



There is no progress nor democracy if one half of the population is not included in the decision making process. There is no just decision, if women are not included as equal partners in making such decisions. This was the main motivation to open the issue of women's participation in politics and in the decision making structures as well as the absence of women in the local and national government at the beginning of the 90s.

For ten years UWOM has continuously been working in the area of women's political strengthening through initiatives, lobbying and conducting trainings.

The implementation of the project **"Women Can Do It II – Local Elections"** is of extraordinary importance in UWOM's efforts for greater participation of women in politics and continuous work in that field. This project is a step forward towards including gender concept in the political parties and a push for those women to play more active role in the decision making.

The established cooperation among UWOM as a non governmental organization, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy- Unit for promotion of gender equality, as a government institution, the political parties and the international organization OSCE, can serve as a model for achieving positive results. In order to justify such model one could specifically consider the last Local Elections' results where the percentage of elected women councilors increased from 8.4% to 22.4%.

*Elena Grozdanova
Savka Todorovska*

During the past year and a half the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje has been working closely with our partners the Union of Women's Organisations (UWOM) and the Government's Unit for Promotion of Gender Equality (UPGE) on a number of important projects and initiatives with the overall aim of promoting the principles of gender equality in the country.

The OSCE Mission to Skopje feels that the successful implementation of the project Women Can Do It II - 2005 Municipal Elections demonstrated how a comprehensive programme with a multi-dimensional approach can achieve these goals and congratulates our partners on their excellent efforts and impressive results.

In December 2004, the OSCE Permanent Council adopted the Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality. The aim of the Action Plan is to prioritise the improvement of gender equality in the OSCE region and to ensure that the implementation is properly monitored. The adoption of the Action Plan shows that the OSCE continues to place great importance on promotion of gender equality.

The results from the recent local elections have demonstrated that a step forward has been taken towards improving the balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making processes. The number of women elected as members of municipal councils increased threefold, from 8.4 % up to 22.4 %, when compared with the results from the previous local elections in 2000.

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Progressively, a legal requirement of 30% quota provision was introduced as of 2004 to allow women to be equally represented on both upper and lower halves of the candidate list. However, such provision was not fully respected by all political parties and only 3 women mayors, a mere 3.5 % of total, were elected.

The OSCE Mission believes that the conclusions and findings of the project should be comprehensively analysed and the lessons learned applied to future activities during next year's Parliamentary Elections.

This project has demonstrated that gender equality is becoming an increasingly important issue for the political parties in this country. The OSCE Mission will continue to give its support to civil society in the implementation of concrete activities aimed at improving the situation of women.

*Elena Gulmadova
Rule of Law Officer
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Introduction

The Union of Women's Organizations of Macedonia (UWOM), in partnership with the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy - Unit for Promotion of Gender Equality (UPGE) and in cooperation with the Stability Pact gender Task Force (SP GTF), implemented the project "Women Can Do It II – Local Elections 2005", which was financially supported by the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje (OSCE SMMS).

Project Goal

To increase participation of women in decision-making structures at the local level.

Project Objectives

- Introduce an Amendment to the Law on Local Elections requiring a 30% gender quota of both genders to be placed on electoral lists for councillors and mayors;
- Enhance support among political parties and public for the promotion and development of gender equality and political empowerment of women;
- Increase the number of women candidates elected into municipal councils in the 2005 local elections.

Target Groups

Political leaders, Party candidates, Potential candidates, Voters / General Public

Implemented activities

- A Project Board was formed, responsible for project implementation, consisting of project coordinator, project assistant, 2 expert trainers (undergone regional SP GTF training), political party liaison (representative per each political party), legal experts (Law on Local Elections and Law on Local Self Government), and a media consultant (journalist).
- Signed agreement for cooperation with each political party regarding the project implementation activities.
- Presentation of the project to the public (voters) through the media.
- Workshops series: implementation of 10 workshops targeting 10 political parties: SDSM, DUI, VMRO - DPMNE, LDP, LPM, DPA, PDP, DA, SPM and OPERM.
- The representatives from each political party, assisted by project staff, prepared a status report containing statistical and political data about the promotion and introduction of gender equality in each political party targeted by the project.
- Legal Assessment Report prepared by Ms. Zagorka Tnokovska.
- Media Assessment Report prepared by Ms. Biljana Bejkova.
- Evaluative Conference implemented in December 2004.
- Gender Analysis of the candidates lists.
- Final evaluation of the project prepared by Ms. Sonja Lokar.

Participants

The total number of educated politicians who participated was 242 out of which:

- 238 women politicians;
- 4 men politicians (3 from SPM and 1 from LP).

