley, SDLP, 2003-11 Annie Courtney, SDLP 2000-3, Independent 2003 Maeve McLaughlin, SF, 2012-present Mary Nelis, SF, 1998-2003
Lagan Valley	Norah Beare, UUP, 2003-7 Marietta Farrell, SDLP, 2007 Brenda Hale, DUP, 2011-present Patricia Lewsley, SDLP, 1998-2006
Mid Ulster	Geraldine Dougan, SF, 2003-7 Michelle O'Neill, SF, 2007-present (Minister 2011-present) Sandra Overend, UUP, 2011-present

Newry and Armagh	Megan Fearon, SF, 2012-present Pat O'Rawe, SF, 2003-7
North Antrim	None
North Belfast	Paula Bradley, DUP, 2011-present Carál Ní Chuilín, SF, 2007-present (Minister 2011-present) Kathy Stanton, SF, 2003-7
North Down	Eileen Bell, Allliance, 1998-2007 (Speaker 2006-7) Jane Morrice, NIWC, 1998-2003 (Deputy Speaker 2000-3)
South Antrim	Pam Brown, DUP, 2011-present
South Belfast	Carmel Hanna, SDLP, 1998-2010 (Minister 2001-2) Anna Lo, Alliance, 2007-present Monica McWilliams, NIWC, 1998-2003
South Down	Karen McKevitt, SDLP, 2011-present Margaret Ritchie, SDLP, 2003-12 (Minister 2007-10) Caitríona Ruane, SF, 2003-present (Minister 2007-11)
Strangford	Michelle McIlveen, DUP, 2007-present Iris Robinson, DUP, 1998-2010
Upper Bann	Jo-Anne Dobson, UUP, 2011-present Dolores Kelly, SDLP, 2003-present Dara O'Hagan, SF, 1998-2003 Brid Rodgers, SDLP, 1998-2003 (Minister 1999-2002)

West Belfast	Bairbre de Brún, SF, 1998-2004 (Minister 1999-2002)
	Diane Dodds, DUP, 2003-7
	Jennifer McCann, SF, 2007-present (Minister 2012-present)
	Rosaleen McCorley, SF, 2012-present
	Sue Ramsey, SF, 1998-present
West Tyrone	Michaela Boyle, SF, 2011-present
	Claire McGill, SF, 2007-11

Appendix 4: Gender Representation in National Legislatures[58]

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	**Rwanda**	9 2008	80	45	56.3%	9 2011	26	10	38.5%
2	**Andorra**	4 2011	28	14	50.0%	---	---	---	---
3	**Cuba**	2 2013	612	299	48.9%	---	---	---	---
4	**Sweden**	9 2010	349	156	44.7%	---	---	---	---
5	**Seychelles**	9 2011	32	14	43.8%	---	---	---	---
6	**Senegal**	7 2012	150	64	42.7%	---	---	---	---
7	**Finland**	4 2011	200	85	42.5%	---	---	---	---
8	**South Africa** [1]	4 2009	400	169	42.3%	4 2009	53	17	32.1%
9	**Nicaragua**	11 2011	92	37	40.2%	---	---	---	---
10	**Iceland**	4 2013	63	25	39.7%	---	---	---	---
11	**Norway**	9 2009	169	67	39.6%	---	---	---	---
12	**Mozambique**	10 2009	250	98	39.2%	---	---	---	---
13	**Denmark**	9 2011	179	70	39.1%	---	---	---	---
14	**Ecuador**	2 2013	137	53	38.7%	---	---	---	---
"	**Netherlands**	9 2012	150	58	38.7%	5 2011	75	27	36.0%
15	**Costa Rica**	2 2010	57	22	38.6%	---	---	---	---
16	**Timor-Leste**	7 2012	65	25	38.5%	---	---	---	---
17	**Belgium**	6 2010	150	57	38.0%	6 2010	71	29	40.8%
18	**Argentina**	10 2011	257	96	37.4%	10 2011	72	28	38.9%
19	**Mexico**	7 2012	500	184	36.8%	7 2012	128	42	32.8%
20	**Spain**	11 2011	350	126	36.0%	11 2011	266	91	34.2%
"	**United Republic of Tanzania**	10 2010	350	126	36.0%	---	---	---	---
21	**Uganda**	2 2011	386	135	35.0%	---	---	---	---
22	**Angola**	8 2012	220	75	34.1%	---	---	---	---
"	**The F.Y.R. of Macedonia**	6 2011	123	42	34.1%	---	---	---	---
23	**Grenada**	2 2013	15	5	33.3%	3 2013	13	2	15.4%
24	**Nepal**	4 2008	594	197	33.2%	---	---	---	---
"	**Serbia**	5 2012	250	83	33.2%	---	---	---	---
25	**Germany**	9 2009	620	204	32.9%	N.A.	69	19	27.5%
26	**New Zealand**	11 2011	121	39	32.2%	---	---	---	---
"	**Slovenia**	12 2011	90	29	32.2%	11 2012	40	3	7.5%
27	**Algeria**	5 2012	462	146	31.6%	12 2012	142	10	7.0%
28	**Italy**	2 2013	630	198	31.4%	2 2013	317	92	29.0%
29	**Guyana**	11 2011	67	21	31.3%	---	---	---	---
30	**Burundi**	7 2010	105	32	30.5%	7 2010	41	19	46.3%
31	**Switzerland**	10 2011	200	58	29.0%	10 2011	46	9	19.6%
32	**Portugal**	6 2011	230	66	28.7%	---	---	---	---

