

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

United Nations Development Programme



GENDER AND ELECTIONS IN ROMANIA

ABSTRACT

UNDP has been undertaking a series of case study research projects about the opportunities and challenges for women's participation as voters in the Europe CIS region. The present case study presents an analysis of gender and the electoral legislation reform process in Romania, focusing on two aspects of the legal framework factor: the effect of the electoral system on women's participation and gender quotas as means of enhancing women's descriptive representation. An important entry point is to acknowledge that low participation and representation of women is a serious issue that impacts Romania's democratization process. On this path towards gender equality in politics, representatives of civil society should be carefully monitoring political actors who may have learned and are skilled at using the discourse of gender equality, but less so the practice. Future public discussions and debates on political participation and representation should focus on the role of political parties in shaping specific democratic differences. The debates should also emphasize the role of the electoral system in ensuring adequate representation of women. If change towards more gender equality in politics is needed, the joint efforts of all key actors are required.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

UNDP has been undertaking a series of case study research projects about the opportunities and challenges for women's participation as voters in the Europe CIS region. The case studies focus on women's electoral participation and political parties, take stock of women's electoral participation and the interventions by various national and international actors, and distill lessons learned to strengthen future programming. The present case study presents an analysis of gender and the electoral legislation reform process in Romania, focusing on two aspects of the legal framework factor: the effect of the electoral system on women's participation and gender quotas as means of enhancing women's descriptive representation.

The communist regime triggered structural transformations of the state, which changed from monarchy into a republic. For the first time, the 1948 Constitution explicitly eliminated all sex-based discrimination and introduced equality based on sex alongside other criteria. In addition to banning discrimination, positive measures were supported to enhance women's participation in politics. Starting with the 1970s, gender quotas were introduced and women's participation in politics was actively supported by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the leader of the Communist Party. However, the growing inclusion of women in public and political life was not accompanied by a contestation of gender inequality within private life. Women's political participation in Romania has decreased considerably after the fall of communism in 1989. Women have been increasingly under-represented at both the national and the local levels, and legislation reform in 2008 did not help redress the downward trend. Individual discursive or legislative remedies did not overcome the stage of isolated attempts pushing for more gender balance. Overall, numbers in politics are dissatisfactory across years at different levels of political decision, regardless of the political ideology of the party.

Both gender and electoral provisions were changed in order to adjust Romanian national legislation to democratic and EU objectives. The Constitution promulgated in 1991 and revised in 2003 brought changes in the electoral process in a context where electoral legislation had to be harmonized with EU law. Law no. 334/2006 on financial support for political parties and for the election campaigns included a provision on positive measures to increase the number of women in decision making process, though it did not indicate the financial source or calculation procedure. The Constitutional provision on equal rights had a direct effect on the 2004 national elections. The representation of both women and men was considered when evaluating the party lists for the 2004 national elections. However, placing women on electoral lists does not necessary mean equal representation; winnable positions should have been considered as well.

In 2008, the electoral system in Romania was changed from a proportional representation system into a uninominal/mixed system. The election is conducted in single-member constituencies and candidates need an absolute majority of the vote in order to win a constituency seat. In uninominal constituencies the candidates must be economically competitive to be able to support their own campaigns, and insufficient resources lead to a smaller pool of women candidates. In addition, the uninominal system is more candidate-centered, more compatible with famous individuals and personalities and less with technocrats. Political eligibility equals media representation since parties try to come out with candidates the voters are familiar with. Nevertheless, media is far from ensuring balanced representation of women and men, in both numbers and content.

Public and political discussions continue on what would be adequate instruments for enhancing women's political representation and participation. Communist measures to improve women's participation in politics are an important factor to understanding the post-1989 backlash on quotas. It is worth mentioning that communist Romania did not have quotas only for women, but for minorities as well. However, democratic national political parties have supported quotas for national minorities after 1989, but not for women. While the backlash on positive measures does relate to communist interventions, the underlying patriarchal reasons that have informed both the communist interventions and the backlash itself are not considered.

A more successful tool embraced by political parties seems to be voluntary gender quotas. Nevertheless, when analyzing whether the measures are transposed into elected seats, voluntary quotas seem weak in the absence of internal monitoring and sanctioning. There is poor capacity of women's sections within political parties to join forces for the introduction of legislated quota. The 2004 national elections revealed once again the key role played by political parties in women's participation and representation, irrespective of the PR electoral system (more supportive for women's election in comparison with a uninominal/majority one), constitutional provision on gender rights, and the promulgation of a specific law on equal opportunities (Law no 202/2002). Meaningful party support for women can be evaded through various means, and constituency and winnable positions were two common instruments used by the political parties.

Romania is a good example of how legislation came to include women's interests during the process of European integration. Moreover, national politicians do seem to react to international pressure. Therefore, international instruments ratified by

Romania, such as CEDAW, should be advanced more in support of positive measures. During the last 20 years, consistent support was offered by international organizations and institutions for research on women and politics or when tackling women's political underrepresentation. In this context, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has played an important role, through a number of projects informed by the UNDP Strategy on Gender Equality 2008-2011. The 2010 proposal on quotas for women's representation cannot be separated from a number of UNDP initiatives, informed by its strategic direction, that helped shaped a specific context.

During 2003-2004 UNDP and the Governments of Canada, Switzerland, and Israel supported the implementation of "An Integrated Approach to Gender Balanced Political Empowerment and Participation" project in Romania. In 2010, UNDP reviewed the national target MDG3 and organized a Technical and a Political Roundtable, in partnership with the National Agency for Equal Opportunities, with the objective of establishing the national MDG target and indicators on women representation in Parliament and a roadmap of how to achieve it. For a successful campaign, such activities need to be combined with strong networking and broad support from civil society.

NGOs pursuing a women's rights agenda are not powerful enough to independently engage in a campaign for more women in politics. There is no critical mass of women, only individuals with no network of organizations or institutions backing them and asking for more women in politics. One key factor that appears to be lacking is a public consensus on the importance of women's representation. The context is not open for direct intervention in the absence of awareness and of demands that would support collective action towards women's enhanced participation. The experience of other countries has proven that the environment matters. Therefore, some key respondents actually expressed fears that Romania is moving backwards in regards to gender equality, based on recent institutional, legislative and discursive changes.

Some of the lessons learned based on past and present efforts to build gender equality in Romanian politics include:

- Party quotas may have a higher degree of success because they diminish the perception of intrusion and seem to limit less the autonomy of the party. However, voluntary party quotas are weak in the absence of internal monitoring and sanctioning.
- The role of political parties as gate-keepers is crucial and ought not to be neglected. However, women's political participation should depend on laws/formal provisions and not on personal preferences of political or party leaders.
- Isolated individual attempts to enhance women's political participation will fail. Networks to mobilize support are important tools; however, they may be currently neglected by MPs advocates of gender quotas despite international and national good practices.
- Systemic change can take a lot of time and efforts towards changing the status quo should not be abandoned even when the potential for successful change seems very small.

In response to these lessons learned, some of the recommendations include:

- Gender segregated data should be collected and publicly made available on the websites of National Institute of Statistics and the Permanent Electoral Authority.
- Create a joint platform with common objectives (legislated quotas, implementation of the party voluntary quotas etc.). Networking may be a decisive factor to push for common objectives. Pressure from outside (international actors) must be combined with mobilization from below (NGOs).
- Advocate and lobby on the basis of a clear and comprehensive strategy for gaining as much support from parliament as from members of political parties.
- Gender quotas should be designed in accordance with the electoral system, so that provisions can be introduced on the distribution of mandates. This may be a faster track than designing and supporting broader changes through the Parity Law.
- Provide public funding for political parties that support women candidates.
- Empower women by addressing socio-cultural obstacles to participation as well (feminization of poverty, work-life balance, dual burden).

When embracing recommendations, one should be aware of the time needed to implement changes, as some remedies require more time than others. An important entry point is the act of acknowledgement: acknowledge that low participation and representation of women is a serious issue that impacts Romania's democratization process. On this path towards gender equality in politics, representatives of civil society should be carefully monitoring political actors who may have learned and are skilled at using the discourse of gender equality, but less so the practice. Future public discussions and debates on political participation and representation should focus on the role of political parties in shaping specific democratic differences. The debates should also emphasize the role of the electoral system in ensuring adequate representation of women. If change towards more gender equality in politics is needed, the joint efforts of all key actors are required.

1. INTRODUCTION

To consolidate the electoral cycle approach, and develop stronger substantive and programmatic linkages between electoral assistance and democratic governance, UNDP launched the Global Programme for Electoral Cycle Support (GPECS) in 2009, which provides targeted assistance to strengthen national capacity for electoral administration and management over time. One of the key objectives of GPECS is to achieve the full and equal participation of women as voters and candidates. It seeks to harmonize efforts and synergies between electoral assistance providers and those targeting women's increased political and electoral participation; and to develop an agreed strategy for UNDP programming on gender mainstreaming in the electoral cycle. In this way, GPECS Gender seeks to contribute to a normative shift amongst electoral management bodies, electoral administrators, parliamentarians, political parties, policy makers, UN staff and the international community about the full and equal participation of women in electoral processes.

In this context, UNDP has been undertaking a series of case study research projects about the opportunities and challenges for women's participation as voters in the Europe CIS region. The case studies focus on women's electoral participation and political parties, take stock of women's electoral participation and the interventions by various national and international actors, and distill lessons learned to strengthen future programming. In particular, the case studies address the following questions:

1. What is the current status with women's political participation?
2. What are the main issues limiting women's political participation, especially through political parties?
3. How were these issues addressed by national and international actors (including UNDP)?
4. What lessons from these cases can be used to inform future programming and strategic interventions in the area?
What are possible future strategies/approaches to address this issue?