Educational level of the participants is:

- 57% with university degree;
- 31% with secondary education;
- 12% students.

The total number of participants who are employed is 63%, while the other 37% of participants are unemployed.

Evaluative Conference

Evaluative Conference – December 10, 2004

Club of MPs, Skopje

About 60 people participated at the conference, out of which 53 were women from different political parties.

Recommendations from the Evaluative Conference:

- Active efforts of all parties involved in the project activities to ensure "More elected women in 2005 Local Elections";
- Permanent political education of women members of political parties;
- Strengthening cooperation among the political parties, NGOs and trade unions
- Adoption of the Law on Equal Opportunities and its implementation;
- Signing a declaration with the political party leaders obligating each political party to put a woman candidate in every third place on electoral lists;
- Each political party to propose at least 3 women for mayor in winnable seats.

Schedule of workshops organised for political parties ▼

Political party	Organisers of seminars from the political parties	Place	Date
SDSM	Svezana Orlovik	Skopje	May 22– 23, 2004
DUI	Halide Paloshi	Struga	September 9 – 10, 2004
LDP	Menka Gugulevska	Skopje	June 26 –27, 2004
PDP	Ferdeze Sulejmani	Tetovo	July 3 – 4, 2004
LPM	Golubka Nechevska Cvetanovska	Radovish	June 12 – 13, 2004
VMRO/	Irena Misheva	Skopje	October 23 – 24, 2004
DPA	Vildane Paloshi	Tetovo	June 5 – 6, 2004
SPM	Vera Cherepnalkova	Skopje	May 22 – 23, 2004
OPERM	Iseni Hariet	Skopje	October 28 – 29, 2004
DA	Snezana Gulevska	Skopje	May 15 – 16, 2004



*Evaluative Conference
– December 10, 2004
Club of MPs, Skopje*





Impact of the project “Women Can Do It II 2004–2005”

- Final Evaluation - May 2005

WHAT WAS CHANGED?

WHAT IS STILL A PROBLEM?

During the year 2002, when the project “WCDI II” was implemented, all 10 political parties have been run by male leaders. Nothing has changed until the year 2004.

female politicians at national and local level. This is an indicator that almost all political parties have a shortage of professional female politicians at national, and especially at local level.

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During the year 2002, three political parties were not able to make a summary of the answers related to the women status in their membership, while two political parties admitted openly that they do not have gender segregated statistics about the membership in the political party, gender structure of its political parties bodies or political parties election lists, and also do not have information regarding their elected members at local and national level in different structures of power.

During the year 2002, three political parties did not have women organizations on national level, one political party had only informally organized female group and 6 political parties had formally organized women organizations. Only two years later, all 10 political parties have formally organized locally widespread women’s organizations.

The political parties that could give gender breakdown data about their membership, could only give precise answers on some questions.

During the year 2002, only four political parties participating in the project have included the gender concept in their programmes (the best was LDP), only two political parties have gender quota in their Statutes (SDSM and LPM) and one of them (LPM) has only for the political party bodies.

The situation during the year 2004 is completely different: almost all political parties now know the gender breakdown of their voters and all 10 political parties have general gender data about their membership and about their female membership in the legislative and executive at national level. However, the parties still have very poor information on the situation at local level, except the data for women mayors (See tables 1, 2 and 3).

Before the Parliamentarian 2002 Elections, the percentage of the women MPs was 7,6 %. The biggest contributions from the first project “WCDI II” project were:

- Adoption of a 30% gender quota for the Parliamentarian Elections;
- Enhanced ability of women to lobby together (Action of the Macedonian Women’s Lobby) for more women on winnable positions, due to the gender quota in the Law not having any rules for women candidates;
- Increased percentage of women MPs from 7.6% on 18.33%.

There are clear indications that the women party organisations are still modestly organized at local level and that the relationship between the women parties organisations on national and local level is occasional and weak.

The political party trainers did not give any information about their female members whom the public would see as evident

Table 1: Political parties that participated during 2004 ▼

Political party	President	Female groups	President of the Female groups	Members of Parliament %	Women MPs
SDSM	Vlado Buchkovski	Formally organized	Eleonora Petrova Mitrevska	35.8%	27.0%
DUI	Ali Ahmeti	Formally organized	Azize Velin	13.3%	6.2%
LDP	Risto Penov	Formally organized	Liljana Popovska	9.0%	45.4%
PDP	Abdulmenaf Begjeti	Formally organized	Ferdeze Sulejmani	1.6 %	0%
LPM	Stojan Andov	Formally organized	Golubka Nechevska Cvetanovska	4.2%	20.0%
VMRO/DMPNE	Nikola Gruevski	Formally organized	Silvana Boneva	22.0%	15.0%
DPA	Arben Dgaferi	Formally organized	Vildane Paloshi	5.8%	0%
SPM	Ljubisav Ivanov	Formally organized	Vera Cherepnalkova	0.8%	0%
OPERM	Nedget Mustafa	Formally organized	Iseni Hanriet	0.8%	0%
DA	Vasil Tupurkovski	Formally organized	Zaklina Servini	0%	0%

