

Gender Profile of Political Parties and Elections

DECEMBER 2010

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GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VANUATU

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Executive Summary

s a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Vanuatu has committed to promoting gender balance in decisionmaking and legislative bodies. CEDAW addresses the issue of representation of women stating, "Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country..."

Equity provisions in the Constitution of the Republic of Vanuatu, as well as commitments to advancing the status of women in political governance in the *Priorities and Action Agenda 2006-2011 (PAA)* and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) demonstrate national policy support. However, progress in translating these strategies into actions has been slow.

This study of gender profiles of political parties and elections is intended to inform the policy direction for the Vanuatu Government's draft Women in Government policy, through the Department of Women's Affairs (DWA). The objective of this study is to:

- Identify what political parties have achieved since independence (1980) to 2008 in relation to women's participation in politics;
- Compile data on women and leadership in political parties;
- 3. Record concerns of political parties on issues of gender equality; and,
- Identify opportunities for advancing gender equality in political governance.

The report highlights a number of gender issues identified through the study of women in political parties. These include lack of financial and human resources allocated by the Vanuatu Government to support systematic planning and policy development; lack of commitment by political parties to encourage women's participation in democratic governance and the need for ongoing voter education and leadership training for women in particular and communities in general.

A range of recommendations are provided which, if implemented through a policy process, will contribute to the advancement of gender equality in Vanuatu. The recommendations will also contribute to improvements in the overall functioning of Vanuatu's national legislation, which will benefit political parties and the people as a whole.

Recommendations

Engaging Women in Political Parties

- Political commitment to gender equity has to be established firmly at the party level. Parties must recognise the need to provide support to women candidates. Approaches such as temporary special measures (e.g. quotas) need to be workshopped with parties by DWA, the State Law Office, the Electoral Office and the UNIFEM Gender Equality in Political Governance (GEPG) Program on this. Temporary special measures may require specific funding by parties and government to encourage women to run for seats in Parliament.
- Clear terms of reference to be developed and understood by political parties and members on the role of women's wings.

Raising gender awareness and action

- DWA and women's organisations should encourage and facilitate workshops targeted at women to make them aware of their political rights in, and political obligations to, society.
- DWA and women's organisations should also provide gender equality and political governance programs targeting men. A practical step would be for DWA to collaborate with the UNIFEM Gender Equality in Political Governance Program on this.
- The Office of Parliament in collaboration with Department of Women's Affairs to provide gender sensitizing trainings for all new incoming MPs. The Office of Parliament should link women MPs with women's organisations particularly within their communities and provide training/support for their concerns pertaining to the role of women in decision-making bodies.
- DWA, in partnership with the Parliamentary Clerk and women's organisations, should regu-

larly review party positions on gender issues and require positive and supportive action by all MPs, regardless of gender.

Mentoring and Empowering Programs

- DWA should develop and facilitate mentoring and empowerment programs with political parties to encourage young women to get involved in politics.
- DWA to work with political parties to institute "buddy" systems in which every new member has a buddy or mentor who is an older member.

Resourcing Gender Equality in Decision-Making

 Adequate budget must be allocated by the Vanuatu Government to resource its international obligations and national policy for women in decision-making.

Acknowledgements

e dedicate this report to the leaders and members of political parties interviewed in this study. This study has reflected your collective experience wisdom and visions. We hope the insights and valuable information you gave will help us to support the advancement of women in political leadership. It could not have been published without your significant contributions.

We take this opportunity to thank AusAID for their generous financial support towards this research.

We would like to formally acknowledge contributions made by the following individuals and organisations:

- Members of political parties who were interviewed—Many words of thanks for your time, accepting and involving us in meaningful and honest discussions on gender issues encountered within your political parties.
- Electoral Office for support in providing historical electoral results.
- State Law Office for providing relevant documents in supporting this research.
- Parliamentary Library—in particular Mrs Leiwia Moli for the free photocopied documents.
- The Pacific Institute of Public Policy, whose publication of "OI Political Pati mo Muvmen Blong Vanuatu" report, was useful to this study.
- Former Director of Women's Affairs, Mr Ruben Bakeo Markward—thank you for believing in us with this research.
- A Special thank you to Anna Naupa for your continuous support and tremendous contribution in editing this report writing and the valuable contributions and advice will always be acknowledged

by the Department of Women's Affairs.

 A special thanks to the Director of Women's Affairs, Mrs Dorosday Watson for your continuous support and advice in seeing through the completion of this research.

Lastly we want to thank our families for understanding the long hours we have spent at work in seeing this report through to its completion stage.

Foreword

espite the fact that Vanuatu has a universal suffrage and women are equally able (in law) to nominate their political representation, there is no equal male and female representation.

It is generally acknowledged that development goals cannot be achieved without consideration of gender equality. Any society that excludes 50% of its population from playing a meaningful role in decision-making is undermining itself by accessing only half a nation's human resources and therefore inhibiting its growth and development.

This study of "Gender Profiles of Political Parties and Elections" is a step to working in collaboration with political parties and identifying how far they have supported and promoted women in leadership. Similarly it identifies the extent to which political parties promote women through their structures from the party level to the national level.

This baseline study will assist the government in its future plans, as per the draft Women in Government policy, in addressing the gap and ensuring women's increased access to participation in decision-making and political leadership.

Dorosday Kenneth-Watson Director Department of Women's Affairs December 2010

Introducing the Study

his study of gender profiles of political parties and elections is intended to inform the policy direction for the Vanuatu Government's draft Women in Government policy, through the Department of Women's Affairs. The objective of this is to:

- Identify what political parties have achieved since independence (1980) to 2008 in relation to women's participation in politics;
- Compile data on women and leadership in political parties;
- Record concerns of political parties on issues of gender equality; and,
- 4. Identify opportunities for advancing gender equality in political governance.

Scope of work

This research focuses primarily on the major political parties, with the exception of the newly-established Family First Vanuatu Party (FFVP) which successfully supported a female member of the party into parliament in the 2008 general elections. While the emphasis is on political parties, the authors acknowledge that there have been a few independent female politicans at the national and provincial levels who chose not to go through political party structures in pursuing political representation.