With these in mind, UNDP has developed two country case studies, one for Georgia and one for Romania, respectively. The present report presents the findings of the Romania case study.

Women's political participation in Romania has decreased considerably after the fall of communism in 1989. Women have been increasingly under-represented at both the national and the local levels, and legislation reform in 2008 did not help redress the downward trend. Even though the proportion of seats held by women in national Parliament is a country MDG target, it has not been transposed into a national target (UN and Government of Romania, 2010). However, public and political discussions continue on what would be adequate instruments for enhancing women's political representation and participation. Short term and faster impact approaches such as gender quotas have faced wide criticism. Due to Romania's communist past when quotas were enforced and the role played by political ideology, gender quotas have faced recent rejection from both right and left wing political parties. The market principle of meritocracy is used as the main counter-argument to quotas, even while politicians (overwhelmingly men) allegedly elected 'on their own merit' face criticism on their political performances. The Social Liberal Coalition between the Social Democratic Party and Liberal National Party appears to have pushed the left wing party towards right wing values, at least as far as women's political participation is concerned. At the same time, the ruling governmental party, the Liberal Party, deploys conservative discourses and policies in response to the current economic crisis.

Changes to the electoral legal framework in Romania have affected women voters and candidates, providing additional obstacles. According to the UN guide on "Women and Elections" (2005, p. 11), there are "several key components of elections and election process that enhance or detract from women's participation." The legal framework, political participation, women's wings, voter registration and education, electoral administration and observation, all influence women's participation. In 2008, the electoral system in Romania was changed from a proportional representation system¹ into a uninominal/mixed system, in order to refresh politics and eliminate communist reminiscences, allegedly. Elections are now conducted in single-member constituencies and candidates need an absolute majority of the vote in order to win a constituency seat. Voters and candidates faced different electoral rules when running and voting in the last national and local elections.

The hypothesis of this case study is that having more women in politics equals more substantive representation, not only more descriptive representation. Thus, this case study focuses on two aspects of the legal framework factor: the effect of the electoral system on women's participation and gender quotas as means of enhancing women's descriptive representation. The

¹ Even if electoral systems alone do not determine the level of women's representation, they have an important role in women's political representation. Women are elected in greater numbers by proportional representation systems than by majority/plurality systems. IPU's examination of 2009 election results supports these findings (IPU, 2009).

case study will be also addressing the role of women's wings in supporting women's participation, as well as voter education and the roles of the Electoral Management Body.

2. METHODOLOGY

Taking into account the rich literature on women's political participation and representation, some conceptual delimitations are necessary to locate the discussion in the particular political developments in Eastern Europe. More than twenty years after the collapse of communism in 1989, discussing women's political participation is not an easy task in the region, due to increasingly conservative discourses that do not match Western theoretical approaches of women's political interests and gender interests influenced by postmodern thinking (for modern and postmodern theoretical approaches, see Diamond and Hartsock, 1998; Molyneux, 2003; Phillips, 1998; Pringle and Watson, 1998; Sapiro, 1998; and Thenjiwe, 2003). This case study embraces Jónasdóttir's (1988) theoretical approach of interests, which delineates the "*form aspect* - the demand 'to be among', or the demand for participation in and control over society's public affairs, and the *content*" (p. 40). In this analysis women's participation in politics is a fundamental activity for women's interests to become part of the "public affairs." Nowhere in the world have women met their goals in such a way as to be able to externalize "being among," in other words to externalize political participation.

Romanian theoretical approaches and researchers also emphasize that discussions about women's political interests and gender interests remain necessary (Băluță, 2007; Miroiu, 2004; Pasti, 2003); however, theoretical disputes require further clarification. This study uses Molyneux's typology of political interests. Women's interests, strategic interests, and practical interests of gender are the three categories proposed by Molyneux (2003), who argues that both women and men may have gender interests (Molyneux, 2003). While Molyneux dismisses "women's interest" as falsely universalizing women, the concept can be redefined in a way that makes it analytically useful for this study, by relating women's interests with specific interests related to embodiment specificities such as childbirth or breastfeeding (Miroiu, 2004). Even if these are body-related-experiences, acknowledging that material embodiment contributes to a gendered existence is not to claim that people are their bodies, nor does it dispute the claim that people can model their bodies into what they believe to be natural, desirable, or status-conferring states. (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002)

For methodological reasons two other key concepts, those of descriptive and substantive representation, need further systematization. While descriptive representation is interested in 'the who question,' i.e. who are our representatives, substantive representation looks at 'what' is represented, at political interests. As various theorists have argued, the politics of ideas and the politics of presence are interrelated. (Phillips, 1998)

Existing analyses of the broader theme of women and politics have looked at the obstacles women face when participating in national politics, such as gender roles, the educational system, party ideology, the recruitment process, and socio-economic obstacles (Băluță, 2006; Ghebrea, Tătăram, and Crețoiu, 2005; Miroiu, 2004; Pasti, 2003; Popescu, 2005). The 2008 changes to the electoral system in Romania provide the context for another such analysis. The technical aspects of both electoral systems and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) help to surround these institutions with a 'mythology of neutrality.' However, researches have dismantled this illusion of neutrality by emphasizing their role in women's political participation (Matland, 2005; Norris, 2004).

Considering the above, the hypothesis of the study is that more women in politics equals more substantive representation, and not just more descriptive representation. This case study presents an analysis of gender and the electoral legislation reform process in Romania, focusing on two aspects of the legal framework factor: the effect of the electoral system on women's participation and gender quotas as means of enhancing women's descriptive representation. The questions that were addressed looked at specific aspects of women's political participation:

- the current status of women's political participation and representation (e.g. How is the image of political participation? Does it impact women and how?)
- barriers to women's political participation and representation (e.g. What were there any outcomes for women after changing the electoral system? Taking into account the context, what are the challenges women may face in politics? Have women made a difference in Romanian politics when representing women's interest?)
- ways to promote women's political participation and representation (e.g. What are the pros and cons of gender quotas,

what types of quotas were considered so far by politicians? Are there any good practices of political participation? Does the presence of more women in politics stimulate the participation of women voters?)

The case study draws on a wide range of literature. It was carried out through a desk review (analysis of existing data) and semi-structured interviews with key respondents from different fields: civil society representatives, researchers, experts, EMB officials, journalists, and other key stakeholders (see Appendix 1 for a list of key respondents). The interviews were subject-oriented, with the leading themes focused on (see Appendix 2 for more details):

- Democratic political representation;
- Party politics and women's political participation: image/perception, women-candidates and women-voters, women's activity as party members, women candidates and women's voters interests;
- Legal framework: the electoral system and gender quotas;
- Voters and civil education;
- The role of EMB: advancing women's participation, data collection

The interviews were conducted over a period of two weeks in September and October 2011; they were recorded with the permission of the respondent and no personal information was used for any purposes other than this research. All responses were dealt with confidentially.

3. BACKGROUND: WOMEN IN POLITICS BEFORE 1989

The arguments and strategies deployed by women to enhance their political participation are consistent across time and include establishing women's organizations, petitioning, lobbying for legislative changes, and organizing workshops, debates, and conferences. The contemporary obstacles women confront when pushing for descriptive and substantive representation are more elaborate and sophisticated; but not necessarily fundamentally different from older ones. Both arguments and obstacles reflect the resurrection of neo-conservative gender values and an uncritical adoption of discourses on gender equality from the interwar period. This plunging-into-the-past has already been documented, but not explicitly in connection with the political participation and mobilization of women. The modernization and transition predating communism should be carefully considered in connection with women's mobilization for citizenship as well.

3.1 RECLAIMING POLITICAL RIGHTS: 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Nineteenth century women understood that participation was mandatory for women's rights and that gender differences should not be used to justify lack of rights (Nădejde, 1879). Women asked and fought for political rights by establishing organizations and through involvement in social projects that soon turned into political ones. They became familiar with and knowledgeable about administration and legislation. Their work reflects an important lesson, namely that power is not going to be generously shared by men on the basis of democratic incentives or citizenship urgencies, and that participation is necessary to place gender/women's interests on the political agenda. An important moment on the road towards political rights was the promulgation of the most democratic Constitution in Romanian history in 1923. Around 1923, women lobbied, debated and argued that by granting political rights, women would be able to pass righteous laws for women as well (Botez, 1923). In spite of fierce debates, male politicians across the ideological spectrum engaged in collective action and reached a conservative decision, that it was "not the right moment" to grant women political rights. Discriminatory legislative provisions were preserved by the Parliamentary Commissions working on the Constitutional draft, and later voted on by politicians.

In Romania it was the undemocratic political regimes, dictatorship and totalitarianism that granted rights to women that would otherwise be considered as compatible with democratic regimes. In 1929, electoral provisions changed under the government ruled by the National Peasantry Party, when the Law on Territorial Administration was promulgated. For the first time in history, women were granted the right to vote and stand for elections. Exercising political rights was restricted for women to local elections for district and village councils (Mihăilescu, 2002), and various eligibility criteria further impeded on the political participation of women, especially in rural areas where most of the population lived. They could only vote if they attained a

minimum level of education, worked as civil servants, had been decorated during the war, or if they were members of an association following a social or cultural agenda. These restrictions were not welcomed by women's associations, and the Association of Romanian Women (Uniunea Femeilor Române) argued that the educational threshold was an important obstacle as women were not allowed to study and receive a diploma (Mihăilescu, 2006).