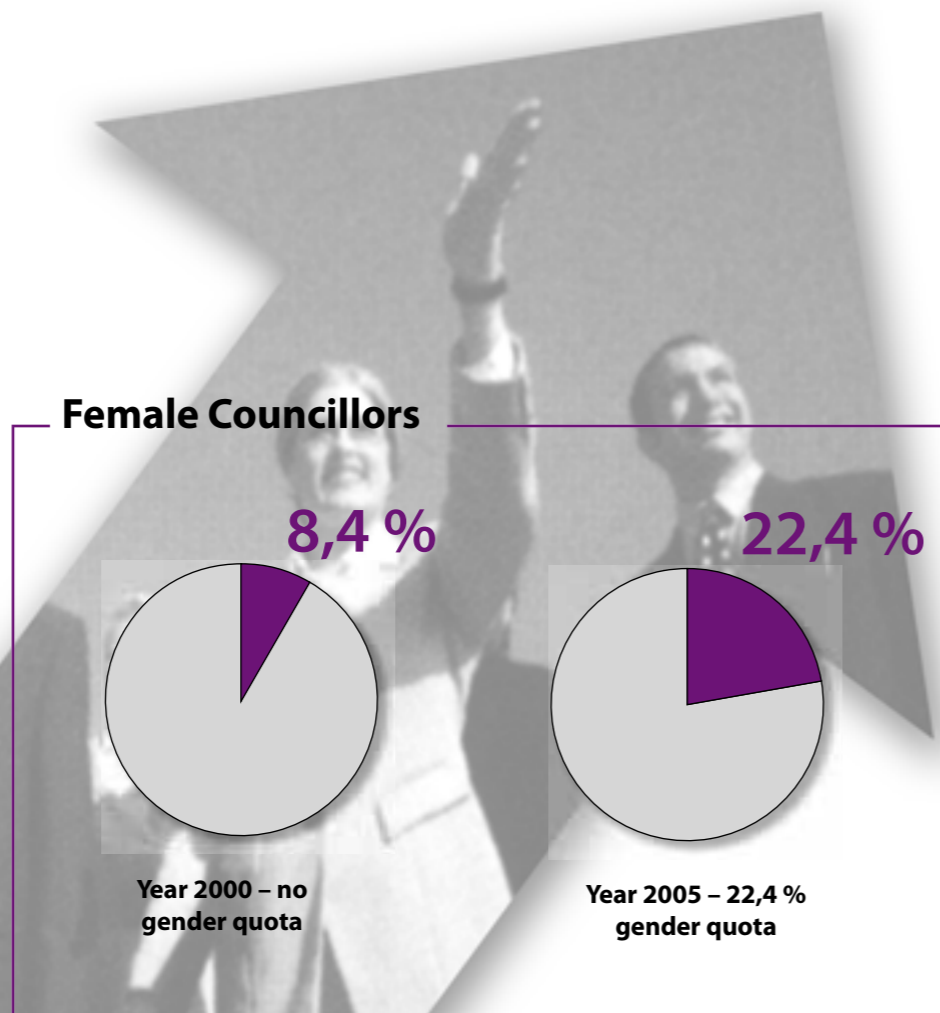
Table 2: Facts about women and men in the political parties ▼

	SDSM	DUI	LDP	PDP	LPM	VMRO DMPNE	DPA	SPM	OPERM	DA
% Women voters	n / a	50%	55%	50%	50%	55%	37%	20%	39%	42%
% Women members of the parties	38.3%	35%	37,8%	n / a	38,5%	52%	29%	30%	30%	45.5%
% Quota of the party bodies	30%	30%	n / a	30%	40%	n / a	20%	30%	n / a	30%
Quota for the party; lists %	30%	30%	30%	30%	30%	30%	No	30%	No	30%
Respect of the 30% gender quota	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
% Women candidates on the list Parliament Elections	36%	15%	37%	30%	30%	30%	30%	30%	n / a	30.8%
% Women in party leadership positions at national level	30%	6.2%	18.2%	17.3%	13.6%	23%	20%	20%	0%	28%
% Women in party leadership positions at local level	30%	25%	6,8%	n / a	43.8%	43%	20%	20%	20%	32%