[58] From the Inter-Parliamentary Union Women in Parliaments Database: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm.

33	Trinidad and Tobago	5 2010	42	12	28.6%	6 2010	31	7	22.6%
34	Austria	9 2008	183	51	27.9%	N.A.	61	19	31.1%
35	Ethiopia	5 2010	547	152	27.8%	5 2010	135	22	16.3%
36	Afghanistan	9 2010	249	69	27.7%	1 2011	102	28	27.5%
37	France	6 2012	577	155	26.9%	9 2011	347	77	22.2%
38	Lesotho	5 2012	120	32	26.7%	6 2012	33	9	27.3%
"	Tunisia	10 2011	217	58	26.7%	---	---	---	---
39	Belarus	9 2012	109	29	26.6%	8 2012	57	20	35.1%
40	South Sudan	8 2011	332	88	26.5%	8 2011	50	5	10.0%
41	El Salvador	3 2012	84	22	26.2%	---	---	---	---
42	Bolivia	12 2009	130	33	25.4%	12 2009	36	17	47.2%
43	Iraq	3 2010	325	82	25.2%	---	---	---	---
44	Lao People's Democratic Republic	4 2011	132	33	25.0%	---	---	---	---
45	Australia	8 2010	150	37	24.7%	8 2010	76	29	38.2%
"	Canada	5 2011	308	76	24.7%	N.A.	103	39	37.9%
46	Bulgaria	5 2013	240	59	24.6%	---	---	---	---
"	Sudan	4 2010	354	87	24.6%	5 2010	28	5	17.9%
47	Namibia	11 2009	78	19	24.4%	11 2010	26	7	26.9%
"	Viet Nam	5 2011	500	122	24.4%	---	---	---	---
48	Kazakhstan	1 2012	107	26	24.3%	8 2011	47	2	4.3%
49	Singapore	5 2011	99	24	24.2%	---	---	---	---
50	Lithuania	10 2012	141	34	24.1%	---	---	---	---
51	Croatia	12 2011	151	36	23.8%	---	---	---	---
52	Poland	10 2011	460	109	23.7%	10 2011	100	13	13.0%
53	China	3 2013	2987	699	23.4%	---	---	---	---
54	Kyrgyzstan	10 2010	120	28	23.3%	---	---	---	---
55	Latvia	9 2011	100	23	23.0%	---	---	---	---
56	United Kingdom	5 2010	650	146	22.5%	N.A.	760	172	22.6%
57	Malawi	5 2009	193	43	22.3%	---	---	---	---
58	Mauritania	11 2006	95	21	22.1%	11 2009	56	8	14.3%
59	Czech Republic	5 2010	200	44	22.0%	10 2012	81	14	17.3%
"	Equatorial Guinea	5 2013	100	22	22.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Eritrea	2 1994	150	33	22.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Uzbekistan	12 2009	150	33	22.0%	1 2010	100	15	15.0%
60	Israel	1 2013	120	26	21.7%	---	---	---	---
"	Luxembourg	6 2009	60	13	21.7%	---	---	---	---
61	Peru	4 2011	130	28	21.5%	---	---	---	---
62	Bosnia and Herzegovina	10 2010	42	9	21.4%	6 2011	15	2	13.3%
63	Greece	6 2012	300	63	21.0%	---	---	---	---
64	Cape Verde	2 2011	72	15	20.8%	---	---	---	---
"	Dominican Republic	5 2010	183	38	20.8%	5 2010	32	3	9.4%
"	Estonia	3 2011	101	21	20.8%	---	---	---	---
"	Monaco	2 2013	24	5	20.8%	---	---	---	---