Nevertheless, elections did open doors for women in politics in 1930. Some women decided to candidate on behalf of already established political parties, and others formed (not without facing wide criticism) an independent political organization, The National Organization of Women in Romania (Gruparea Națională a Femeilor din România). Women were elected as councilors, mayors and vice-mayors (Mihăilescu, 2006). Women's newspapers and magazines of the time wrote about continued attempts at obstructing women's political participation as candidates and voters during the following elections. Even if they had already proved their qualifications, in 1934 women were placed at the bottom of electoral lists or were not on the lists at all. Women's organizations protested and litigated, asking for adequate implementation of the Electoral Law. Women voters were also prevented from exercising their political rights, e.g. a city hall erased 1,200 women from electoral lists, and only after a well-known active feminist organization appealed to justice were they placed back on the electoral lists (Mihăilescu, 2006). Ten years later, in 1939, the new Electoral Law granted the right to vote for the Chamber of Deputies and for Senate only to educated women 30 and 40 years old, respectively. Women were not eligible as candidates.

We should understand and acknowledge the role of women and feminist organizations and the positive impact of clear legislation on political participation as historical examples of good practice. Strategically, women's political participation should depend on laws and not on the personal preferences of political or party leaders. The interwar mobilization of women shows that individual, isolated attempts to enhance women's political participation will fail if they are not supported by existing women's networks and possibly a women's movement. Women activists used different means of persuasion to fight for recognition of legal equality, showing that gender equality has not been an exotic western legislative importation. Literate and educated women mobilized for change and, contrary to contemporary criticism, the agenda of the first Romanian feminist wave acknowledged women's diversity and requests for improving the lives of working women and peasant women were at the top of their priority list.

3.2 POLITICAL COMRADES DURING COMMUNISM: 1947-1989

The communist regime triggered structural transformations of the state, which changed from monarchy into a republic. Political and legislative changes created the necessity for a new Constitution to be drafted according to the Soviet model. For the first time, the 1948 Constitution explicitly eliminated all sex-based discrimination and introduced equality based on sex alongside other criteria. Article 16 stated that "All citizens of the People's Republic of Romania, irrespective of their sex, nationality, religion, education, are equal by the law" (Gheonea and Gheonea, 2003, p. 149). This Constitution also granted women permission to stand for elections, with Article 18 stating that "All citizens, irrespective of their sex, nationality, race, religion, education, profession, including military, magistrates and public servants have the right to vote and stand for elections in all the structures of the State" (Gheonea and Gheonea, 2003, p. 149).

The new egalitarian ideology supported women's political participation in the structures of the Communist Party and in state institutions. In addition to banning discrimination, positive measures were supported to enhance women's participation in politics. Parity was never reached, but the 'critical mass' of 30 percent generally was.² Starting with the 1970s, gender quotas were introduced and women's participation in politics was actively supported by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the leader of the ruling Communist Party. However, according to various analyses, Ceaușescu's rationales were more personal or family-related and less driven by egalitarian beliefs (Mihai, 2011; Olteanu, 2011). In 1976, the Communist Party Executive Committee decided on a 25 percent quota for women for village, county, and city councils, as well as for workers' councils and the structures of the Communist Party within factories, institutions, and agrarian units. Three years later in 1979, a 30 percent quota was established at the Party's central level of decision-making and in its Executive Committee, though women's participation reached only 20 percent. In the 1980s, women's representation increased even more, to 32.5 percent in the Great General Assembly (Fischer, 1985).

That being said, it is important to understand that the number of women in an institution or structure started to grow when that structure began to lose power. For example, as the Great National Assembly was dominated by Ceaușescu's dynastic regime in the 1980s, women's representation increased and reached an impressive 33 percent in 1989, but the central structure for

² The critical mass is a theory used in some research on women's substantive representation that says a minimum 30 percent of women is needed in order to make a difference in public policies (see Childs, 2008; Childs and Krook, 2006).

decision-making at that time was the Communist Party's Central Committee, and less the Great National Assembly (Fischer, 1985). In addition, the growing inclusion of women in public and political life was not accompanied by a contestation of gender inequality within private life. Women faced the double burden of home and office work, domestic violence, and terrifying politics of reproduction due to a decree that banned abortion in 1966. Even as women's access to the labor market grew, discrimination persisted, e.g. people working in the heavy industry (predominantly men) had better salaries and a higher social status in comparison with those working in textiles (predominantly women). The communist regime did invest in social infrastructure (kindergartens and crèches), but its purpose was less egalitarian and more labor force driven as industry was growing and the regime needed more workers. Thus, one cannot consider women as having an impact on public policies under the communist regime, since women were members in structures void of power and only the decisions of the ruling party impacted politics and public policies. Women's presence cannot be causally linked with the representation of women's interests in communist structures and policies.

Women's political representation improved during communism. Nevertheless, women did not have access to political power and could not influence political decisions in a regime with no political competition, no multi-party elections and no alternative candidates, no freedom of expression, and with a powerful secret police. Both women and men had to support the construction of socialism and the state integrated women into existing oppressive structures rather than supporting their empowerment as it might seem from increased representation (Gheoanea and Gheoanea, 2003).

4. BACKGROUND: WOMEN IN POLITICS AFTER 1989

The change of political regime in Romania from communism to liberal democracy triggered transformations of gender relations in the labor market, work-life balance, violence against women, and sexual and reproductive rights. The relationship between women and politics was affected as well. Despite unquestionable prior advantages such as high levels of education and labor force participation, after 1989 women lost on their road towards having their interests represented and were deterred from becoming a powerful critical mass. More than 20 years after the fall of communism, political representation has not yet been democratized when women's interests or gender issues are at stake.

Communist measures to improve women's participation in politics are an important factor to understanding the post-1989 backlash on quotas. It is worth mentioning that communist Romania did not have quotas only for women, but for minorities as well. However, democratic national political parties have supported quotas for national minorities after 1989, but not for women. Sporadic MP proposals to address gender imbalance through various incentives for political parties faced constant criticism. Reviews of 1997 parliamentary debates on extra-financial support for parties with women MPs reveal that the proponent herself argued against quotas for women. According to another MP who disliked percentages, communist mandatory quotas negatively impacted on gender equality (Mihai, 2011). While the backlash on positive measures does relate to communist interventions, the underlying patriarchal reasons that have informed both the communist interventions and the backlash itself are not considered.

4.1 WOMEN IN THE PARLIAMENT AND LOCAL POLITICS

Taking into account that "the development of any political agenda that does not include the perspectives, views and experiences of those who will be affected is not credible" (Ballington, 2005, p. 24), women exercising their political rights is a key factor that ought not to be neglected by countries striving for democracy or where democracy needs to be consolidated. Democracy without women is not possible. Women's participation in politics cannot be separated from the representation of the political interests of women/gender; in other words, more women in politics equals more substantive representation, not only more descriptive representation. Though the link between descriptive and substantive representation has faced some criticism, consistent empirical research does indicate that "women and men support and devote attention to somewhat different issues as public officials" (Carroll and Fox, 2006, p. 5).³ Romania is not an exception to this, and women MPs have made a difference. Moreover, as we shall see, key respondents emphasized an important relationship between women as elected officials and women citizens. Women citizens come closer to politics when their representative is an elected woman. In the context of a constantly decreasing participation, this is a factor that cannot go unnoticed.

³ For more evidence supporting the intersection of descriptive and substantive representation, see Chappel and Hill, 2006; Childs, 2004; Childs, 2008; Phillips, 1995; Phillips, 1998; and Sapiro, 1998. For analysis on Romania, see Băluță, 2006; Băluță, 2007; Miroiu, 2004; and Tănase and Moșneag, 2006.

Generally, women's political participation decreased considerably after the fall of communism. Individual discursive or legislative remedies did not overcome the stage of isolated attempts pushing for more gender balance. Overall, looking at numbers in politics, we notice they are dissatisfactory across years at different levels of political decision, regardless of the political ideology of the party (though overall more political support seems to be given to women from left wing parties. Women have been poorly represented in top government (cabinet positions), and nominated more in traditionally feminized socio-cultural areas (health, education, sports). Between 1989 and 1996, no women were present in the Romanian cabinets. Self-reflexivity was not a widespread political behavior. Between 1996 and 2007, at least one woman held a ministerial portfolio, appointed by the social democratic. Ironically, the all-male cabinet model was resurrected by two governmental parties, a liberal and an ethnic minorities party, soon after Romania joined the EU in 2007. In 2011, there were three women present in the Romanian Government, with two holding less the 'feminine' portfolios of Transportation and Development. The fluctuation in the number of appointed women reveals a lack of correlation with party ideology, but it also reinforces the fact that, at top levels of government, political parties play a major role in maintaining or redressing the gender imbalance.

In 1992, women made up only 4 percent of the Romanian Parliament and they continue to be poorly represented in spite of a feeble increase. Unlike the fluctuation of women's participation in the Government as appointed members, participation of women as elected members in Parliament reveals stagnation. The change in electoral system did not help matters: in 2008, the electoral system in Romania was changed from a proportional representation system into a uninominal/mixed system. The election is conducted in single-member constituencies and the candidates need an absolute majority of the vote in order to win a constituency seat, and research has shown that mixed systems or majority systems are less conducive to women's political participation (IDEA, 2007; more details in the next section). The proportion of seats held by women in national Parliament is an MDG target⁴ which is not being met by Romania, and it has not been transposed into a national target (UN and Government of Romania, 2010). Nevertheless, as we shall see, MPs made various attempts over the years to enhance women's participation.

Table 1: Women in Parliament

Year	Chamber of Deputies				Senate			
	Number		%		Number		%	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
1990	22	375	5.5	94.5	1	118	0.8	99.2
1992	13	326	4	96	3	140	2	98
1996	25	315	7	93	2	141	1	99
2000	38	307	11	89	12	128	8.5	91.5
2004	37	295	11.1	88.9	13	124	9.5	90.5
2008	38	296	11.38	88.62	8	129	5.84	94.16

Political representation of women at local level also reflects wider national trends. Data from 2008 to 2012 point out a major gender gap for elected officials: women represented 15 percent of County Council members (206 out of 1386 counselors), one percent of County Council Presidents (one out of 42), and 4 percent of mayors (114 out of 3,184).⁵

4.2 GENDER EQUALITY AND THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK

Both gender and electoral provisions were changed in order to adjust Romanian national legislation to democratic and EU objectives. A quick overview of the legislative electoral framework with a focus on key aspects for gender equality in politics is

⁴ The eight Millennium Development Goals provide a framework of development targets to be achieved by 2015. Gender equality and women's empowerment represents one of the goals (MGD 3), and one indicator to measure its progress is the proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament.