Methodology

PROCESS

Taking into consideration the Vanuatu Government's international obligations to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the *National Plan of Action for Women 2006-2011* in relation to gender equality in decision-making, a combination of interviews,

statistical analysis and a literature review were used to develop a gender profile of political parties and elections.

INTERVIEWS

All major political parties including new political parties that had successful women candidates were interviewed by the Department of Women's Affairs, using a questionnaire designed to obtain a gender profile in three areas:

- Section 1: Gender profile of the party leadership and membership
- Section 2: Gender policy profile of the party
- Section 3: Gender election profile

Individual interviews were also conducted with senior personnel from the various political parties. Responses from these interviews are documented in this research and have been included as case studies.

Not all political party leaders were available for interview, however nominated party members to speak on their behalf. Of the ten political parties requested for interview only the following seven parties responded:

- Union of Moderate Party (UMP)
- Green Confederation Party (GCP)
- Family First Vanuatu Party (FFVP)
- Nagriamel Kastom Muvmen (NKM)
- Vanua'aku Pati (VP)
- National United Party (NUP)
- Vanuatu Republican Party (VRP)

The other three major political parties that were not available for interview were:

- People's Progressive Party (PPP)
- Vanuatu Labour Party (VLP)
- Melanesian Progressive Party (MPP)

Their party information was sourced through a literature review.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following key documents were reviewed:

- Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
- Draft Women in Government policy
- Millennium Development Goals
- Beijing Platform of Action for Women
- National Plan of Action for Women 2006-2011
- Vanuatu Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) Initial, First and Second Reports of 2006
- Other relevant documents.

An analysis of data from the Electoral Office and State Law Office was also undertaken.

Gender Equity and the Vanuatu Government

he National Parliament of Vanuatu comprises 52 seats of which in the past thirty years of self-government, Vanuatu has had only five women members of Parliament. This is despite equity enshrined in Vanuatu's Constitution, the Comprehensive Reform Program (CRP) of the 1990s, the ratification of CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) in 1995 and the Priorities and Action Agenda 2006-2011. These commitments require that the Government of Vanuatu take positive action to ensure women are represented in national, provincial and municipal government:

International Commitments

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW)

The principle of equality between men and women is enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international treaties, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), to which 154 states are parties, including Vanuatu. In addition the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995 (BPA) reaffirms this commitment.

Vanuatu is a state party to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), having ratified it in 1995. Article 7 of CEDAW states that State parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in public and political life of the country and in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to participate in the formulation of government policy and implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government. Article 5 of CEDAW calls for the State Parties to remove discrimination in the political and public lives of women. Further demonstration of this commitment is shown through the ratification of international treaties.

BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION, PACIFIC PLATFORM FOR ACTION AND THE COMMONWEALTH PLAN OF ACTION

The Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) and the Pacific Platform for Action for the Advancement of Women (PFA), highlight the need for women's participation in decision-making and stress this as a critical area for action. The BPFA went on to set specific targets and implement measures to substantively increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, an all governmental and public administration positions.

One target confirmed under the Commonwealth Plan of Action (CP) is to achieve 30% representation for women in national legislatures by 2015. The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality 2005-2015 was agreed at the 7th Commonwealth Minister Responsible for Women/Gender Affairs Meeting held in Fiji.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

In 2000, the Vanuatu Government committed to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and highlighted the view that gender equality is necessary to promote development, peace and security. The Vanuatu Government resolved: "To promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable". No country can afford to waste half of its resources. The benefits of including women in government are numerous and well researched. They include:

- More balanced policies and programs that equally benefit men and women;
- 2. Economic growth;
- 3. Social growth;
- Women and girls increased access to services and resources, for example health and education;
- 5. Improved human rights for women;
- 6. Meeting Vanuatu's obligations under the Constitution, CRP and CEDAW (Articles 4, 7 & 8);
- International (United Nations) approval and support.

With women in politics come new perspectives on political issues, or what is termed transformative politics, allowing for new innovations for development.

National Commitments

CONSTITUTION

Gender equality is also enshrined in Vanuatu's National Constitution and the *National Plan of Action for Women 2007-2011* that reviewed the progress of the implementation of the BPA at the national level. Yet in practice, genuine power sharing for women remains elusive.

The right to participation in government is a human right, inherent, inalienable and indivisible. The Vanuatu Government through the Department of Women's Affairs is committed and obliged to provide opportunities and mechanisms through appropriate public policy for the exercise of this right, particularly by women who have been and still are facing structural' as well as cultural barriers. It is also the duty and obligation of women to exercise this right to participation by utilising the opportunities and mechanisms provided.

Section 5(1)(k) of the Constitution guarantees that individuals shall not be discriminated against on the grounds of sex.

The CRP, the PPA and the National Plan of Action for Women all state that women should be visible in and have meaningful participation in decision-making.

¹ Structural barriers may include a lack of policy or procedural requirements to ensure women's participation in elections (e.g. lack of specific quotas for women).

Gender Equality and Political Governance

here is limited published material specifically on the topic of women in leadership or decision-making in Vanuatu. The researchers also reviewed primary data sources to assist with setting the scene for this study.

The majority of literature on women's development in Vanuatu acknowledges the prevalent cultural attitude towards women² as being responsible for women's marginalisation in several aspects of human development, including decision-making (Lynch 2007, GoV). However, there is also a structural barrier to women's participation in leadership which is compounded by the negative cultural attitude towards women's leadership roles. For example, while women are equally able as men to stand as candidates in elections, the system does not actively support women's nominations, which is essential if women are to overcome the cultural barriers as well to their potential leadership roles.

Vanuatu Women in Politics (VANWIP)

Attempts to address the under-representation of women in national, provincial and municipal government have been ad hoc and lack a clearly planned and coordinated approach and political will. However, some progress has been made. In particular the Vanuatu National Council of Women (VNCW) and Vanuatu Women in Politics (VANWIP) were active in 1995 and 1998 elections, particularly when none of the political parties fielded women candidates. VNCW decided to establish a specific unit mandated to increase women in politics. The strategy of "Vanuatu Women in Politics (VANWIP)" was to put forward a number of women candidates as a political protest. Several members stood as independent candidates and VANWIP provided support and training. However, as expected, none of the women were elected. The VANWIP women candidates experienced hostile opposition from both men and women. After the 2000 national elections internal challenges within VANWIP led to the disbanding of the group. While VANWIP is presently not active in Vanuatu, it was successful in raising women's political profile.