65	**Cambodia**	7 2008	123	25	20.3%	1 2012	61	9	14.8%
66	**Liechtenstein**	2 2013	25	5	20.0%	---	---	---	---
67	**Saudi Arabia**	1 2013	151	30	19.9%	---	---	---	---
68	**Republic of Moldova**	11 2010	101	20	19.8%	---	---	---	---
69	**Bangladesh**	12 2008	350	69	19.7%	---	---	---	---
70	**Honduras**	11 2009	128	25	19.5%	---	---	---	---
"	**Pakistan**	5 2013	334	65	19.5%	3 2012	104	17	16.3%
71	**Tajikistan**	2 2010	63	12	19.0%	3 2010	34	5	14.7%
72	**Mauritius**	5 2010	69	13	18.8%	---	---	---	---
73	**Slovakia**	3 2012	150	28	18.7%	---	---	---	---
74	**Indonesia**	4 2009	560	104	18.6%	---	---	---	---
"	**Kenya**	3 2013	350	65	18.6%	3 2013	68	18	26.5%
75	**San Marino**	11 2012	60	11	18.3%	---	---	---	---
76	**Sao Tome and Principe**	8 2010	55	10	18.2%	---	---	---	---
77	**United States of America**	11 2012	434	77	17.7%	11 2012	100	20	20.0%
78	**Madagascar**	10 2010	366	64	17.5%	10 2010	164	20	12.2%
"	**Paraguay**	4 2013	80	14	17.5%	4 2013	45	9	20.0%
"	**United Arab Emirates**	9 2011	40	7	17.5%	---	---	---	---
79	**Montenegro**	10 2012	81	14	17.3%	---	---	---	---
80	**Morocco**	11 2011	395	67	17.0%	10 2009	270	6	2.2%
"	**Venezuela**	9 2010	165	28	17.0%	---	---	---	---
81	**Turkmenistan**	12 2008	125	21	16.8%	---	---	---	---
82	**Barbados**	2 2013	30	5	16.7%	3 2013	21	6	28.6%
"	**Saint Lucia**	11 2011	18	3	16.7%	1 2012	11	2	18.2%
83	**Libya**	7 2012	200	33	16.5%	---	---	---	---
84	**Azerbaijan**	11 2010	125	20	16.0%	---	---	---	---
85	**Gabon**	12 2011	114	18	15.8%	1 2009	102	18	17.6%
"	**Thailand**	7 2011	500	79	15.8%	4 2011	149	23	15.4%
86	**Burkina Faso**	12 2012	127	20	15.7%	---	---	---	---
"	**Republic of Korea**	4 2012	300	47	15.7%	---	---	---	---
87	**Democratic People's Republic of Korea**	3 2009	687	107	15.6%	---	---	---	---
88	**Ireland**	2 2011	166	25	15.1%	4 2011	60	18	30.0%
89	**Zimbabwe**	3 2008	214	32	15.0%	3 2008	99	24	24.2%
90	**Chad**	2 2011	188	28	14.9%	---	---	---	---
"	**Mongolia**	6 2012	74	11	14.9%	---	---	---	---
91	**Malta**	3 2013	70	10	14.3%	---	---	---	---
92	**Chile**	12 2009	120	17	14.2%	12 2009	38	5	13.2%
"	**Turkey**	6 2011	550	78	14.2%	---	---	---	---
93	**Guinea-Bissau**	11 2008	100	14	14.0%	---	---	---	---
94	**Cameroon**	7 2007	180	25	13.9%	4 2013	100	20	20.0%
95	**Somalia**	8 2012	275	38	13.8%	---	---	---	---
96	**Russian Federation**	12 2011	450	61	13.6%	N.A.	163	13	8.0%
"	**Swaziland**	9 2008	66	9	13.6%	10 2008	30	12	40.0%