⁵ Desk research conducted together with MA students from Policies, Gender, and Minorities MA, National School of Political Science and Public Administration, Bucharest, in March-April 2011. Data was provided by the Commission on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, Chamber of Deputies, June 2011.

necessary to understand if and how they impacted the political participation of women. Even if not extensive, one can identify some legislative attempts to support women's participation in politics, considered potential predictors for success by theory and experience on gender and politics/elections (Ballington and Karam, 2005; Klausen and Maier, 2001). As there is no centralized and reliable data on candidates at the local and national levels, a comparison between 2004 and 2008 is possible only for parliamentary elections.

The Constitution promulgated in 1991 and revised in 2003 brought changes in the electoral process in a context where electoral legislation had to be harmonized with EU law. Gender equality as equal rights was included in the Constitution. Article 16 of the Constitution states:

- “(1) Citizens are equal before the law and public authorities, without any privilege or discrimination.
- (2) No one is above the law.
- (3) Access to public, civil, or military positions or dignities may be granted, according to the law, to persons whose citizenship is Romanian and whose domicile is in Romania. The Romanian State shall guarantee equal opportunities for men and women to occupy such positions and dignities” (Constitution, 2013).

Law no. 202/2002 was promulgated with specific provisions on equality of opportunities and treatment for women and men in decision making (Art. 22, paragraph 1 and 2; Art. 23), as detailed below:

Law no. 202/2002 on Equal Opportunities between Women and Men

CHAPTER IV - Equal Opportunities between Women and Men as Regards the Participation in the Decision Making Process

Art. 22. – (1) The local and central public authorities, social and trading companies, as well as political parties and other non-profit organizations, carrying out their respective activities on the basis on their own regulations, shall promote and support the balanced participation of women and men in the management and the decision making process.

(2) The provisions of paragraph (1) apply also to appointment of members and/or participants in any council, group of experts and other managerial and/or consultative lucrative structures.

Art. 23. – In order to accelerate the achievement of equal opportunities between women and men, the central and local public authorities shall adopt incentive measures to afford fair and balanced representation of social partners within the decision-making authorities, observing competency criteria.

Source: English translation provided by Annex to Romanian report on Beijing +15, Romania Review and Appraisal in the Commission on the Status of Women in 2009, available at http://live.unece.org/gender/National_Reports.html

Law no. 334/2006 on financial support for political parties and for the election campaigns included a provision on positive measures to increase the number of women in decision making process: “for those political parties that promote women on the election lists, the allocated amount granted from the state budget will be increased proportionally with the number of mandates won by the women candidates in the elections” (Art. 14). NGOs welcomed the provision, but emphasized it could not be implemented because it did not indicate the financial source or calculation procedure (PEA, 2008a).

According to the official website of the EMB, the Permanent Electoral Authority (PEA, www.roaep.ro), the Constitutional provision on equal rights had a direct effect on the 2004 national elections. The representation of both women and men was considered when evaluating the party lists for the 2004 national elections. However, placing women on electoral lists does not necessary mean equal representation; winnable positions should have been considered as well. The results of the elections showed winnable positions were not considered, which further widened the gap between *de jure* and *de facto* gender equality. Even if 2,724 women (out of 9,997 candidates) were placed on electoral lists for the Chamber of Deputies and 969 women (out of 3,681 candidates) for the Senate, the overall representation of women only reached 8.5 percent in the first and 11 percent in the second Chamber (PEA, 2008a). When correlating women candidates with women elected, we notice that women made 27 percent of candidates for the Chamber of Deputies but only 11 percent of those elected; women also represented 26.3 percent of candidates for the Senate, but only 8.5 percent became MPs in the 2004-2008 legislature.

The 2004 national elections (see Appendix 3 for details) revealed once again the key role played by political parties in women's participation and representation, irrespective of the PR electoral system (more supportive for women's election in comparison with a uninominal/majority one), constitutional provision on gender rights, and the promulgation of a specific law on equal

opportunities (Law no 202/2002). Meaningful party support for women can be evaded through various means, and constituency and winnable positions were two common instruments used by the political parties. Overall, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (DUHR) had the poorest number of women on its party lists: it nominated 5 women out of 8 candidates in one county only (Vrancea). The women were not placed at the top of the list, but even if they had been, they would not have had opportunities to win a mandate in that county. DUHR attracts the votes of the Hungarian ethnical minority in Romania, and Vrancea was not a county where this minority lived. Thus, the overall outcome of the nomination process was predictable, and no woman was elected; however, the party list was “gender sensitive.”

In 2008, the electoral system in Romania was changed from a proportional representation system into a uninominal/mixed system, in order to ‘refresh politics and eliminate old communist reminiscences.’ Law no 35/2008 proposed “an original type of uninominal” (PEA, 2008b), which cannot be fully considered a majority system because it includes proportionality provisions in regards to the overall number of votes and MP mandates. Until further changes, the election is conducted in single-member constituencies and candidates need an absolute majority of the vote in order to win a constituency seat. Overall, each uninominal constituency has one corresponding MP mandate/seat. The distribution of seats in each chamber is carried out by proportional representation among parties winning at least five percent of the nationwide vote, or first place in a minimum number of constituency seats (three in the Senate, six in the Chamber). In the 2008 parliamentary elections, out of 7717 candidates competing for a seat for the Chamber of Deputies, 917 were women (10.8%); while at the Senate there were 98 women out of 895 candidates (10.9%). In 2011, there were 11.38% women in the Chamber of Deputies and 5.84% in the Senate.

Table 2: Women in Parliamentary Elections

2004				2008			
Chamber of Deputies (9997 candidates)		Senate (3681 candidates)		Chamber of Deputies (7717 candidates)		Senate (895 candidates)	
candidates	MPs	candidates	MPs	candidates	MPs	candidates	MPs
27%	11%	26%	8%	11.8%	11.38%	10.9%	5.84%

In summary, some legislative provisions implemented across the years may be considered attempts to support women’s participation in politics. However, when the provisions vague and lack implementation sanctions, their effect is null. The role of political parties as gate-keepers ought not to be neglected.

4.3 MORE WOMEN IN POLITICS: FIGHTING FOR GENDER QUOTAS

Every now and then, the low number of women in the political landscape would be denounced as a problem by elected officials and attempts made to address the status-quo. MPs proposed amendments to the legislation or drafted new legislative proposals to enhance women’s political representation. If mandatory legislative quotas were rejected, voluntary party quotas were envisaged and implemented in an original manner.

4.3.1 Mandatory (Legislative) Gender Quotas

A number of attempts to introduce mandatory gender quotas have been made since 1997 (Mihai, 2011). While none of them was approved, the process for each of them reveals important lessons. In 1997 the Social Democratic Union (USD-PD), a left-wing electoral alliance formed in 1995 between The Democratic Party and The Social Democratic Romanian Party, proposed an amendment to Law no 27/1996 on Political Parties to distribute 20 percent of the financial stimulus for political parties based on the parties’ support for mandates of women MPs. Ironically, the Commission on Human Rights, Religious Beliefs and Issues of National Minorities rejected the proposal, arguing that elections took place in a pluralist competitive system and no preferential conditioning could be allowed since it would foster positive discrimination, which would be against constitutional support for equal rights for citizens no matter their sex (Art. 4). Meritocracy based arguments were also raised during parliamentary debates and finally the proposal was rejected.

In 2003, The Democratic Party, a social democratic party at the time (it became a right wing popular party, The Democratic Liberal Party, in 2005), proposed an amendment to the Law no 68/1992 regulating the elections for the Chamber of Deputies and Senate, to include at least 30 percent quotas for women on party lists, not necessarily on winnable positions. Both the

ruling party and the proponent of the amendment shared a common ideology, social democracy, which generally supports positive measures for women. Nevertheless, it was not ideology, but the political competition between two parties (one holding power, the other in opposition) that guided the parliamentary debates on this amendment. Communist quotas were also mentioned during debates as a counter-argument. The new constitutional article on equal rights for women and men became one of the arguments supporting the amendment. In the end the amendment was rejected based on its incompatibility with the theme debated in the Chamber of Deputies at the time, i.e. establishing an Electoral Management Body, the Permanent National Authority.

The Democratic Union of Hungarians, which included groups with different ideological preferences, proposed an amendment to the Law regulating local elections in 2004 that would impose a zebra system of no more than 3 consecutive candidates of the same sex on party lists for local and county councils. The proposal was also supported by 27 NGOs with different expertise (human rights, women's rights, professional organizations, and youth organization); among them three of the most active NGOs on women's rights, Center Partnership for Equality, Center for Curricular Development and Gender Studies: FILIA, Equal Opportunities for Women (CPE, 2004). During debates, proposals were made to change the mandatory aspect into recommendation, and communist quotas were once again introduced as a counter-example. The amendment was rejected based on the argument that political parties should have the liberty of placing candidates on party lists on whatever position. All women senators who engaged in debates supported the measure, regardless the ideology or position of their party (Mihai, 2011). A similar proposal, also in 2004, for 30 percent quota of candidates for the Chamber of Deputies and Senate elections was rejected based on the same reasoning. Maintaining firm control over the nomination of candidates for elected office was considered central for political parties.