Reporting on the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

The Vanuatu Government's combined first, second and third CEDAW reports in 2006 noted that within the public sector, women comprised only 3% of total senior/executive (Director-General or Director-level) government positions. Representation in parliament, while there have been notable achievements for Vanuatu's women, remains a pitiful 1% of parliamentary seats at any given time (Lynch 2007).

The Vanuatu Shadow CEDAW report noted the following:

- No quotas or incentives have been implemented to address the low percentage of women in parliament. Recommendation through the CEDAW Shadow Report recommended that the Government increase the number of women on Government boards ensuring that half of the members be women, in order to ensure that there is impartiality, transparency, accountability and no discrimination.
- Government must increase the voter education support budget for women's election campaigns to increase the number of female representation.
- Government must adopt a multisectoral approach

 $^{^{\}rm 2}\,$ In a male-dominated society, women are seen as secondary citizens with fewer rights than men.

in addressing women's equal political participation, by involving NGOs, provincial groups and development agencies to implement the policy on women and politics under the Department of Women.

 Government must increase and develop women's political involvement through a strategic policy framework of the Vanuatu Government/and the public. It called for Government to put in place processes to allow for greater participation of all citizens in governance and in the national development process by 2010.

Experiences of female electoral candidates

Strachan and Dalesa's (2002) study on "the experiences of women political candidates in Vanuatu" explored a number of issues for women in elections at all levels of government (national, provincial and municipal). They highlighted three main themes that emerged, which impacted on women's participation in elections:

- Training—women candidates noted that they required training in electoral processes as well as in leadership and development. Timing of training was critical to ensuring women candidates were adequately prepared for elections and knew how to build their profiles in the community and earn the respect of voters. Training was to be across the country so as not to disadvantage aspiring rural women leaders. The need for voter education was also highlighted.
- Campaign support—linked to training was the need for campaign support for women candidates in particular. Without party support for campaigns, women candidates struggled to launch effective campaigns due to costs involved.
- 3. **Party support vs. independent candidates** independent women candidates highlighted the financial and credibility challenges they faced without the backing of a party. Strachan and Dalesa's (2002) research noted the need for the Department of Women's Affairs to work more closely with political parties to encourage them to nominate women and to mentor women within the party structure.

The clear message from any literature on women and politics is that women's participation in decisionmaking at the national level begins with participation at the local and regional level. The Government of Vanuatu has committed itself to advancing the status of women in political governance. This is evidence in the CEDAW and MDGs and PAA and equity provisions in the Constitution. However translating these strategies into actions is progressing but has been slow. The reasons for the slow progress are probably: lack of financial and human resources and ad hoc planning and ad hoc planning and policy development.

Gender Profile of party leadership and membership

Party composition is an important reflection of women's access to politics and power. This section focuses on parliamentary and provincial leadership. It is followed by an assessment of party membership.

It is a common assumption in Vanuatu that political parties that have policies which address women's needs will draw a strong base of women's support. In contrast, parties that preclude women in their functioning would have fewer women supporting them. An analysis of the questionnaire results and the party manifestos were used to test these assumptions.

The length of establishment of the major political parties and whether they have played a significant role in supporting women in taking up leadership roles within and outside of their party arena, is also of significance (see table below).

Name of Political Party	Year of establishment (years established in 2010)
Nagriamel Kastom Muvmen (NKM)	1960s (40)
Vanua'aku Pati (VP)	1977 (33)
Union of Moderate Party (UMP)	1981 (29)
Vanuatu Labour Party (VLP)	1987 (23)
Melanesian Progressive Party (MPP)	1988 (22)
National United Party (NUP)	1991 (19)
Vanuatu Republican Party (VRP)	1998 (12)
Green Confederation Party (GCP)	2000 (10)
People's Progressive Party (PPP)	2001 (9)
Family First Vanuatu Party (FFVP)	2008 (2)

Table 1. Length of establishment of selected political parties

Leadership

A. PARLIAMENTARY LEVEL

Political parties can play an important role as the vital channels of recruitment into public office in any parliamentary democracy. Political parties have

the major say in who candidates are, how they are selected and what their qualifications should be. Thus when developing a gender profile of parties, most of which have low levels of women's representation, it is vital to consider the role parties play in democratic governance.

Party	Total MPs	Female MPs	% Female of Total
UMP	111	1 (1987, 1991)	0.9%
GCP	7	0	0%
FFVP	1	1 (2008)	100%
NKM	3	0	0%
VP	126	3 (1991, 1995)	1.6%
NUP	57	1 (1991, 1995)	1.75%
VRP	14	0	0%
PPP	9	0	0%
VLP	1	0	0%
MPP	17	0	0%
TOTAL	346	5	1.4%

Table 2: Number and Percentage of Females out of total Members of Parliament by party (Source: Vanuatu Electoral Office Statistics 1983 to 2008)

The above table shows that since independence representation of women in the national parliament has been less than impressive with only 1.4% of all members ever elected being women. Today, women's representation in national parliament is only 1 woman out of 52 members or 1.9% of membership.

Female representation in parliament has had very little progress among the major established parties. Since independence, VP and NUP have made the most effort regarding women in parliament, with females comprising 1.6% and 1.75% respectively of total MPs. In 2008, the newly-formed FFVP achieved a record 100% female composition of its MPs; this was the first time that FFVP contested the national elections. Of significance is the fact that FFVP was the only party to support 60% female candidates in the 2008 elections. In contrast other political parties generally supported more male candidates.

There is a huge gap between male and female representation at the parliamentary level. All five female members ever elected into parliament were from major political parties, except for the newly established FFVP which had its first ever elected member into parliament in 2008.