97	Guatemala	9 2011	158	21	13.3%	---	---	---	---
"	Niger	1 2011	113	15	13.3%	---	---	---	---
"	Romania	12 2012	412	55	13.3%	12 2012	176	13	7.4%
98	Bahamas	5 2012	38	5	13.2%	5 2012	16	4	25.0%
99	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	12 2010	23	3	13.0%	---	---	---	---
100	Djibouti	2 2013	55	7	12.7%	---	---	---	---
"	Jamaica	12 2011	63	8	12.7%	9 2007	21	5	23.8%
101	Dominica	12 2009	32	4	12.5%	---	---	---	---
102	Sierra Leone	11 2012	121	15	12.4%	---	---	---	---
103	Jordan	1 2013	148	18	12.2%	10 2011	60	7	11.7%
104	Colombia	3 2010	165	20	12.1%	3 2010	100	16	16.0%
"	Uruguay	10 2009	99	12	12.1%	10 2009	31	4	12.9%
105	Georgia	10 2012	150	18	12.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Syrian Arab Republic	5 2012	250	30	12.0%	---	---	---	---
106	Suriname	5 2010	51	6	11.8%	---	---	---	---
107	Zambia	9 2011	157	18	11.5%	---	---	---	---
108	Togo	10 2007	81	9	11.1%	---	---	---	---
109	India	4 2009	545	60	11.0%	1 2012	245	26	10.6%
"	Liberia	10 2011	73	8	11.0%	10 2011	30	4	13.3%
110	Ghana	12 2012	275	30	10.9%	---	---	---	---
111	Armenia	5 2012	131	14	10.7%	---	---	---	---
"	Cyprus	5 2011	56	6	10.7%	---	---	---	---
112	Antigua and Barbuda	3 2009	19	2	10.5%	4 2009	17	5	29.4%
113	Cote d'Ivoire	12 2011	249	26	10.4%	---	---	---	---
"	Malaysia	5 2013	222	23	10.4%	N.A.	51	15	29.4%
114	Mali	7 2007	147	15	10.2%	---	---	---	---
115	Bahrain	10 2010	40	4	10.0%	11 2010	40	11	27.5%
116	Ukraine	10 2012	445	42	9.4%	---	---	---	---
117	Democratic Republic of the Congo	11 2011	492	44	8.9%	1 2007	108	6	5.6%
118	Hungary	4 2010	386	34	8.8%	---	---	---	---
119	Kiribati	10 2011	46	4	8.7%	---	---	---	---
120	Brazil	10 2010	513	44	8.6%	10 2010	81	13	16.0%
121	Bhutan	3 2008	47	4	8.5%	4 2013	25	2	8.0%
"	Panama	5 2009	71	6	8.5%	---	---	---	---
122	Benin	4 2011	83	7	8.4%	---	---	---	---
123	Japan	12 2012	480	39	8.1%	7 2010	237	44	18.6%
124	Botswana	10 2009	63	5	7.9%	---	---	---	---
125	Gambia	3 2012	53	4	7.5%	---	---	---	---
126	Congo	7 2012	136	10	7.4%	10 2011	72	10	13.9%
127	Nigeria	4 2011	360	24	6.7%	4 2011	109	7	6.4%
"	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1 2010	15	1	6.7%	---	---	---	---
"	Tuvalu	9 2010	15	1	6.7%	---	---	---	---
128	Maldives	5 2009	77	5	6.5%	---	---	---	---