In 2010, the Democratic Liberal Party proposed mandatory quotas for political representation of women (for the context of this proposal, see discussion of UNDP activity below): 40 percent in political parties and political alliances, 50 percent in electoral alliances, and 20 percent in legally constituted organizations of citizens of national minorities. The proposal included provisions to tackle political parties' attempts to pre-empt legal requirements, including financial sanctions and requirements for asking electoral competitors to send the lists to National Council Combating Discrimination to verify whether they respect gender quotas. However, at the time when the law was sent to Parliament, the Council did not have such monitoring powers of the election process. Despite examples of good practices from different countries, no lobbying was made for the proposal and no networking efforts to mobilize support.

A review of MPs' efforts to advocate for positive measures or gender quotas reveals additional challenges and opportunities. First, it is a fact that the introduction of mandatory legislative quotas always faces opposition. Second, internal party quotas may have a higher degree of success because they diminish the perception of intrusion and seem to limit less the autonomy of the party. And third, even if NGOs do support initiatives enhancing women's participation, a more strategic and wide support is needed, with strong mobilization and advocacy campaigns. Networks to mobilize support are important tools; however, as we have seen, they may be neglected by MPs advocates of gender quotas despite international and national good practices. To a lesser degree, we may also notice some positive developments, even if such transformations do take a long time. For example, even if dismissed initially, approximately ten years later, the proposal on financial stimulus became article 14 in the Law no. 334/2006 on financial support for political parties and for the election campaigns.

4.3.2 Voluntary (Party) Gender Quotas

A more successful tool embraced by political parties seems to be voluntary gender quotas. Nevertheless, when analyzing whether the measures are transposed into elected seats, voluntary quotas seem weak in the absence of internal monitoring and sanctioning.

The Statute of the **Social Democratic Party (SDP)** included provisions on proportional representation of women in positions within the party and in all its political structures (Statute SDP, Art. 10f). Moreover, the Party supports quotas for women, youth, and elderly/pensioners in the decision making structures of the party: 30 percent women, 25 percent youth, and ten percent elderly and pensioners (Statute SDP, Art. 43, paragraph 3).⁶ The party also has a specific structure for women, The Organization of Social Democratic Women. Nevertheless, SDP does not provide the same support for women in Parliament: for the 2008 elections, it proposed 50 women (15.9%) candidates out of 315 for the Chamber of Deputies, and 9 (6.5%) out of 137 candidates for the Senate. Four women (8.16% from the overall number of SDP senators) were elected in the first chamber and 4 women in the second (8.15% from the overall number of SDP deputies) (Mihai, 2011). Moreover, the newly elected president of SDP does not favor quotas anymore.

⁶ Available online at <http://www.psd.ro/STATUTPSD.pdf>, accessed March 2013.

The Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) has included a provision guaranteeing a minimum 30 percent quota on women's representation in all its areas of activity (Statute DLP, art. 13).⁷ Youths are also supported, and DLP also has a women's organization. However, the percentage of women holding DLP MP seats is small. Moreover, only 16 percent women are members of the Permanent National Bureau after the 2011 elections and the Commission monitoring the implementation of the Statute had no position so far. For the 2008 elections, DLP proposed 38 women (12%) candidates out of 315 for the Chamber of Deputies, and 9 (6.5%) out of 137 candidates for the Senate. 3 women (5.9% from the overall number of DLP's senators) were elected in the first chamber and 3 women in the first (8.15% from the overall number of DLP's deputies) (Mihai, 2011).

4.4. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR MORE WOMEN IN POLITICS: UNDP

International institutions have an important role in advancing democracy and Romania is a good example of how legislation came to include women's interests during the process of European integration. Moreover, national politicians do seem to react to international pressure. Therefore, international documents ratified by Romania should be advanced more in support of positive measures. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is such a juridical instrument, ratified by Romania in 1981; gender quotas fall under the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 1: "Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved." Romania last reported on the implementation of CEDAW in 2003. The document emphasizes that "central and local public activities will adopt stimulating measures related to the fair and balanced representation of men and women within the decision-making authorities of the social partners, with observance of the competence criteria" (ODS, 2003, p. 12). Nevertheless no such provisions have been enforced so far.

During the last 20 years, consistent support was offered by international organizations and institutions for research on women and politics or when tackling women's political underrepresentation. In this context, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has played an important role, through a number of projects outlined below. The UNDP Strategy on Gender Equality 2008-2011 advocates for support for women in regards to descriptive and substantive representation: "Inclusive democracy implies the participation of all social actors, including women, in public policy dialogue and decision making. Moreover it requires the active participation of women as decision-makers in all branches of state" (Art. 63). The 2010 proposal on quotas for women's representation cannot be separated from a number of UNDP initiatives, informed by its strategic direction, that helped shaped a specific context.

1. Project on Balanced Political Empowerment and Participation. During 2003-2004 UNDP and the Governments of Canada, Switzerland, and Israel supported the implementation of *An Integrated Approach to Gender Balanced Political Empowerment and Participation* project in Romania, whose outputs included:

- Report on the capacity of central and local public administration to mainstream gender in public policies
- Practical guide on how to mainstream equal opportunities in public policies in Romania
- Handbook for politicians on political feminism.

2. Technical Roundtable. In 2010, UNDP reviewed the national target MDG3 and organized a Technical Roundtable, in partnership with the National Agency for Equal Opportunities, with the objective of establishing the national MDG target and indicators on women representation in Parliament and a roadmap of how to achieve it. Representatives of NGOs, academia, UN, and Government were brought together to create a Working Group on Women in Politics. At the end of the meeting, the following target, indicator, instrument and strategy were designed:

Target	MDG Goal 3, Target 3.3: Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments.
Indicator	By 2015, 30% of Parliamentary seats should be held by women.
Instrument	Introducing gender quotas for candidates for Parliamentary elections
Strategy	Amending Law no 35/2008 of Uninominal Vote, Ch. V - Candidature, Art. 29 to include provisions on:

⁷ <http://www.pdl.org.ro/Date/statut.pdf>

- 40% women candidates on winnable positions,
- financial sanctions for political parties bending the legislative provision,
- rejection of lists, and
- monitoring mechanism.

3. Political Roundtable. Three months later, in September 2010, UNDP organized a Political Roundtable with politicians, gender experts, and representatives of various public institutions. A Letter of Support was signed by the participants in favor of MDG3 and the women politicians present at the meeting agreed it was time for solidarity and concrete action no matter one's political party affiliation. Two months later, Sulfina Barbu from the Democratic Liberal Party came up with an independent proposal different from the intervention Strategy (see section above). International institutions and organizations may play a key role in advancing women's political rights and UNDP has been such an actor. However, for a successful campaign, such activities need to be combined with strong networking and broad support from civil society. No such strategy was deployed by the last MP proposing quotas, which significantly reduced its impact.

5. FINDINGS

This section draws on desk research and field interviews and meetings with representatives of academia, NGOs, institutions with a key role in electoral management, gender quotas proponents, and members of women's sections of political parties (see Appendix 1 for key respondents). The developments and context outlined below shape the overall environment of women's political participation in Romania. The final and last section will correlate these findings with the analysis above on quota system or positive measures in Romania and developments of political participation, in order to identify potential solutions to change for the current situation.

5.1. THE EFFECT OF THE ELECTORAL REFORM PROCESS

The gendered nature of elections

Even if cultural transformations are more difficult to address, and sometimes technical interventions, such as change of electoral system, may have a faster impact on women's participation, two aspects were mentioned during interviews as important features that shape the context of political participation: the gendered nature of elections as shaped by language and gender roles. These features can be counteracted with measures for proper language management and more focus on young women. As one respondent said,

"In a patriarchal country, politics is considered more masculine because media presents it as such, and various politicians make meaningful remarks: 'he did not have enough blood in his veins'. Politics is associated with exercising power, and women are not perceived as agents that can exercise power and make decisions."

Women's political participation was correlated with gender roles that hamper their activity. Data on participation in NGOs do emphasize that women are more actively engaged in comparison with men and civil society is a feminized sector. Even if gender roles are a structural problem, they do impact the political participation of women on a larger scale.

"Women participate more than men when young, however their activity is later on blocked by the prevailing cultural model."

Political participation and electoral system

The respondents had different opinions on the outcomes of the change of the electoral system from a PR to a mixed one. There was no consensus among them on the perception of political participation and the effect of the uninominal system, on whether political participation is seen as worthy or unworthy of respect and appreciation. Some believed the situation worsened because many citizens had hoped the new electoral system would improve the quality of the politicians; others emphasized the negative connotation attached to political participation ever since.

Financial resources

The impact of financial resources in shaping participation seems to have increased with the 2008 electoral change. In

uninominal constituencies the candidates must be economically competitive to be able to support their own campaigns. Worldwide women earn less than men, and Romania is no exception. Women have neither the personal financial resources, nor the financial networks to allow them to compete in expensive electoral politics (Ballington, 2003). So far, available data show that insufficient resources do seem to stand out as a primary cause for a smaller pool of women candidates. Overall, more money needed for electoral campaign means little chances of success for women to become candidates. The 'early money stage' that is the initial financing a candidate needs in order to launch a campaign seems to foster less gender equality in politics, as a respondent explained:

"Hiring staff, preparing materials for the electoral campaign, distributing leaflets, visiting constituency to gain exposure, gasoline to go and meet people, all need money. Not matter your gender responsiveness, you can't go on empty pockets and engage in an electoral campaign."

Some respondents identified remarked on the impact of strengthening the links between politics and business, both on parties and on representation of gender interests:

"After 2008, businessmen replaced politicians, and parties have no control over them since they do not have any party discipline as they have not been real members, just supporters of parties."

Even if women have enough money to candidate, they would rather "support the interests of private sectors and not gender or women's interests." Moreover, the scarcity of resources seems to diminish participation in its basic forms across the board. One respondent emphasized the lack of gender equality in contemporary democracies, which is consistent with existing literature which states that "modern political systems often do not afford equal opportunity for all citizens to participate and share in the decision-making process" (Ballington, 2003, p. 157).