Table 3: Women on positions in power ▼

	SDSM	DUI	LDP	PDP	LP	VMRO DMPNE	DPA	SPM	OPERM	DA
President of the political party	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Deputy President	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
General Secretary	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
% Women councillors	11	30	10.1	2 women	14.3	22	n / a	3.3	5	18.7
Number of women mayors	No	No	1	No	No	No	1	No	No	1
Women Presidents of Parliament	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
% Women MPs	27	6.2	45.4	No	20	15	No	No	No	No
% Women Ministers	11.5	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

From tables 2 and 3, it can be seen that the situation has drastically improved during these two years: During 2004, seven from ten political parties have special gender quota of the political parties' bodies that is respected. Two political parties (SDSM and LDP) had more than 30% female candidates on the last Parliamentarian Elections 2002, five political parties have female deputy President, and two political parties have female General Secretary. Furthermore, the percentage of female Ministers is slowly increasing.



SITUATION OF WOMEN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THEIR POLITICAL PARTIES

All political parties involved in the project have formally organized women organizations. There are many rules on the manner in which female groups are forming their memberships.

In most of the political parties, all female members are automatically members of the women party organizations. Only in three political parties (LDP, DUI and DA) have female members chosen to become members of the women party organizations. In two political parties (SDSM and LDP), the women who are not party members are members of the women party organizations. One political party (DA) remarked that male party members are also part of the women party organization.

All parties women organisations have organised local branches or clubs, but one political party (PDP) remarked that these local branches are not very active.

The programme of the women party organization is an integrative part from the political parties programmes in most of the cases (in 7 cases). Some of the women parties organizations have additional programmes for gender equality (3 cases), or programme Declaration (Women's Forum of LDP). Only in PDP and VMRO-DPMNE, the female parties organisations have independent programmes for gender equality. Only one political party, VMRO - DPMNE has a special educational programme for they female members.

All women party organizations, except DPA, participated in the work of the Macedonian Women's Lobby. The women from DPA feel that they have not been invited to align with the Lobby and have given a proposal to change the name of this Lobby to "Lobby of Women of Macedonia".

All women parties organisations that participated in this project have expressed their interest in the establishment of a special network of the women parties organizations within the MWL.

In the Macedonian Parliament, there is informal body that deals with the gender equality – the Women's Parliamentarian Club. The women MPs from all political parties are cooperating in this club.

COOPERATION AMONG THE WOMEN PARTIES ORGANIZATIONS, WOMEN'S NGOS AND WOMEN ACTIVISTS FROM THE TRADE UNION

All women parties organizations are in principle aware about the importance of the cooperation with women's NGOs. Two of them emphasised that they are cooperating with all NGOs (PDP and DPA), but OPERM mentioned that they are cooperating with 60% of the NGOs in Macedonia. Organizations that have named certain NGOs as their partners are: SDSM, LDP, LPM, VMRO - DPMNE, SPM and DA. The most mentioned NGOs in the rule of partners with the women parties organizations are: UWOM, ESEM and MWL.

All women party organizations, except OPERM, have expressed that they also cooperate with the women activists from the Trades Union movement.

VISIBILITY OF THE WOMEN PARTIES ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MEDIA, VISIBILITY OF WOMEN AS POLITICANS IN PUBLICITY MATERIALS

Most of the women parties organizations have expressed that they have practise in the organization of independent press conferences (except PDP and OPERM).

Every political party already have at least from 1 to 5 well known female politicians on national level (Ministries, Vice President of the Parliament, MPs, Vice President of the political parties, Directors of governmental institutions) and from 5 to 20 locally well known female politicians (mayors, councillors, directors of local public institutions). The weakest on national as well as on local level is still OPERM. LPM is also still weak on this issue.

PROGRAMMES OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN RELATION TO GENDER EQUALITY

- SDSM has general statement for support of gender equality, but they do not have formed concrete policies;
- LDP has general programme for gender equality, parties resolution for this issue and programme declaration for special women's group (Forum of women). For each election they involve the issue of gender equality in their electoral programmes;
- PDP has included in their programme activities for gender equality and advancement of the women status in the political party and in society in general, but it does not have any special programme for gender equality;
- VMRO - DPMNE has general statement for support of the gender mainstreaming in the political party programme and a special programme for gender equality. This political party has included concrete programmes for gender equality in their electoral promises;
- LPM has special political party declaration for gender equality and elaborated policy for gender equality;
- DPA has general statement for gender equality and concrete policy for gender equality;
- SPM has an action plan for gender equality of the female party organization;
- OPERM has statement for full support of the gender equality in its programmes, but it does not have concrete policy;
- DA has formulation for full support of the equality between women and men in all social spheres, but it does not have special policies for gender equality;
- DUI has general statement for support of the gender equality, but it does not have formulated concrete policies.