129	**Kuwait**	12 2012	65	4	6.2%	---	---	---	---
130	**Myanmar**	11 2010	431	26	6.0%	11 2010	224	4	1.8%
131	**Sri Lanka**	4 2010	225	13	5.8%	---	---	---	---
132	**Nauru**	6 2013	19	1	5.3%	---	---	---	---
133	**Haiti**	11 2010	95	4	4.2%	11 2010	20	0	0.0%
134	**Samoa**	3 2011	49	2	4.1%	---	---	---	---
135	**Tonga**	11 2010	28	1	3.6%	---	---	---	---
136	**Belize**	3 2012	32	1	3.1%	3 2012	13	5	38.5%
"	**Iran (Islamic Republic of)**	5 2012	290	9	3.1%	---	---	---	---
"	**Lebanon**	6 2009	128	4	3.1%	---	---	---	---
137	**Comoros**	12 2009	33	1	3.0%	---	---	---	---
"	**Marshall Islands**	11 2011	33	1	3.0%	---	---	---	---
138	**Papua New Guinea**	6 2012	111	3	2.7%	---	---	---	---
139	**Egypt**	11 2011	508	10	2.0%	1 2012	270	12	4.4%
"	**Solomon Islands**	8 2010	50	1	2.0%	---	---	---	---
140	**Oman**	10 2011	84	1	1.2%	10 2011	83	15	18.1%
141	**Yemen**	4 2003	301	1	0.3%	4 2001	111	2	1.8%
142	**Micronesia (Federated States of)**	3 2013	14	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
"	**Palau**	11 2012	16	0	0.0%	11 2012	13	3	23.1%
"	**Qatar**	7 2010	35	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
"	**Vanuatu**	10 2012	52	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
?	**Albania**	6 2013	140	?	?	---	---	---	---
?	**Philippines**	5 2013	291	?	?	5 2013	24	6	25.0%

Appendix 5: Beijing Platform for Action: Measures to Increase Women's Access to Decision-Making and Political Power

Strategic Objective G.1: Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.

190. By Governments:

(a) Commit themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, as well as in public administrative entities, and in the judiciary, including, inter alia, setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions;

(b) Take measures, including, where appropriate, in electoral systems that encourage political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same levels as men;

(c) Protect and promote the equal rights of women and men to engage in political activities and to freedom of association, including membership in political parties and trade unions;

(d) Review the differential impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women in elected bodies and consider, where appropriate, the adjustment or reform of those systems;

(e) Monitor and evaluate progress in the representation of women through the regular collection, analysis and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative data on women and men at all levels in various decision-making positions in the public and private sectors, and disseminate data on the number of women and men employed at various levels in Governments on a yearly basis; ensure that women and men have equal access to the full range of public appointments and set up mechanisms within governmental structures for monitoring progress in this field;

(f) Support non-governmental organizations and research institutes that conduct studies on women's participation in and impact on decision- making and the decision-making environment;

(g) Encourage greater involvement of indigenous women in decision-making at all levels;

(h) Encourage and, where appropriate, ensure that government-funded organizations adopt non-discriminatory policies and practices in order to increase the number and raise the position of women in their organizations;

(i) Recognize that shared work and parental responsibilities between women and men promote women's increased participation in public life, and take appropriate measures to achieve this, including measures to reconcile family and professional life;

(j) Aim at gender balance in the lists of national candidates nominated for election or appointment to United Nations bodies, specialized agencies and other autonomous organizations of the United Nations system, particularly for posts at the senior level.