"Fighting for survival is not compatible with political participation. If one wants to meet his/hers representative, one has to take the bus. However, s/he thinks twice when choosing between buying a ticket to go and meet the MP or taking the child to school."

Financial resources seem to be more important than before, and since men are better positioned economically, we may expect a smaller pool of women candidates.

Recruiting and locating candidates

In terms of recruiting candidates, one respondent argued that more women should participate in NGOs and trade unions and become visible and powerful leaders, because both NGOs and trade unions have been important recruiting pools for women candidates.

"Women's participation should raise in domains open for women, such as NGOs and trade unions. (...) Most of the women in politics have come from public administration and private sectors. While the latter are not interested in representing women, the former are indeed more open. However, their position inside the party is not that powerful to be able to pursue a gender friendly agenda."

Moreover, it is highly important for women to hold decision-making positions in other domains more open to them, which would contribute to a friendlier environment for gender equality: "a gap will be opened in case of gender quotas in politics in the absence of poor presence of women in other areas." A respondent emphasized the need for more women in decision making position in various fields of activity, arguing that their presence may be perceived as good practice and reduce the tension associated with promoting women in politics through the means of quotas.

Eligibility criteria

The electoral system can be correlated with data that urge political parties to recruit, and later support a candidate. The uninominal system is more candidate-centered, more compatible with famous individuals and personalities and less with technocrats. Political eligibility equals media representation since parties try to come out with candidates the voters are familiar with. The more media friendly the politician is, the more chances of success s/he has. Nevertheless, media is far from ensuring balanced representation of women and men. Various studies have pointed out that a woman politician does not have the same opportunities to be present in the media as men (Bulai and Stănciugelu, 2004; Grünberg, 2005). Moreover, women worldwide are portrayed differently in comparison with men and this difference does not seem to favor them no matter how knowledgeable they may be.

Party lists in PR-based system were considered by some as more suited for good governance because they allowed political parties to deploy specific political strategies for women, and on various types of policies.

"Party lists support better trained candidates; on top positions one could place personages, and afterwards people to govern with. Now, political parties choose notorious personages. The eligibility criteria are very different from good governance criteria, so uninominal system is detrimental to representation."

Women as potential electoral risk

If political parties have already considered women in PR-system as potential risky candidates, the present uninominal that is more candidate-centered system has increased the perception of women as potential electoral risk even more. Parties are deterred from supporting women due to the polarization of politics:

“Few mandates distinguish one party from the other at the end of elections, so parties will not risk supporting women candidates even if they may be open to women’s representation”.

Though going back to the previous system of proportional representation were considered, currently, the party holding power in 2011 argued for a pure uninominal system, with no proportionality included, in order to maximize its opportunities to win elections in 2012. Literature provides enough data on the effects of electoral systems on women in politics; electoral system arrangements are among the most influential factors that determine the success of improving women’s access to parliament. The current mixed system seems to be potentially less conducive to women’s political representation than PR; however, majority systems are the least suited to securing the election of women. If discussions for amending the Electoral Law by providing for a majority system materialize, this may also impact negatively on women’s political representation. When it comes to electoral system, the current political environment is rather tense.

The simulations before the 2008 system change showed women were not successful candidates. However, there was a general pressure for structural transformation in order to improve the quality and responsiveness of elected officials. The perceived electoral risk may be diminished by advocating “communicative distrust” (Mansbridge, 2001). For example, based on her activity as a former MP and active member of women’s section of a political party, one respondent emphasized that women voters are more likely to contact their representative if the representative is a woman.

Women as party members, not party candidates

There is poor capacity of women’s sections within political parties to join forces for the introduction of legislated quota. During discussions, several respondents emphasized the important role women have within the party in recruiting new members, communicating the ideology and programme of the party, and doing executive work during electoral campaigns. Nevertheless, even if they are active party members, they rarely become party candidates. On the other hand, there were also mixed negative beliefs concerning women’s section activity; right wing politicians noted that the party’s women’s section only fosters wider segregation and their activities seem to be limited to ‘charity initiatives’ that usually do not go beyond party lines. While this is the opinion of only one political party representative, there is still much debate about the role and power of a women’s wing within political parties. A study conducted in 2004 focusing on women’s wings and their capacity to support the interests of members concluded that women’s wings are rather obedient to the politics of the party and less able to promote the interests of its members (Băluță, 2006).

Women joining forces is an important tool in representing women’s interests, and a positive example that was mentioned was a Club of Women MPs that used to function in the Romanian Parliament starting with 2003 as a neutral platform of dialogue. Legislation on violence against women, gender equality bodies, and various support documents for future legislative proposals were discussed by women MPs in this forum first, and the discussions materialized in concrete actions. Currently, solidarity between women MPs is generally low, as women are cautious not to conflict with their party. For example, in 2010, women voters and citizens supported by NGOs protested against unnecessary austerity measures affecting parental leave. Only one MP from within the opposition joined their protest. At that time, political parties’ women’s wing took no position, even if their members had been active supporters of those provisions about to be changed. Their cautiousness was not welcomed by NGOs.

5.2. DISCUSSION: CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES AND VOTERS

The important challenges for women candidates and voters can be identified by considering the familiar predictors for success when pursuing gender equality in politics. How should one tackle the under-representation of women when some key factors have not been clearly shaped? Such factors may be structural ones, for example electoral system (as discussed above) or political culture, or more context related: lack of publicly available data on registration rates of men and women, lack of gendered data of voter turnout rates, and lack of data on proportion of men and women voters. Other factors influencing women’s access to politics, as discussed above, are the electoral system and process, (electoral) gender quotas, measures taken by political parties, and the role of key actors such as international institutions and organizations, NGOs, and political party women’s wings.

First, the **electoral system** change raises serious questions about financial resources and their impact on recruiting and supporting women. When eligibility is correlated with fame, women have even lesser opportunities to change their status from party members to party candidates. Even if the mixed based system did not have a powerful impact on participation, it opened the door for some potential worrying trends. Moreover, the current political environment is rather tense and there are discussions for amending the Electoral Law by providing for a majority system. If this materializes, it may also impact negatively on women's political representation.

So far, various individual attempts to introduce **legislative quotas** have failed. Based on this experience, there is now greater sensitivity and enough awareness among supporters of active measures about the need to enhance women's political participation in regards to women's substantive interests. One should consider that adopting quotas for women does not equal a better representation of substantive interests. However, descriptive representation creates the environment to place such interests on the political agenda.

An important challenge that should not be neglected may be posed by a request for descriptive representation, namely the **mutual relationship between representatives and disadvantaged groups** excluded from political process. Women candidates and voters should mutually recognize each other. Studies have already emphasized "the paradox" of women candidates: they are situated at a crossroads, that of promoting the interests of the political party that selected them and of representing the interests of women voters (Băluță, 2006).

"Mutuality requires an interactive relationship between representatives and citizens. Mutual relationships require a historically disadvantaged group to recognize its descriptive representatives in a particular way as well as a descriptive representative to recognize that group in particular" (Dovi, 2010, p. 218).

Feminist movement contributed to such mutual recognition in 1960s in those countries where second wave-feminism⁸ could develop. In Romania, however, communism precluded further development of feminism. Miroiu (2007) argues that feminism is both an ideal and an ideology that supports women's autonomy, while communism has nothing in common with the autonomy of individuals, women or men: "all dictatorial regimes are 'messianic' *per se* and cannot tolerate other 'isms', irrespective of their names" (p. 199).

Political parties have a key role in promoting women's political participation as they are the gatekeepers, recruiting, selecting, and nominating candidates, regardless of the type of electoral systems. We have already seen that political parties dislike gender legislative quotas, or other mandatory positive measure to enhance women's representation. Political parties even avoid their own statutory party quotas. If one asks the question: where do political parties stand on quotas issue, the answer will be simple: political parties, no matter the ideology they profess, stand on the same side, that is on the other side of women's representation.

NGOs pursuing a women's rights agenda are not powerful enough to independently engage in a campaign for more women in politics. There is no critical mass of women, only individuals with no network of organizations or institutions backing them and asking for more women in politics. One such NGO, FILIA,⁹ addresses the issue of women's political participation, and together with the NGO Pro Democracy¹⁰ has proposed working towards an independent Parity Law with a gradual introduction of parity targets (2012 – 30 percent of the underrepresented sex; 2016 – 40 percent; 2020 – 50 percent). However, the 2012 aim was postponed in order to prepare a more coordinated strategy to address resistance. Since the Gender Equality Mechanism was dissolved for financial reasons (July 2010) and redesigned in a much smaller scope as a General Directorate under the Ministry of Labour, the EMB will probably play a more active role as a monitoring and sanctioning structure.

Gender politics permeate all aspects of the **electoral process**; however; their role in more technical/subtle contexts has been discussed less. It is difficult to take into account, for example, the role played by election observers when actually dealing with

⁸ Analyzing the intersection between feminism and communism, Miroiu (2007, p. 200) argues that "the former communism block was a different world, in which there was no place for second wave-feminism, for any of the movements related to the personal is political, to equal pay for equal work." The second wave feminism represents 'difference feminism' when "theorists and activists challenged the role of women within the private sphere and brought women's experiences to light, calling for a reconsideration of the personal as political" (Iancu, Băluță, Dragolea, and Florian, 2012, p. 199).

⁹ Established in 2000, FILIA: Centre of Curricular Development and Gender Studies has as main objective to promote an active policy on gender equality in Romanian society. FILIA supports: equal opportunities for women and men, gender mainstreaming in public policies, increasing women's participation in the public life, combating discrimination in the family, community and the workplace. FILIA is a founding member of Romanian Women's Lobby affiliated with European Women's Lobby and member of the Romanian Anti-discrimination Coalition. FILIA offers research, consultancy and training in the field of gender equality (www.centrulfilia.ro).