Results indicate that the first 2 of the 5 female members ever elected into parliament were both from the urban constituency of Port Vila (Hilda Lini and Maria Crowby) while the recent 3 female members were all from two rural constituencies of Malakula and Epi (Eta Rory, Isabelle Donald and Leinavao Taso).

Party	UMP	GCP	FFVP	VP	NUP
Head of Government					
Leader of Opposition					
Speaker of parliament					
Ministerial Portfolio				2006, 2008	1994-1998
Parliamentary Committee Member	1		✓ 2008	1	1987

Table 3: Posts occupied in Parliament by female members (Note: only parties with female MPs have been included).

This table shows that none of the elected female parliamentarians occupied any of the three most senior positions of the House.

Elected female members have typically occupied positions as ordinary parliamentarians, with some also taking on Ministerial portfolios. For example MP Hilda Lini of NUP in 1994-1998 was Minister for Health, and MP Isabelle Donald of VP was Minister of the Comprehensive Reform Program in 2006. Since 2002, three women members have been part of parliamentary committees such as the Ad hoc committee on the Family Protection Bill, the Parliamentary Committee on Economic Policy and the Committee on Social Policy.

B. MUNICIPAL AND PROVINCIAL LEVEL Municipal Leadership

Out of 91 Councillors elected at the Municipal level since 1993, only 4 were women who were also mem-

bers of the major political parties that are identified within the scope of this research. The period from 1993 to 2007 has the overall percentage of women representation on Municipal Councils at only 4.3%. Interestingly being a relatively new party on the block, GCP has had the highest female representation of 14.3% at the Municipal level, of which one, Irene Masanga became the Deputy Lady Mayor of Luganville in 2006, and Lady Mayor of Luganville in 2009-it is understood that GCP have strong internal support for women's representation at municipal-level elections. This is followed by VP with 9.5% and NUP with 4.5%. Both municipalities have had 2 women each elected from the major political parties like VP, NUP and GCP into the Municipalities. Since 2007, Jenny Tasale, has been elected as a municipal councillor for Port Vila. She represented a new alliance of independents contesting the election.

Party	Total Councillors	Female Councillors	% Female Councillors
UMP	27	0	0%
GCP	7	1 (2007, LMC)	14.3%
FFVP	0	0	0%
NKM	0	0	0%
VP	21	2 (1993, PVMC)	9.5%
NUP	22	1 (1995, LMC)	4.5%
VRP	4	0	0%
PPP	0	0	0%
VLP	0	0	0%
МРР	10	0	0%
TOTAL	91	4	4.3%

Table 4: Results of the Port Vila and Luganville Municipal Elections, 19933-2007

Provincial Leadership

The table below shows that between 1994 and 2008 only one woman has ever been elected as a provincial councillor at the provincial government level. Rona Dini successfully contested the Torba Provincial Election in 1994 and she remains to have been the only woman ever elected as councillor at the Provincial level.

Other than councillor positions, there has been

³ Data on information from earlier years of Local Level Government Elections and the Municipal Elections have been difficult to obtain both from the Electoral Office and the State Law Office.

representation of women in provincial governments through provision of nominated women's representatives. Nominated representatives usually consist of women's representatives, a chief representative, and a youth representative. The nominated representatives in the provincial councils usually do not have a voting status.

Party	Total Councillors	Female Councillors	% Female Councillors
UMP	146	1 (1994, TORBA)	1%
GCP	0	0	0%
FFVP	0	0	0%
NKM	4	0	0%
VP	87	0	0%
NUP	39	0	0%
VRP	11	0	0%
РРР	10	0	0%
VLP	4	0	0%
МРР	18	0	0%
TOTAL	319	1	0.3%

Table 5: Results of the Provincial/Local Government Council Elections, 1994-2008

C. PARTY LEVEL

Party	UMP	GCP	FFVP	NKM	VP	NUP	VRP
President							
Deputy President							
Secretary General					\checkmark		
Deputy SG							
Treasurer			\checkmark			1	
Other (e.g. PRO, Women's Rep, Co-ordinator	1	1			1	1	1

Table 6: Posts occupied in Political Party level by female members since independence

This table shows that most women within the national executive level of parties do not occupy the most senior positions such as President and Secretary General. VP is the exception.

While women are not typically holding senior positions within the central party executive, women are seen in regional executive positions (e.g. VRP and FFVP). More women are also reported to participate in party sub-committees in their respective constituencies, suggesting that women are currently more likely to participate at the lower level of the party structure. Though most of these parties have been long established, the previous data tables, supported by interviews, reveal that there is lack of support in having women participate in higher political party structures.

D. PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Typically, a political party draws its support from the type of issues it supports in its party platform. We would therefore assume that the higher on the agenda gender issues that are being addressed by a political party the more likely it is to have a bigger support base from the female population. However, this is not reflective of Vanuatu's situation, as this section details.

Women registration campaigns

Political Parties were requested to provide sex-segregated data of their membership. Every party stated that there is no specific registration campaign for female and male supporters. While all parties did not return precise figures due to no formal registration database, they did indicate that it is important to establish and maintain a formal registry of their party members.

Membership Fees

Though all parties reported that no specific membership fees are paid, VP and NKM indicated that they used to issue membership cards. Due to financial constraints these parties no longer issue membership cards. However, party dues are paid fortnightly by political appointees (e.g. Political advisors) who are employed within a Ministry headed by their party elected members. This rate may be variable but the range is between 5-15% of each employee's salary is deducted fortnightly to meet the affairs of their party. All staff of the cabinet are obliged to deductions. This is an agreement between the Minister (Party) and the political staff where they sign a letter showing their consent for their salaries to be deducted.

E. PROFILE OF FEMALE MEMBERS

This section provides a general demographic of female party members and analyses how women involve themselves and participate in party politics. The following results showed that:

UMP Ages range between 20-40, most are pri-

mary and secondary school leavers, majority are engaged as home workers, who are both single and married.