A lot of positive changes could be noticed in the political parties programmes. The complete absence of the paragraphs

for gender equality in most of the political parties programmes in the year 2002, is changed with the situation that now just one political party can not offer anything that is related with the gender equality (PDP). Respecting the gender quota as positive discrimination, PDP thinks that the women need to strive for their place in the political party not only with gender quotas, but with the most democratic system of values.

All other political parties have at least general statements for support of the gender equality. The political parties that already have general statement in the year 2002, now have a more elaborated approach and some of them are developing concrete policies for gender equality on special issues.

ELECTON PROMISES IN RELATION TO GENDER EQUALITY AT THE LAST NATIONAL ELECTIONS

- SDSM: Yes, they have promised to adopt an Act on gender equality;
- LDP: Yes, they have promised to ensure higher number of decision making positions for women;
- PDP: Yes, the political party has promised more opportunities for women to be elected and to place one woman at the top of one list, and other woman on third place, but the last was not elected;
- VMRO-DPMNE: Yes, they have promised adoption of better Family Law, Law against family violence, special health care for women and for people with special needs;
- LPM: Yes, they have promised to give more opportunities for women to be elected on all their candidates lists and succeeded;

- DPA has promised more places for women on the candidates lists;
- SPM: Yes, they have promised that they would ensure bigger space for women on the decision making positions;
- OPERM: They have promised that they would ensure bigger space for women in the bodies of the political decision making within the society and political party;
- DA: No;
- DUI has promised that it would take care for the gender equality and it would give real chance of their female candidates.

The awareness-raising about gender equality within political parties is proven with the fact that only two of them have not involved any gender issues in their national electoral promises (PDP and DA). Most of them promised more elected women, but two of them have elaborated clear and concrete proposals for the gender equality policy (SDSM and VMRO - DPMNE). The fact that we have so obvious change in the pre - election attitude of the most powerful political parties shows that the pressure of the Macedonian Women's Lobby as well as the work of the women activists within the political parties has succeeded to put on position the gender equality on the list of priorities of the political parties. It could be noticed how serious the political parties were when they promised that they would improve their statement in relation with women in politics and work for improvement of the gender equality policy. Half of the political parties, a large part of the opposition, have not tried to call on the government to undertake something specific in relation with the gender equality, but the other five had really worked to accomplish their electoral promises

Table 4: Political party initiatives for advancement of gender equality

Political party	Yes	No	Proposal
SDSM	x		Law on Gender Equality
LDP	x		Active lobbying for adoption of a 30% gender quota in the Law on Local Elections
PDP		x	
VMRO-DPMNE	x		Support for the Article for a 30% gender quota in the Law on Local Elections
LPM	x		
DPA		x	Support for the Article for a 30% gender quota in the Law on Local Elections
SPM	x		
OPERM		x	
DA		x	
DUI		x	Support for the Article for a 30% gender quota in the Law on Local Elections

In this phase of development of gender equality standards within the political

parties, the request from the Macedonian Women's lobby to establish a gender quota of minimum 30% for women and men in the Law on Local Elections, was accepted by all political parties as understandable.

REALITY CHECK – THE PROPOSAL BY UWOM FOR A 40% GENDER QUOTA FOR WOMEN AND MEN ON THE CANDIDATES LISTS WITH RULES OF NOMINATION

The process of reform of the local self - government has made the issue for the forthcoming Local Elections an issue of the real redistribution of the economic and political power. In this situation it was to be expected that the political parties would not give their female candidates the real opportunity to be elected, but they would have a tendency to put them on the bottom of the candidates lists or on uncompetitive higher positions. This was the main motivation why the UWOM, with support of the OSCE SMMS, started with public appeal – sending it to Parliament and relevant Ministries, as well as to the Macedonian Women's Lobby – for an Amendment that would increase the minimum of the 30% gender quota of women and men on the 40% gender quota and to be established substation rules for nomination of the candidates from the less represented sex.

The UWOM has requested at least one place among the first

five and three places among the first eight, to be given to the candidates of the less represented sex. This initiative was used as reality check of the level of impact and power that women have gained within each political party, as well as an interest group within civil society. This request has put the faithfulness of the political parties male leadership to a serious test, as well as its readiness to share the power with their female colleagues.

- Female political parties groups have not dared to support this radical request;
- Macedonian Women's Lobby could not support it because it is working on the principle of consensus;
- All Parliamentary political parties were divided about this issue;
- Even all women MPs were not ready to support this strong request for the rules of quota;
- Media that were mostly supporting efforts of the Macedonian Women's Lobby become sceptical.