¹⁰ Established in 1990, Pro Democracy is an NGO whose mission is strengthening democracy both nationally and internationally through the means of civic participation. Key areas of intervention are: improving the relationship between voters and elected officials, correctness of the electoral process, transparency of public institutions and control exercised by civil society over them, and respect for human rights (www.apd.ro).

broader obstacles to women's participation in politics, such as socio-economic ones (feminization of poverty, multiple roles of women, and so on). Perhaps it is time to address these more directly, as well, in order to break the cycle of under-representation. Some of these issues may take shorter period of time than changing the electoral system back to PR and may be perceived as less obtrusive, thus generating less resistance as well.

Though not discussed thus far in this report, the role of **national minorities** in elections is an issue that needs to be addressed. A challenge for women Romani voters may be the family vote, especially in traditional communities where man's and woman's expressed preferences seem to be similar. Greater involvement of Romani women in politics is recommended (NDI, 2003).

International legislation is an example of good practice in addressing gender equality in politics (CEDAW, for example). Conventions ratified by Romania, as well as European provisions and recommendations may have a positive role to play. **International institutions and organizations** have already offered incentives and supported actions to enhance women's political participation.

Nevertheless, one key factor that appears to be lacking is a **public consensus** on the importance of women's representation. The context is not open for direct intervention in the absence of awareness and of demands that would support collective action towards women's enhanced participation. The experience of other countries has proven that the environment matters. Therefore, some key respondents actually expressed fears that Romania is **moving backwards** in regards to gender equality, based on recent institutional, legislative and discursive changes.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 PREDICTORS OF SUCCESS

Based on the preceding discussion, this section summarizes the predictors of success, namely the factors that are conducive to women's political participation and enhanced status and their current status in Romania.

Predictors of success	Status	Advantages	Barriers
electoral system	X	not 100% uninominal, proportionality included	mixed systems are less conducive to women's representation; political discussions to embrace majority system
(electoral) gender quotas	X		no quotas, reluctance to adopt them
party quotas		could be used to lobby political parties	difficulties in implementation, even if included in the parties' statutes
women's sections of political parties			too much conformity with the party line
positive gender equality environment	X		
gender equality institutions			legislative and institutional changes affecting gender equality were implemented starting with 2010, together with other austerity measures
supportive environment for gender equality in politics	X		no broader support for more women in politics, only individual voices and attempts
friendly political environment	X		poor language management that may deter women from participation

international institutions		national political actors have more consideration for international institutions	
international legislation		useful tools to address various types of opposition (e.g.: quotas or positive measures as discriminatory)	
women's NGOs		they are determined and committed	not too many, not very powerful
networks supporting more women in politics	X		
data on voters	X		no publicly available disaggregated data on voters turnout; difficult to engage in comparative approaches
data on candidates			data were collected by academics and NGOs on the basis of publicly available data on the websites of national and local institutions
socio economic obstacles			feminization of poverty, poor support for work-life balance, dual burden
civic education (education and training)		Permanent Electoral Authority has mandate on civic/voters education	more programmes should target participation in politics and voter turnout
media	X	potential to create informal network with women journalists to address women's representation and put it on the political agenda	underrepresentation and misrepresentation of women who engage in the political process; language and images laden with patriarchal gender values help perpetuate the status quo

6.2 LESSONS LEARNED

The following are the lessons identified so far based on past and present efforts to build gender equality in Romanian politics:

1. Gender equality is not an exotic western legislative importation; Romanian women have been organizing, advocating, and acting for women's rights to participation at least since the 19th century.
2. Power will not be generously shared by men on the basis of democratic incentives or citizenship urgencies; participation and legislation are necessary to place gender/women's interests on the political agenda.
3. Mandatory legislative quotas face opposition, and the backlash to positive measures has some connection with previous communist interventions; however, the hidden supplementary patriarchal reasons must also be brought to light and considered.
4. Party quotas may have a higher degree of success because they diminish the perception of intrusion and seem to limit less the autonomy of the party. However, voluntary party quotas are weak in the absence of internal monitoring and sanctioning.
5. The role of political parties as gate-keepers is crucial and ought not to be neglected. However, women's political participation should depend on laws/formal provisions and not on personal preferences of political or party leaders.
6. The electoral system has a tremendous impact on women's political participation. The currently uninominal more candidate-centered system has increased the perception of women as a potential electoral risk. In addition, financial resources seem to be more important than before, and since men are better positioned economically, we may expect a smaller pool of women candidates.
7. Networking is crucial, as individual isolated attempts to enhance women's political participation will fail. Networks to mobilize support are important tools; however, they may be currently neglected by MPs advocates of gender quotas despite international and national good practices.
8. Transformations and systemic change can take a lot of time and efforts towards changing the status quo should not be abandoned even when the potential for successful change seems very small.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made based on the lessons learned and the predictors for success identified above. Some of them may be implemented immediately and have immediate impact, while others would take time.

1. Gender segregated data should be collected and publicly made available on the websites of National Institute of Statistics and the Permanent Electoral Authority. Priority should be given to collecting data on women as:
 1. voters (residence, ethnicity)
 2. candidates in national and local elections
 3. elected officials in national and local elections (constituency characteristics)
2. Create a joint platform with common objectives (legislated quotas, implementation of the party voluntary quotas etc.). Unfortunately, currently the actors that usually support such measures have limited power or reject quotas due to meritocracy based reasons (Gender Equality Mechanism, women's sections of political parties, women's movement or civil society, women MPs joining forces irrespective of the party's ideology). Networking may be a decisive factor to push for common objectives. Pressure from outside (international actors) must be combined with mobilization from below (NGOs). Grassroots actions are necessary in order to change the broader environment on gender equality and women in politics.
3. Advocate and lobby on the basis of a clear and comprehensive strategy for gaining as much support from parliament as from members of political parties. This takes time and asks for capacity building. Women's NGOs have limited power and capacity to advocate strategically; moreover there is not a clear consensus whether other NGOs support legislated quotas.

Proposals to change women's number in politics often stimulate controversy. It is highly probable that legislated quotas and amendment of the Electoral Law will face rejection and broader reluctance. Engaging more actively with political parties to simulate responsiveness on women's descriptive and substantive representation should be considered, taking into account the current political environment and predictors of success. There are voices in Romanian society arguing for modernization of political parties, and increased responsiveness towards women's representation may be advocated as a means towards such change. A further advantage is that women in NGOs or academia have already established communication with some women members of political parties. Lobbying political parties should aim to:

1. establish/find out reliable data on women members. The pre-election year may be an opportunity because political parties must declare the number of members.
 2. nominate women within the structures of the parties. Statutory quotas are an important tool to push for more women in decision-making and an action plan should be developed so that provisions are implemented. Once in decision-making positions, the chances to be supported by the party as a candidate raise.
 3. require parties to nominate women candidates for elected offices.
4. Place the topic of women's under-representation on the public agenda by developing informal networks between women's NGOs pursuing gender equality in politics and women journalists to create a wider acceptance for more women in politics.
 5. Introduce legislated quotas through amending the Electoral Law or through the Parity Law. Predictors of success are rather poor in the current political context, considering current developments on the political scene (notoriousness criteria, moving backwards on gender equality). However, this tool should be considered and approached in a compatible manner with the political environment. There are better chances of success if it has been predated by networking and prior engagement with political parties as part of a broader strategy. A more gender-neutral language to establish a maximum for both genders is advisable. The requirement may be that neither gender occupies more than 60 percent and no less than 40 percent of seats.
 6. Gender quotas should be designed in accordance with the electoral system, so that provisions can be introduced on the distribution of mandates. This may be a faster track than designing and supporting broader changes through the Parity Law.
 7. Provide public funding for political parties that support women candidates.
 8. Awareness raising campaigns on the relationship between democracy and women's participation, on voters turnout, on the role of political participation. Having civic/voter's education as mandate during national elections, The Electoral Management Body may have a more prominent role.
 9. Engage more with technical instruments on electoral design. Continue research on women's political participation and obstacles, but focus on electoral process and electoral management. UNDP may have an important role in attracting money through structural funds to support joint research on gender and elections.

10. NGOs should keep their doors wide open for women in order to stimulate broader participation of women.
11. Universities and NGOs should organize summer schools, conferences, and other educational events focused on gender equality in politics.
12. Empower women by addressing socio-cultural obstacles to participation, as well (feminization of poverty, work-life balance, dual burden).
13. Ethical codes of conduct for political parties may be advocated by NGOs. Provisions on language management should be considered.

6.4 CONCLUSION

When looking at the proportion of women in politics, we can state that something is wrong with a democratic system that allows women to be voters but not necessarily candidates or representatives. Women represent the majority of the electorate but only a small proportion of the elected officials. Multiple questions can be raised on justice, representation of women's interests, and whether the poor presence of women as elected officials can actually help to empower other women. As we have seen, gender transformations did occur, however much resistance is encountered in the political arena. What we know as a fact is that the political life is characterized by a slow motion of political actors towards gender equality. Attempts have been made to support women's participation in politics, without marked success so far.

Correlating the above lessons can open more roads towards increasing women's participation in politics. When embracing recommendations, however, one should be aware of the time needed to implement changes, as some remedies require more time than others. An important entry point is the act of acknowledgement. One should acknowledge that low participation and representation of women is a serious issue that impacts Romania's democratization process. On this path towards gender equality in politics, representatives of civil society should be carefully monitoring political actors who may have learned and are skilled at using the discourse of gender equality, but less so the practice.

A glimpse into the future tells us that the determinant role of political parties in increasing women's participation ought to be acknowledged. Future public discussions and debates on political participation and representation should focus on the role of political parties in shaping specific democratic differences. The debates should also emphasize the role of the electoral system in ensuring adequate representation of women. If change towards more gender equality in politics is needed, the joint efforts of all key actors are required.