- GCP Ages range between 30-40 years, most are secondary school leavers, and majority are home workers who are married.
- FFVP Ages range between 30-40 years, primary school leavers, home workers who are married.
- NKM Ages range between 20-50 years, most are village-based, married women and their daughters who believe in their traditional education system and are engaged in subsistence farming.
- VP Ages range between 30-50 years, most are primary and secondary school leavers, engaged in formal and domestic employment, with majority being married women and a few single women.
- NUP Ages range between 30-50 years, most are primary and secondary school leavers, married and engaged in self employment. Most of the women are from PENAMA provinces, who are involved in the kava industry.
- VRP Ages range between 20-50 years, most are primary and secondary school leavers, both married and single women who are self employed and domestic workers.
- PPP, MPP and VLP were not available for interview.

The emerging trend for aspiring female politicians is for home workers or self-employed women who workers become politically involved with the intention to seek employment opportunities if their party gets into power. However, as many of the women candidates in parties are secondary school leavers, parties often consider that their lack of education does not qualify them for top senior government positions, despite this same issue not presenting an obstacle for male party members. The links between education and leadership are therefore essential in any planning to encourage women's entry into political leadership.

Party	UMP	GCP	FFVP	NKM	VP	NUP	VRP
Political Advisor	1	1					1
Private Advisor	1					1	1
Office Supervisor							
Secretarial/ Clerical/ Filing Officer	1	1		1		1	1
Support staff (cleaner, driver, housegirl)	1	1		~		1	1

Table 7: Positions occupied by women in Ministerial Portfolios since 1980

This table shows what political appointments within ministerial portfolios are being occupied by women. Though there are very few women occupying the senior political appointments within their Ministry, this study shows that where women are employed this is usually for lower ranking positions such as clerical and support staff.

Party Gender Policy Profiles

Gender Policy Framework

This section of the research summarises the manifestos and policy outlooks of political parties relating to gender specific areas of focus geared towards supporting women.

Most political party platforms and polices provide very general statements on sociopolitical development but have no specific focus on political equality of men and women with regards to decision-making.

VP has been the only political party that has had more than one female in parliament. Though political platforms and policies may quote their support towards gender equality in political governance, political parties still have a long way to go in supporting more women in decision-making. This statement is supported by both the statistical evidence as well as the interviews about various programs implemented for women members in respective political parties.

Party Programs that target women

Political parties were asked about whether their programs currently address a range of issues concerning women and children. Key development issues include domestic violence and sexual crimes, access to health and education and teenage pregnancy. Almost all responded that though these programs are essential for their voters, lack of funding made this impossible. No reference was made to how MPs used their allocations to address these needs. According to the interviews, political parties address programs generally for everyone in communities, but have not yet developed programs specifically focused on women.

However, interviewees stated that when an elected member occupies a ministerial post, s/he supports initiatives, projects and programs addressing the above issues concerning women.

Political party	What party policies say about women
Union of Moderate Parties Party	The UMP Platform of 2008 stated the policy to "Strengthen and enforce security to provide a good environment for families and business". There is no specific focus on women and children in the party policies.
Green Confederation Party	The seven policy priority areas do not include any gender specific issues.
Family First Vanuatu Party	The FFVP policy states its support for "the protection and rights of women and children".
Nagriamel Kastom Movement	Though NKM supports the provision of free education and health care, there is no gender specific area of focus on women and children.
Vanua'aku Pati	According to the Party's mission in their 25 year Vision, VP will: "Promote Gender Equity and rights of vulnerable groups". In their guiding principles, the party has identified some beliefs and values that will help them achieve its mission and to reach the required regarding domestically, regionally, and internationally party leaders and supporters: • Principles of the rule of Law, Justice for all and Social Equity • Protection of fundamental human rights • Commitment to family values • Commitment to the Right of Children • Commitment to the Rights of Women • Belief in the empowerment of Women
National United Party	According to the joint VP and NUP Platform of 2004-2008, it is "determined to promote women in development and to ensure their participation in all decision-making and development process in the country. In any future government of VP and NUP[we] will continually support women's contribution towards the development of our country and will continue to encourage women to occupy senior positions in government".
Vanuatu Republican Party	The VRP outlook and Policy does not highlight any gender specific focus for women. VRP policies are more generally focused.
People's Progressive Party	There is no gender specific focus on women outlined in the PPP party polices.
Vanuatu Labour Party	VLP policies do not include any gender specific focus on women.
Melanesian Progressive Party	MPP policies do not have any gender specific focus on women.

Table 8: Gender Policy Outlook of Political Parties

Party		IS	S U E S			
	Safety and Security	Health Care	Economic Empowerment	Leadership		
UMP		Opening of Health Centres/Clinics to service pregnant women		Promotion and support in fielding of female candidates in national elections in all constituencies		
GCP				Support in fielding of female candidates in national elections in some constituencies		
FFVP			Leadership advocacy for Women in Business for women in the church	 Party constitution supports 50% representation of women at the Executive level; Support in fielding of female candidates in national elections in some constituencies 		
NKM				Support in fielding of female candidates in national elections in some constituencies		
VP	Legislative Reform—Passing of the Family Protection Act	Opening of Health Centres/Clinics to service pregnant women				
NUP	Legislative Reform—Passing of the Family Protection Act	Opening of Health Centres/Clinics to service pregnant women	Support of Handicraft Centre; Extension of Women's Market House; Repealing of Section # in the Charitable Act which could have closed the operations of VANWODS			
VRP	Legislative Reform—Passing of the Family Protection Act					

Table 9: Party Programs targeting women voters

Uniquely, the Family First Vanuatu Party (FFVF) is an organised church group through the NTM (Neil Thomas Ministry). It is structured with a spiritual arm and recently (2008) a political arm. The spiritual/church arm provides programs in business, health and primary and secondary education.

Women as Voters

All political parties indicated that they targeted women as a particular voting population. When asked what programs had been instituted to recruit women voters their responses were as follows:

- Very few women are elected to participate at the top executive party level. A few women participate in regional executive committees and the sub-committee meetings within their respective constituencies.
- Political parties are aware of their female voters and support any project proposals they submit to elected members. For instance, UMP has reported their recognition of women voters in school committees in their constituencies requesting their assistance in building of schools and water tanks and there have been some positive responses.