These were indicators that positive moves in the gender equality of the power, as well as within the civic society, were still very fragile and it could very soon provoke feedback hit.

Table 5: Political parties support for the adoption of the gender quota for the Local Elections

	SDSM	DUI	LDP	PDP	LPM	VMRO DPMNE	DPA	SPM	OPERM	DA
Supported a 30% gender quota	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Support for adoption of a rule for nomination with the gender quota	Yes	Yes	Yes, on every third place	Yes	Yes, on every third place	Yes, 15% in the first third of the list	Yes, 20% from the disposable places	Yes, on every third place	No	Yes

Following intense debate, the women MPs, especially those who are working as visible leaders or activists of the Macedonian Women's Lobby for different Parliamentary parties, have wisely lobbied for acceptable compromises. In an aggressive atmosphere of male-female confrontation, they have succeeded in achieving following compromise:

A 30% minimum quota for male and female candidates and at least 30% candidates from each gender must be placed on the upper and lower halves of the candidates' lists.

The compromise was finally adopted with a very small majority.

The process of final preparations for the Local Elections 2005 and the partial implementation of the adopted rules for the gender quota have shown how important this initiative was and the strength of feeling created by this courageous initiative.

ELECTION COMMITMENTS FOR GENDER EQUALITY

Table 6: Political party commitments promises for the Local Elections 2005 ▼

Political party	Commitments
SDSM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Establish municipal mechanisms for gender equality; ➤ Support for establishment of the municipality Gender Equality Commission.
LDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Increase female political power at the local level; ➤ Implement an active employment policy and support for women entrepreneurs; ➤ Concrete action for eradication of domestic violence; ➤ Improve childcare.
DUI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ensure that a large number of capable women are in positions that will raise the status of women in politics.
VMRO -DPMNE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Support for establishment of the municipality Gender Equality Commission; ➤ Improve childcare.
DA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Support for establishment of the municipality Gender Equality Commission; ➤ Increase women political power at the local level; ➤ Active employment policy and support for women entrepreneurs; ➤ Municipality-financed programme to improve women's reproductive health and family planning; ➤ Establish SOS phone lines for domestic violence; ➤ Improve childcare.
PDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Increase women political power at the local level; ➤ Active employment policy and support for women entrepreneurs.
DPA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Support for establishment of the municipality Gender Equality Commission; ➤ Increase women political power at the local level; ➤ Active employment policy and support for women entrepreneurs; ➤ Municipality-financed programme to improve women's reproductive health and family planning; ➤ Establish SOS phone lines for domestic violence; ➤ Improve childcare.
LPM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Support for establishment of the municipality Gender Equality Commission.
OPERM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ No concrete commitments in this area.
SPM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Our elected women will contribute for better social, educational and health policy at local level; ➤ Active employment policy; ➤ Preventive health care for women and children according to the municipality financing.

In the new project "WCDI II", we have used a structural questionnaire in order to motivate all female members of political parties to think about the possibilities to help their parties formulate a concrete offer of gender equality policy at local level. It is obvious that this approach has yielded results.

It could be noticed that through this project consensus was reached for the need to establish gender equality mechanisms at local level, and that the interest in an active employment policy for women is increasing. Furthermore, the interest in improving the reproductive health and fight against domestic violence is increasing.

For the first time, 9 political parties from 10 involved in the project have integrated the gender equality policy in their election commitment.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENDER QUOTA RULES – INSUFFICIENT RESPECT OF THE RULE OF LAW

Negative feedback regarding the changes was obvious when the State Electoral Commission sent the guidelines for implementation of the gender quota rules. Within its authority, the State Electoral Commission adopted a guideline for application of the Article 22 of the Law for Local Elections.

Quotation from the guideline:

"Because of the representation of at least 30% of each gender on whole candidates' list, as well as on the first and second half of the Candidates' list of candidate of the municipalities' members and the Council of the city of Skopje, the calculation is made according to the mathematical rules, as follows: in the municipalities with 15 municipality Council members the representation of at least 30% from different gender in general candidates list is 4.5%, from which on the first half of the list from approved 8 members is 2.4 %, but on the second half of the list from approved 7 members is 2.1 %. According to the applied mathematical rule in general 4 members correspond to the positioning of 2 members each on the first and second half of the list".

UWOM made an objection to the SEC regarding these guidelines; however, the SEC gave an identical explanation. UWOM insisted that the SEC should not accept the lists on which there were less than 5 women from the total number of 15 candidates on the electoral lists.