191. By political parties:

(a) Consider examining party structures and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women;

(b) Consider developing initiatives that allow women to participate fully in all internal policy-making structures and appointive and electoral nominating processes;

(c) Consider incorporating gender issues in their political agenda, taking measures to ensure that women can participate in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.

192. By Governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, research and academic institutions, subregional and regional bodies and non-governmental and international organizations:

(a) Take positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders, executives and managers in strategic decision-making positions;

(b) Create or strengthen, as appropriate, mechanisms to monitor women's access to senior levels of decision-making;

(c) Review the criteria for recruitment and appointment to advisory and decision-making bodies and promotion to senior positions to ensure that such criteria are relevant and do not discriminate against women;

(d) Encourage efforts by non-governmental organizations, trade unions and the private sector to achieve equality between women and men in their ranks, including equal participation in their decision-making bodies and in negotiations in all areas and at all levels;

(e) Develop communications strategies to promote public debate on the new roles of men and women in society, and in the family as defined in paragraph 29 above;

(f) Restructure recruitment and career-development programmes to ensure that all women, especially young women, have equal access to managerial, entrepreneurial, technical and leadership training, including on-the-job training;

(g) Develop career advancement programmes for women of all ages that include career planning, tracking, mentoring, coaching, training and retraining;

(h) Encourage and support the participation of women's non-governmental organizations in United Nations conferences and their preparatory processes;

(i) Aim at and support gender balance in the composition of delegations to the United Nations and other international forums.

Strategic Objective G.2: Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.

195. By Governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, subregional and regional bodies, non-governmental and international organizations and educational institutions:

(a) Provide leadership and self-esteem training to assist women and girls, particularly those with special needs, women with disabilities and women belonging to racial and ethnic minorities to strengthen their self-esteem and to encourage them to take decision-making positions;

(b) Have transparent criteria for decision-making positions and ensure that the selecting bodies have a gender-balanced composition;

(c) Create a system of mentoring for inexperienced women and, in particular, offer training, including training in leadership and decision-making, public speaking and self-assertion, as well as in political campaigning;

(d) Provide gender-sensitive training for women and men to promote non-discriminatory working relationships and respect for diversity in work and management styles;

(e) Develop mechanisms and training to encourage women to participate in the electoral process, political activities and other leadership areas.

Appendix 6: Excerpts from Section 42(c) of the Electoral (Amendment) (Political Funding) Act 2012 (amending Section 17 of the Electoral Act 1997)

(a) Payments calculated in accordance with this Part shall be reduced by 50 per cent, unless at least 30 per cent of the candidates whose candidatures were authenticated by the qualified party at the preceding general election were women and at least 30 per cent were men.

(b) Paragraph (a)—

(i) comes into operation on the polling day at the general election held next after section 42 of the Electoral (Amendment) (Political Funding) Act 2012 comes into operation, and

(ii) ceases to have effect on the polling day at the general election held next after the expiration of 7 years from the polling day specified in subparagraph (i).

(c) Payments calculated in accordance with this Part shall be reduced by 50 per cent, unless at least 40 per cent of the candidates whose candidatures were authenticated by the qualified party at the preceding general election were women and at least 40 per cent were men.

(d) Paragraph (c) comes into operation on the day after the day on which paragraph (a) ceases to have effect.".

Appendix 7: Articles 27 and 111.6 of Law No.3/L-073 on General Elections in the Republic of Kosovo

27.1 In each Political Entity's candidate list, at least thirty (30%) percent shall be male and at least thirty (30%) percent shall be female, with one candidate from each gender included at least once in each group of three candidates, counting from the first candidate in the list.

27.2 This article has no application to lists consisting of one or two candidates.

111.6 If, after the allocation of seats as set out in paragraph 5 of this Article, the candidates of the minority gender within a Political Entity have not been allocated at least 30% of the total seats for that Political Entity, the last elected candidate of the majority gender will be replaced by the next candidate of the opposite gender on the reordered candidate list until the total number of seats allocated to the minority gender is at least 30%.