These above responses clearly indicate that none of the parties have concrete strategies focused on women as voters. This is of concern as it raises the question of parties' awareness of the needs of women who support them, as well as their interest and commitment in actively soliciting women's support.

Though political parties are very male dominated, they still remained supported by women. Despite this huge support from women voters, political parties are doing very little to support women's participation in decision-making.

Women's Wings

Out of 7 political parties that were interviewed 5 had established women's wings (units) in relation to their policy in supporting women in political leadership. These are UMP, GCP, VP, NUP and VRP.

The responses of the political parties indicated a mix of ideas in the establishment of women's wings, though the idealistic view of their women's wings is mainly to:

- Provide organisational support and logistical support to political parties;
- Provide input into decision-making in the party;

- Undertake to promote women's political participation;
- Support women candidates during elections;
- Provide support to women elected to parliament;
- Mobilize women's vote ahead of elections; and,
- Defend gender issues within the party.

However, all have been reported to have functioned ineffectively to implement the above responsibilities due to:

- Lack of knowledge by party members on the sole duty of Women's Wings;
- Absence and lack of mentoring/ orientation by senior party members;
- No women in decision-making training;
- No human rights training;
- No Voter/Civic Education; and
- Budget constraints.

Evidence shows that there is lack of understanding and interest in the function of women's wings which has resulted in the insufficient support both internally by political parties and externally by voters.

Women as Parliamentarians

Political parties have the responsibility to support and shape their female counterparts on their election into parliament. Nevertheless, in addition to programs geared towards women, training and orientation programs involving both men and women are also important. It was stressed that such programs should be sponsored by the Parliament and should be held on a regular basis throughout each parliamentary session. Some of the specified areas of training should include:

- All aspects of parliamentary practice and procedures;
- Computer training, including power point for making of presentations;
- Time management;
- Dealing with difficult people;
- Media training;
- Gender sensitivity and equity training;
- Public speaking;
- The process of law making; and,
- The Parliamentary library and its facilities.

Currently the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) in Australia provides basic training for new parliamentarians. In 2008 CDI provided specific women in leadership training for Vanuatu's female parliamentarians and community leaders.

Gender and Elections Profile

Candidate Lists

These candidate lists were gathered from the Electoral Office of Vanuatu in May 2009.

Party	Total Contestants	Female Contestants	% Female Contestants
UMP	173	1 (1991, Port Vila)	0.6%
GCP	40	0	0%
FFVP	8	3 (2008, Efate, Port Vila, Malakula)	38%
NKM	14	0	0%
VP	133	5 (1987, 2002, 2004, 2008)	3.8%
NUP	150	1 (1991, 1995)	0.7%
VRP	72	3 (2002 [x2], 2008)	4.7%
PPP	42	0	0%
VLP	14	2	14.3%
MPP	117	0	0%

Table 10: Percentage of Female Contestants in National General Elections by Party (since 1980)

The above table shows that since 1980 the party with the most gender representative parliamentary composition is the FFVP. FFVP is a newly established party and for the first time contested the 2008 general elections. It was the only party that had 8 candidates contesting the 2008 elections of which three (38%) were women. In contrast, other political parties have generally supported a larger percentage of male candidates.

Party	1995	1999	2003	2007	Total contestants		% Female contestants
UMP	13	10	21	9 (1)	53	1	1.9%
GCP	0	0	0	34 (5)	34	5	14.8%
FFVP	_		0		0	0	0
NKM	0	0	0	12	12	0	0
VP	0	15 (1)	19 (2)	12 (3)	46	6	13.0%
NUP	13 (2)	16 (1)	16 (1)	14 (1)	59	5	8.5%
PPP	0	0	0	6(1)	6	1	16.7%
VLP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
MPP	0	11 (2)	0	8 (1)	19	3	15.8%
VRP	0	8 (1)	0	13 (1)	21	2	9.5%
TOTAL	26	60	56	108	250	23	9.2%

Table 12: Percentage of Female Contestants in Luganville Municipality by party from 1995-2007

Party	1994 (TAF)	1994	1996	1997 (TOR)	2000	2001 (TOR)	2004	2005 (TOR)	2007 (SAN)	2008	TOTAL	No. female contestants	% female contestants
UMP	25	(1) 125	71	3	(1) 55	3	58	4	12	32	388	2	0.5%
VP	9	0	42	3	48	4	30	2	9	47	194	0	0%
NUP	12	(3) 124	38	3	40	7	31	7	(1) 6	(2) 27	295	6	2.7%
MPP	15	0	0	2	(1) 45	5	20	(1) 3	2	18	110	2	1.8%
VRP	0	0	0	0	(1) 35	2	19	0	9	27	92	1	1.1%
PPP	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	7	4	9	34	0	0%
GCP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	10	0	0%
NGM	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	9	0	12	0	0%
VLP	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	(1) 6	8	1	12.5%
FFVP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	(1) 3	3	1	33.3%
TOTAL	61	249	151	11	223	22	176	23	61	169	1,146	20	1.7%

Table 11: Percentage of Female Contestants in Provincial/ Local Government Elections by Party since 1994

	1993	1997	2001	2005	Total	Female	% Female
Party					contestants	contestants	contestants
UMP	14	17	13	22	66	0	0%
GCP	12 (1)	6(2)	29 (4)	25 (1)	72	8	11.1%
FFVP	_	_	7 (1)	35 (2)	42	3	7.1%
NKM	_	_	-	_	_	0	0%
VP	_	_	_	_	_	0	0%
NUP	9 (2)	9 (2)	16 (6)	17	51	10	19.6%
PPP	_	_	_	3	3	0	0%
VLP	_	_	_	3	3	0	0%
МРР	12	15 (3)	20 (2)	17 (1)	64	6	9.4%
VRP	_	_	17 (1)	17 (1)	34	2	5.9%
TOTAL	47	47	102	139	335	29	8.7%

Table 13: Percentage of female contestants in Port Vila Municipality by party from 1993-2005

NUP, VP and GCP have been the most consistent in fielding women candidates. GCP, within a period of 6 years, has proven to be supporting a high rate of women contesting elections.