Cover Photo: Parliament, Bucharest, Romania. From romanian-insider.com, accessed March 2013.

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ACRONYMS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CPE	Center for Partnership and Equality
DLP	Democratic Liberal Party
EMB	Electoral Management Body
GPECS	UNDP Global Programme for Electoral Cycle Support
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Unit
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MP	Member of Parliament
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
ODS	Official Documents System of the United Nations
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PEA	Permanent Electoral Authority
PR	Proportional Representation
PRM	Party of United Romania
PSD/SDP	Social Democratic Party
PUR	Romanian Humanist Party
UDMR/DUHR	The Democratic Union of Hungarians from Romania
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USD-PD	The Social Democratic Union

APPENDIX 1 – KEY RESPONDENTS

Respondent	Leading themes
Cristian Pîrvulescu President, Pro Democracy NGO	Democratic political representation Voters and civil education Political participation Electoral system The role of Electoral Management Body Gender quotas
Doina Dimitriu Member of Women's Organization of the Social Democratic Party, former member of the Commission on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, Chamber of Deputies	Political participation Electoral system Women's activity as party members, women's wings, beyond party affiliation Gender quotas Women candidates and women's voters interests
Gabriela Cretu Romanian Senate Representative in Brussels, former national MP and MP of PE	Political participation Women's activity as party members, women's wings Party support for women candidates Women candidates and women's voters interests
Miruna Munteanu Journalist	Political participation Women's wings in political parties Women politicians and media Women candidates and women's voters interests Gender quotas
Andreea Paul Vass Adviser of the Prime Minister, Cabinet of the Prime Minister; Member of Women's Organization of the Democratic Liberal Party; Lobbyist for women's representation	Political participation Women's activity as party members, women's wings Party support for women candidates Lobby for gender quotas Women candidates and women's voters interests
Mihaela Miroiu Professor, Head of Policies, Gender and Minorities MA, National School of Political Science and Public Administration	Democratic political representation Women candidates and women's voters interests Electoral system Voters and civil education Political participation The role of Electoral Management Body Gender quotas
Cristi Leahu Electoral Management Body	The role of Electoral Management Body Election administration Political participation Gender quotas

APPENDIX 2 – INTERVIEW THEMES AND SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

Democratic political representation

What is the role of “political representation”? How can political representation be democratized? What is the role played by gender in the democratization of political representation? What is the role played by women politicians? Can you provide some examples of women politicians trying to make representation more democratic? Can you provide some examples of women-citizens acting to make representation more democratic? How do women citizens perceive political representation?

Party politics and women’s political participation

Political Participation

Image/perception, women candidates and women voters

Do women participate in Romanian politics? To what degree, compared to men? Why? What is the image of political participation in Romania? How does this image of political participation affect women, both as candidates and voters? How and why has this precise image of political participation been constructed? Who are the main actors in this construction?

Is there a relationship between women candidates and women voters? How can the participation of women voters be supported? Why do people vote in Romania? And women? Do women face any challenges when participating as voters? What types of challenges? Please provide some examples? (*Recommendation: correlate with the image of political participation*)

Women candidates and women voters interests

Is there a relationship between women’s interests and women candidates? Does more women in politics equal better representation of women citizens? Name some national examples, please. Can you give me some examples of women candidates relating with women-citizens?

Please name some laws affecting positively women’s lives. How were they adopted?

Is there a relationship between women’s interests and women candidates?

Women Politicians and Media

What is the role of mass-media in relation to women politicians? What role can the media play? Can you give me some examples when media supported or didn’t support women politicians?

Women’s activity as party members

Why did you join a political party? (*Recommendation: find out motivation, such as ideology, political representation, women were not represented, wanted a “job,” etc.*) Has your motivation changed? What types of activity do women have within a political party?

Women’s wings

What is the role of women’s wings? Do you see women’s organization necessary within a political party and why?

Beyond party affiliation

I know you have tried to bring women MPs together beyond their party affiliation. Tell me more about this past project, its challenges and successes. Tell me about some examples of women MPs building coalitions.

Party Support for women candidates

As member of a political party, do you consider your party has generally supported you? Please give some examples.

Legal framework

Electoral system

The last national and local elections came with a different electoral system. Can you tell me some important consequences of the present electoral system, both for voters and candidates? Elaborate on their impact on women candidates and voters. Why was the change of the electoral system needed? Did it have the anticipated consequences? What kind of changes are debated today concerning the next year electoral processes? Will these changes impact women voters and candidates, and how? What kind of changes were brought by the multiplication of the election periods, keeping in mind that some analysis point out that we don’t have a representative democracy anymore, but an ‘electoralist’ one?

Gender Quotas

Gender quotas have faced wide criticism, why do you think that is? Does political ideology play a role in this criticism? Does the communist legacy play a role? What instruments can one use to fight this criticism?

Lobby for Gender Quotas

Did you have a strategy when starting lobbying for raising the percentage of women in politics? How did you build your strategy, did you follow some guidelines and whose (e.g. women's NGOs, bibliography on women in politics, etc.)? Who have been your opponents until now (e.g. women and men politicians, mass-media, public intellectuals, etc.)? What were their main lines of criticism? Who has most supported you (e.g. academia, women's NGOs, international organizations, etc.)? Have you tried to build a coalition of women from other political parties? What went well/bad? Have you tried to build a coalition to support a gender quotas?

Voters and Civil Education

Do voters in Romania have a civic education? What are the objectives of civic education? Does civic education construct citizenship? For women as well? What type of knowledge should the voter possess when exercising his/her right to vote? Who is responsible for delivering civic education (e.g. school, media, political parties, etc.)?

The Role of EMB

What is the mandate of the EMB? Can the EMB develop voter education campaigns and deliver gender-sensitive voter education messages?

Advancing Women's Participation

Do you believe there is a relationship between women's political participation and the roles of the EMB? Has the EMB been involved in activities supporting women's political participation? Provide some details, please. Has the Body developed policies on advancing women's electoral participation? What kind of policies? Have you noticed some effects of the policies? Why do people vote in Romania? And women? Do women face any challenges when participating as voters? What types of challenges? Please provide some examples?

Data Collection

Does the EMB collect sex-disaggregated data on aspects of the electoral process, including voter registration and voter turnout?

Election Administration

Do you monitor whether political parties support gender representation? Do you have any role in monitoring gender representation?

APPENDIX 3 – WOMEN ON PARTY LISTS IN 2004 NATIONAL ELECTIONS

Alianța D.A.: was a centre-right political alliance for 2004 local, national and presidential elections between National Liberal Party and Democratic Party

Uniunea Națională PSD+ PUR: was a political alliance for 2004 local, national and presidential elections between a centre left party, Social Democratic Party, and The Romanian Humanist Party that later (2005) became the Conservative Party.

PRM: The Party of United Romania was a parliamentary nationalist party until 2008 elections.

UDMR: The Democratic Union of Hungarians from Romania is a political organization representing the interests of ethnic Hungarians.

PARLIAMENT ¹¹	COUNTY	POLITICAL PARTY	OVERALL # OF CANDIDATES	WOMEN CANDIDATES
Senate	Bucharest	Alianța D.A.	15	2
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	15	5
Senate	Cluj	Alianța D.A.	6	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	6	1
Senate	Covasna	Alianța D.A.	4	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	4	2
Senate	Iasi	Alianța D.A.	7	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	7	2
Senate	Olt	Alianța D.A.	5	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	5	1
Senate	Vrancea	Alianța D.A.	4	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	4	1
Chamber of Deputies	Bucharest	Alianța D.A.	35	10
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	35	14
Chamber of Deputies	Cluj	Alianța D.A.	13	2
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	13	4
Chamber of Deputies	Covasna	Alianța D.A.	6	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	6	1
Chamber of Deputies	Iasi	Alianța D.A.	15	3
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	15	6
Chamber of Deputies	Olt	Alianța D.A.	9	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	9	1
Chamber of Deputies	Vrancea	Alianța D.A.	8	2
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	8	1

¹¹ Analysis conducted in 2005 by a group of PhD students from the National School of Political Science and Public Administration for Feminist Political Theories course.

PARLIAMENT	COUNTY	POLITICAL PARTY	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES	WOMEN CANDIDATES
Senate	Bucharest	Alianța DA	15	2
		PRM	15	5
		UDMR	2	0
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	15	5
Senate	Cluj	Alianța D.A.	6	1
		PRM	6	2
		UDMR	6	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	6	1
Senate	Covasna	Alianța D.A.	4	1
		PRM	4	2
		UDMR	4	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	4	2
Senate	Iasi	Alianța D.A.	7	1
		PRM	7	1
		UDMR	2	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	7	2
Senate	Olt	Alianța D.A.	5	1
		PRM	5	1
		UDMR	2	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	5	1
Senate	Vrancea	Alianța D.A.	4	1
		PRM	4	1
		UDMR	2	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	4	1
Chamber of Deputies	Bucharest	Alianța D.A.	35	10
		PRM	35	6
		UDMR	2	0
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	35	14
Chamber of Deputies	Cluj	Alianța D.A.	13	2
		PRM	13	3
		UDMR	13	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	13	4
Chamber of Deputies	Covasna	Alianța D.A.	6	1
		PRM	6	1
		UDMR	6	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	6	1
Chamber of Deputies	Iasi	Alianța D.A.	15	3
		PRM	15	5
		UDMR	4	1
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	15	6
Chamber of Deputies	Olt	Alianța D.A.	9	1
		PRM	9	2
		UDMR	9	2
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	9	1
Chamber of Deputies	Vrancea	Alianța D.A.	8	2
		PRM	8	0
		UDMR	8	5
		Uniunea PSD+PUR	8	1