A second blow and a bigger disappointment in relation to the rule of law is that the political party whose lists clearly

infringed the gender quota rules, were not disqualified from the local elections.

The consequences of this decision were that 30 candidates lists followed the guidelines of the SEC and, according to our opinion, those political parties infringed both the word and spirit of the Law.

The municipal election commissions allowed the participation of 33 candidates lists that did not respect the Law on the Local Elections 2005: in other words, 22.17% of the municipal election commissions allowed an open infringement of the Law. With the addition of the municipalities that respected the guidelines of the SEC, 42.35% of municipalities have infringed the Law.

Dispect of the law:

- 33 candidates lists from different political parties and civil groups infringed the Law;
- 30 candidates lists applied the guidelines of the SEC which, according to our opinion, also infringes of the Law;
- 22.17% of the municipal election commissions allowed an infringement of the Law;
- Combined with the municipalities that respected the guidelines of the SEC, the total number of municipalities that have infringed the law is 42.35%.

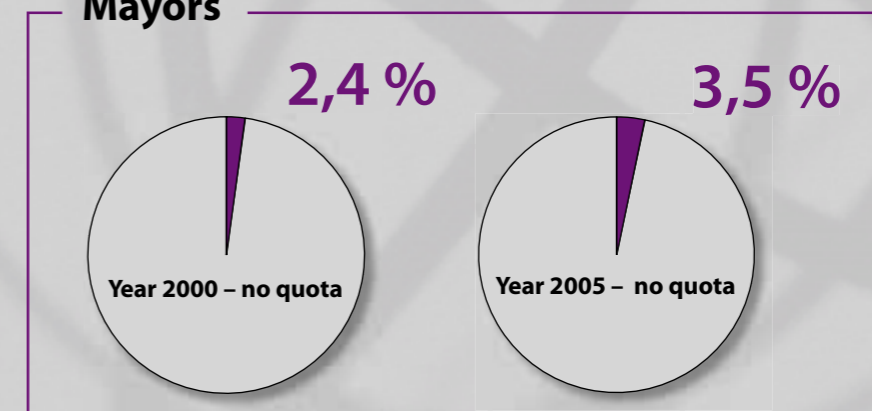
The importance of the quota legislation is very obvious from the disappointing results regarding the election of female mayors.

From 430 candidates for mayors, only 18 (4.18%) were female candidates. Only one female candidate was elected in the first round, and only two more in the second round. From the ten political parties involved in the project, the following had the female candidates for mayors.

Table 7

Political party	Municipality	Number of female candidates for mayors	
SDSM	Cair, Mogila, Tetovo, Krusevo	4	From 430 candidates for mayors, only 18 (4.18%) were female candidates. Only one female candidate was elected in the first round, and only two more in the second round. From the ten political parties involved in the project, the following had the female candidates for mayors.
LDP	Rankovce	1	
DUI	Oslomej, Zelenikovo	2	
VMRO-DPMNE	Chair, Centar,	2	
SPM	Kumanovo	1	
LPM	Lozovo	1	
DPA	Butel	1	
PDP	/	0	
OPERM	/	0	
DA	Gevgelija	1	

Mayors



The level of seriousness of political parties' leaders regarding their promises for the election of more women in the local councils is evident from the places that women gained among the first three on the candidates lists:

Only 10.1% of all candidates lists had a woman at the top of the

candidate list. In the municipalities of Skopje, this percentage was 16%, and in the City of Skopje it was 22%.

Only 17.50 % of women gained second place on the candidate list and only 22.76 % of women gained the third place on the list.

Table 8

Political party	Number of women on the first place	Number of women on the second place	Number of women on the third place
SDSM	6	5	20
LDP	3	3	4
DUI	1	1	8
VMRO-DPMNE	7	10	15
SPM	0	0	1
LPM	1	2	0
DPA	3	9	7
PDP		n/a	n/a
OPERM	1	0	0
DA	5	9	11
TOTAL	26	39	66

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ON THE FIRST THREE POSITIONS ON THE CANDIDATES LISTS:

10,10 % on the first position of the candidates lists were women
17,50 % women on second position
22,76 % women on the third position

In most cases the first woman candidate was placed on the third, fourth and fifth positions.

The political parties involved in our projects have put the following average percentage of women candidates on the first half of their candidate lists:

Table 9

Political party	Average % of women candidates on the first half of the candidates lists
SDSM ; LDP ; OPERM	34.21 %
DUI	30.47 %
VMRO-DPMNE ; SPM ; LPM	33.53 %
DPA ; PDP	29.05 %
DA	35.63%

It is obvious that the rules for nomination contained in the Law were of huge importance because it has clearly helped women from political parties to achieve great successes at the Local Elections or the women candidates in the rural areas with smaller number of completed candidates lists.