The data shows that urban areas produce more women contestants, whether for general and municipal elections. There tend to be fewer women contestants in provincial elections. However, despite the trend in data, three out of a total of five women who have ever been elected into Parliament came from rural constituencies (Epi and Malakula).

In an effort to encourage more women contestants in local government elections, in 2007 the Shefa Provincial Council committed to introducing a voluntary quota for parties. The aim was to have 50% of the 14 council seats occupied by women. This goal has not yet been realised but the intention and demonstration of in principle commitment has been a major step forward for women in leadership.

Conclusion and Recommendations

he trends in women in politics and elections over the years have revealed small and incremental progress towards Vanuatu's current commitment to achieving 30% women in parliament by 2015. In thirty years, through seven national elections, only five women have been successful in having a seat in parliament. At best, the national parliament has had 4% women's representation. Those women that have been successful have all been supported by their political parties; not one has made it through at the national level as an independent. There is a strong case, therefore, to work closely with political parties to address gender equality issues with elections.

The experience of VANWIP shows that training and voter education is essential to engage more women in decision-making. If VANWIP is to be revived in some form to provide political training for women, it must change its name, as VANWIP was earlier understood to be a political party.

Evidently there remain many challenges to increasing women's representation in politics, whether at the national, provincial or local levels. This study has shown that while there appears to be outward political commitment to gender equality in leadership, the challenge is translating this into meaningful systemic practice within political parties.

Below are some recommendations for progressing practical commitment to women in politics.

Engaging Women in Political Parties

Political commitment to gender equity has to be established firmly at the party level. Parties must recognise the need to provide support to women candidates. Approaches such as temporary special measures (e.g. quotas) need to be workshopped with parties by DWA, the State Law Office, the Electoral Office and the UNIFEM Gender Equality in Political Governance (GEPG) Program on this. Temporary special measures may require specific funding by parties and government to encourage women to run for seats in Parliament.

 Clear terms of reference to be developed and understood by political parties and members on the role of women's wings.

Raising gender awareness and action

- DWA and women's organisations should encourage and facilitate workshops targeted at women to make them aware of their political rights in, and political obligations to, society.
- DWA and women's organisations should also provide gender equality and political governance programs targeting men. A practical step would be for DWA to collaborate with the UNIFEM Gender Equality in Political Governance Program on this.
- The Office of Parliament in collaboration with Department of Women's Affairs to provide gender sensitizing trainings for all new incoming MPs. The Office of Parliament should link women MPs with women's organisations particularly within their communities and provide training/support for their concerns pertaining to the role of women in decision-making bodies.
- DWA, in partnership with the Parliamentary Clerk and women's organisations, should regularly review party positions on gender issues and require positive and supportive action by all MPs, regardless of gender.

Mentoring and Empowering Programs

 DWA should develop and facilitate mentoring and empowerment programs with political parties to encourage young women to get involved in politics.

 DWA to work with political parties to institute "buddy" systems in which every new member has a buddy or mentor who is an older member.

Resourcing Gender Equality in Decision-Making

 Adequate budget must be allocated by the Vanuatu Government to resource its international obligations and national policy for women in decision-making.

Other updates on Women in Government GEPG (Gender Equality in Political Governance) Program- UNIFEM

- UNIFEM's Program highlighted "Increase Gender Justice in Democratic Governance" as a program with focus to achieving Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.
- UNIFEM signed an MOU with Vanuatu Government in early 2010 committing its support to implement the Gender Equality in Political Governance. Government Action on Gender Equality through the Gender Equality in Political Governance (GEPG). The GEPG will address women's political participation and representation making women stronger citizens and leaders.

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APPENDIX A Brief Information on Women Members of Vanuatu Parliament

Name	Term in Parliament	Affiliated Party	Portfolio	Constituency	Highlights
Maria Crowby	1987-1990	UMP	Member of Parliament (MP)	Port Vila	 Self Employed Ex Vila Central Hospital matron
Hilda Lini	1987-1990 1991-1994 1994-1998	VP NUP NUP	MP MP Minister for Health	Port Vila	BA Journalism UPNG Community Educator CUSO local Cooperant Won 2005 Nuclear- Free Future Award First Director of the Pacific Women's Resource Bureau (PWRB) Co-Founder of Tu Raga Cultural Institute (Pentecost)
Isabelle Donald	2002-2004 2004-2008	VP	MP Minister for CRP/Justice	Epi	RSTP Coordinator – Epi Vice Secretary General for VP
Leinavao Tasso	2004-2008	VP	MP Minister for Education	Epi	Community Worker- Epi
Eta Rory	2008- current	Vanuatu Family First Party (VFFP) (Current affiliation VP)	MP	Malakula	Leader of Luke 8 Women's Ministry Community Worker Kindergarten Teacher

APPENDIX B Survey Questionnaire

"Women in decision-making" has been identified as one of the thirteen critical areas for concern in the 2006-2011 National Plan of Action for Women. Its objective is specifically to promote the full and equal participation of women in decision making and to increase women's capacity to participate in decision making and leadership. With this research DWA hopes to identify what political parties have achieved since independence to date in relation to women's participation in politics and what are their future plans on encouraging more women to partake in the political arena.

Name of Political Party:

Year of establishment:

SECTION I: PARTY LEADERSHIP

This section looks at how many of your political party members were elected to national parliament within the stated election period. Also identify how many women from your political party were elected to be members of parliament. (*This section would be applicable to only a few political parties*).

1. PARLIAMENTARY LEADERSHIP a) Women in Parliament

Year	Total Number of Members of Parliament	Total number of female Members of Parliament
1980-1984		
1985-1988		
1989-1992		
1993-1996		
1997-2000		
2001-2004		
2005-2008		
Total		

Expected questions:

- when political parties were formed;
- how many females have been elected into parliament, increasing or decreasing i.e. their trends and support in endorsing women candidates.
- 2. POSTS OCCUPIED IN PARLIAMENT

a) What positions or post do your female members occupy in parliament?

- Head of the Government
- Leader of the Opposition
- Speaker of Parliament
- Ministerial portfolio
- Ad Hoc Committee member
- □ Other (please specify)

- 3. MUNICIPAL AND PROVINCIAL LEADERSHIP
- a) Have you had women from your party elected into the municipal and provincial government councils since the establishment of your party?
 - □ Yes (If yes, please answer question b)
 - 🗆 No
- b) How many and what positions within the Municipality and provincial leadership have your women occupied?

Position	1980-	1985-	1989-	1993-	1997-	2001-	2005-	Total
	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	
Total number of members in Municipal councils								
Total number of members								
in Provincial councils								
Total number of female members								
Positions held by women								

- 4. LEVEL OF PARTY LEADERSHIP
- a) Do you have women in your party executive?
 - □ Yes
 - □ No

b) If yes, what positions within the party executive do women occupy?

□ Presidency

- Deputy President
- Secretary General
- Deputy Secretary General
- □ Treasurer
- □ Deputy Treasurer
- □ Others (please specify)

5. PARTY MEMBERSHIP

- a) Are women encouraged to register?
 - □ Yes (If yes, answer b below)
 - 🗆 No

b) How?

c) This table hopes to shows the percentage of support of women registered members in the party.

Year	Total number of registered members	Total number of registered female members	% female support
1980-1990			
1991-2000			
2001-2008			
Total			

d) Do members have to pay membership fees?

- □ Yes
- 🗆 No

e) If yes, how much?

- VT 500-1000
- □ > VT 1000-2000
- □ > VT 3000

f) How often are membership fees required to be paid?

- One a year
- Twice a year
- Quarterly basis
- □ Other (please specify)

NB: It is important that researchers note when political party were established and work from within the targeted time period. Expected questions:

- · See increase or decrease in female membership (why?)
- Do party members have to pay a fee and how regularly do they pay?
- Whether there are more female party members than male members of this party (why?)
- Sometimes even though there may be more women members but the party is still
 male dominated in leadership roles. (Why? This information will indicate whether
 payment of party membership fees is a restricting factor to restricting women's
 participation).

6. PROFILE OF FEMALES IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

This section seeks to generally find out what kind of women involve and participate in party politics. Viewing their level of educational background and employment status. Note to researchers: Identify the majority of where women in the political party fall in.

a) Age range of women generally involved in politics:

- 20-30 years
- □ 30-40 years
- □ 40-50 years
- □ 50 +

b) Level of Education of Women generally involved in politics:

- □ Primary
- □ Secondary
- Tertiary
- c) What Employment status do most women in political party be classified into:
 - □ Self employed
 - □ Unemployed
 - □ Employed

d) Marital Status of women committed to politics.

- Single
- Married
- □ Divorce/Separated
- □ Widow

SECTION II: PARTY POLICIES

Note to researchers: request a copy of the party constitution, policy and platforms, also any annual reports that parties may produce describing their achievements. This section seeks to find out if a political party takes into consideration gender issues and aims to or has worked in addressing these issues as a priority when it comes to power. It also takes a closer look on what each party does to support its women registered and non registered supporters (voters).

- 1. GENDER POLICY FRAMEWORK
- a) What are your party's priority or areas of concern outlined in your policy? (Please outline if no copy of party policy is provided).
- b) Does your policy address issues affecting woman and children?
 - □ Yes (If yes, please answer c)
 - 🗆 No
- c) What specific areas/ issues do you address for women and children? If there is any please outline activities/programs conducted.
 - □ Domestic violence
 - Access to education
 - Access to better health service
 - □ Sexual crime (rape, incest, sexual harassment)
 - Teenage pregnancy
 - Safety and security
 - □ Leadership
 - □ Economic empowerment
 - □ Other (please specify)

(Note to researchers: If there activities and programs are outlined clearly, then there is no need to proceed to question 1d)

d) In what ways has your party been working to address these issues?

(e.g. Supported an economic project for rural women, opening health care centres, supporting to pass legislations that benefit women and children, run advocacy awareness on above issues, etc. Listen out for actual examples.)

2. WOMEN AS VOTERS

a) Do you see women as a particular voting population?

- 🗆 Yes
- 🗆 No
- b) Do you encourage women to participate in national and provincial decision making bodies? Eg statutory boards, commissions, etc.
 - \Box Yes (if yes fill the table below)
 - 🗆 No

Year	Name of institution	Total number of board members	Number of female
1980-1990			
1991-2000			
2001-2008			
Total			

c) What positions are registered women members offered when party comes to power?

- Political Advisors
- Office Supervisors
- □ Secretarial/ Clerical officers
- □ Support Staff e.g. Cleaner/driver/house girl
- □ Gardener
- $\hfill\square$ Other (please specify)
- d) Does the party provide any mentoring programs for its women members so as to develop them to partake in higher levels of decision making. eg parliamentary level, etc?
 - $\hfill\square$ \hfill Yes (If yes please answer below)

🗆 No

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- e) What kind of mentoring programs and training courses do you provide for your women members?
 - □ One-on-one mentoring by a senior party member
 - □ Women in decision making training
 - Human rights training
 - $\hfill\square$ Voter education
 - Business Management Training
 - $\hfill\square$ Other (please specify)

f) Who does the mentoring programs?

g) How often do you provide these mentoring programs?

- Fortnightly
- Once a month
- \Box Twice a month
- Once a year
- □ Other (please specify)

SECTION III: LITERATURE RESEARCH

1. ELECTION LISTS AND PLATFORMS

This section intends to look into the total number of women candidates from political parties contesting general and provincial/ municipal elections:

	NATIONA	L ELECTIONS	MUNICIPAL/PROVINCIAL ELEC			
Time period	Total number of candidates	Total number of women candidates	Total number of candidates	Total number of women candidates		
1980-1990						
1991-2000						
2001-2008						

a) Does your political party statement support women's issues?

□ Yes

🗆 No

b) Identify where can this supporting information/statement be identified or found?

Party constitution

- Party latest resolution
- Party platform
- $\hfill\square$ Others (specify where)

Note: This table also informs us about the number of women contestants that are being endorsed through the political parties. The literature review will provide locations which women are standing to contest.