During the Local Elections 2005, Macedonia elected 22% female councillors. This means that the overall percentage has tripled. The result is even more impressive because the

political and economic power of the local communities will be significantly increased with the decentralisation of the country!

Табела 10

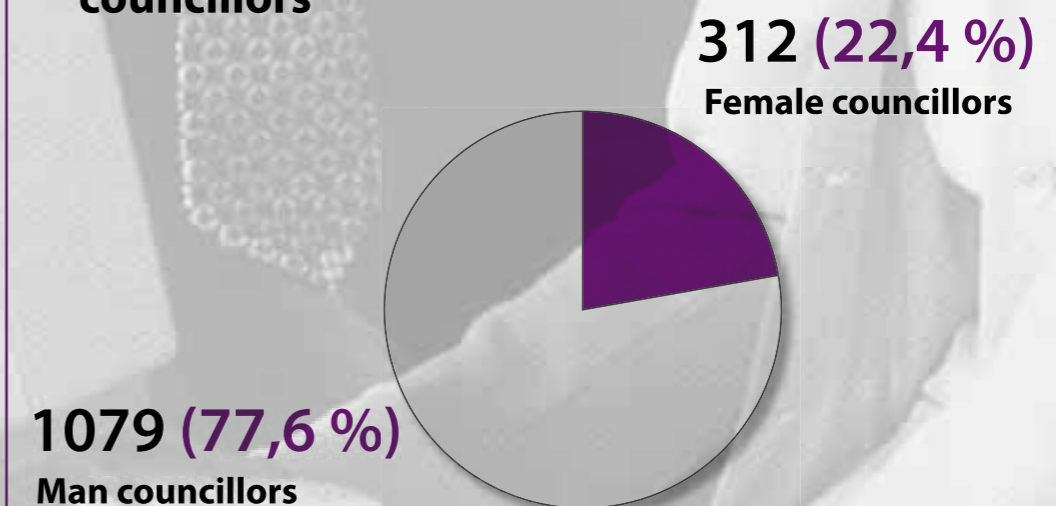
The parties included in our project now possess the following percentages of women councillors following the 2005 Local Elections:

Political party	% of women councillors in the year 2005	
SDSM / LDP	113	36.21%
DUI	47	15.06 %
VMRO-DPMNE SPM / LPM	72	23.07%
DPA / PDP	23	7.37%
OPERM	1	0.32 %
DA		0.96 %
TOTAL:		82.99%

Table 11: Gender analysis of the elected councillors of the municipalities

	Number of male councillor positions	Number of male councillors opposition	Number of female councillor position	Number of female councillors opposition	Group of elected men	Group of elected women	TOTAL
Rural areas	185 13.2 %	152 10.9%	64 4.6%	35 2.5%	25 1.49%	3 0.21%	464
Urban areas	323 23.22 %	370 26.59 %	106 7.62%	99 7.11%	22 1.58%	7 0.50%	927
TOTAL	508 36.50 %	522 37.5%	170 12.2%	134 9.6%	47 3.37%	10 0.71%	1391

Total percentage of elected councillors



CONCLUSIONS

Regardless of the setbacks and infringements of the Law in many cases, the 2005 local elections were big step forward in the building of political power of women at the local level.

This project has contributed greatly to this success:

- Major political parties have improved their programmes and included concrete gender equality policies as election promises in their campaigns;
- The percentage of women candidates for mayors and councillors has significantly increased;
- The inclusion of the nomination rules in the provisions for the gender quota, which has resulted from the NGO implementing this project and from persistent lobbying by the UWOM and women MPs, has contributed to better places for women on candidates' lists at local level. They have tripled the female representation within the local councils;
- There is a consensus in the opinion of all political parties in relation to: the implementation of the gender concept at local level; the need to establish Gender Equality Commissions; the need to develop active employment policies; concrete action for eradication of reproductive illnesses and to fight domestic violence; and the need to improve childcare.

But, this project has also shown that more needs to be done in the future:

- UWOM were not powerful enough to prohibit the infringement of the rule of law by the State Electoral Commission, local election commissions and political parties and civil groups;
- The women's groups within the political parties are still too weak to have an impact on their leaders to prevent promises and commitments that are not accomplished;
- It seems that there is most to be done within political parties of the non-majority communities, which clearly experienced great difficulties in following the legislative rules. These parties require special attention and national and international support in the future.

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Gender Task Force**

NATIONAL PROJECT

WOMEN CAN DO IT II
LOCAL ELECTIONS 2005

INTRODUCING THE GENDER CONCEPT IN
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