**WOMEN'S DEMOCRACY NETWORK**

**GENDER ASSESSMENT**

**SheVotes Georgia**

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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## Guiding Questions

Do attitudes about women's political participation differ between rural and urban areas?

How do party officials feel about the proposed gender quota? How can it be implemented most effectively?

## Initial Findings

- There were no observed legislative and/or regulatory barriers preventing women from political participation as candidates or voters in the local elections.
- WDN found that there is a significant gap in perceptions of women's involvement in politics between rural and urban areas of the country.
- Political parties do not make outreach to women a regular focus of party activities.
- There is overall support for the proposed gender quota in all elected bodies at the national and local level, though some of this support is clearly grudging.
- The majority of interviewees claimed that women do not have the confidence to speak up for themselves because they think that their voices won't be heard.

## Voter Turnout and Election Results

- On Election Day (October 21, 2017), voter turnout was comprised of 49.8 percent men and 50.2 percent women.
- Only one out of 64 mayors elected is a woman.
- Only 13.46 percent of the 2,058 local council members who were elected to *sakrebulos* (local councils) are women. Just eight percent of the local council members who were elected through the majoritarian system are women.
- In the municipality council of Marneuli (approximately 45 kilometers south of Tbilisi) no women were elected through either the majoritarian system or through party lists.
- No women were elected through the majoritarian system in 20 out of 64 locations.
- Women are severely underrepresented in local government.

## Recommendations

- In order to better represent their communities and encourage inclusivity, political parties should partner with their respective women's wings/organizations to develop an outreach strategy that engages women voters, especially in rural communities.
- Political parties should work closely with their women's wings/organizations to mainstream women's voices and issues into the party platform.
- Political Parties should provide their respective women's wings with financial support that enables them to contribute to the work of the party.
- The Georgian government should implement temporary special measures to increase women's participation in politics.
- Civil society organizations should play an active role in fostering inclusivity by conducting trainings in rural areas of the country to enhance political awareness.
- Civil society organizations should engage with girls at a young age to teach them the importance of political involvement.

# BACKGROUND

Georgia gained independence from the Soviet Union 25 years ago and embarked on the path to democratization. However, elections have only recently been deemed to be "free and fair" by international observers, and challenges remain in ensuring the population is equally represented in the political process.

Under Georgian law, men and women have equal rights as voters and candidates; however, women's representation in politics remains incredibly low. In 2010, the parliament passed the Georgian Law on Gender Equality, which is meant to guarantee gender equality under the law and is applicable to the parliament. In 2016, amendments were made to the law to include municipal governments, and include a requirement for each municipality or city *sakrebulo[1]* to form a gender equality council charged with promoting gender equality and countering gender discrimination at the local level.



These councils were scheduled to be established shortly after the conclusion of the October 21, 2017 municipal elections. As of the time of publication, these councils were projected to become fully operational in January 2018. According to Article 13, Clause 1 of the Georgian Law on Gender Equality:

> "The municipal *sakrebulo* shall establish a Municipal Gender Equality Council to ensure systematic work on the gender-related issues within the municipality and the coordinated collaboration with the Gender Equality Council established by the Parliament of Georgia."[2]

The composition of the council, its functions, status, and authorities will be defined by the Rules of Procedure of the respective municipal council, or *sakrebulo*.

Despite some efforts to improve representation for women,[3] the number of female politicians in Georgia remains low. According to the International Parliamentary Union, women hold only 16 percent of seats in Georgia's parliament[4]. Prior to the October 21, 2017 municipal elections, *sakrebulos* included only 245 women (11.8 percent) out of 2,083 total seats.

In Georgia, a financial incentive was created in 2011 with the goal of increasing the number of women in elected positions. According to the Organic Law of Georgia on Political Unions of Citizens, for parliamentary and municipal elections, if a political party or electoral bloc includes 30 percent of every 10 spots on its proportional list as a different gender, and the party/bloc is able to cross the financial threshold (3 percent representation to qualify for state funding), they will receive 30 percent additional funding from the state budget.[5]  The law was applicable for the Parliamentary elections in 2012 and 2016, and the municipal elections in 2014 and 2017.

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[1] A *sakrebulo* is a representative council at the municipal level.
[2] Law of Georgia on Gender Equality. Article 13, Clause 1. *Legislative Herald of Georgia*. 201. Web. November 21, 2017.
[3] In 2011 organic law on citizens' political union was amended. The following (7[1]) sub article was added to the article 30 which stated that if political party/bloc will include 20 percent different gender in proportional list's every 10 slots, both for Parliamentary and Municipal Elections, this political party/bloc will receive 10 percent additional funding from the central budget. Later, law was again amended and percentages changed. Today it is 30percent additional funding for 30percent different gender in the same 10 slot.
[4] International Parliamentary Union. *Women in Politics: 2017, 2017*. https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2017-03/women-in-politics-2017
[5] Organic Law of Georgia on Political Unions of Citizens. Article 30, sub article 7[i]. *Legislative Herald of Georgia*. 1997. Web. July 26, 2017.

In all four cases, the financial incentive did not bring any significant increase to the representation of women in elected positions. With parties that do meet the minimum requirements to receive the financial incentive, the law does not go far enough to stipulate where on the list the women would need to be placed, leading them to be placed at the bottom of the lists (in the 8th, 9th, and 10th position). These parties may only receive 3 or 4 seats in a city council during local elections, so while there were a sufficient number of women on the list to receive the incentive, they were not elected thus did not increase women's representation in government.

While parties have verbally supported action on gender equality and many of the opposition parties have fulfilled the requirement, the financial incentive of additional state funding if three of every ten names on the party list are women has not inspired a significant increase in the number of women in elected positions. This is due in part to the fact that ruling party, Georgia Dream-Democratic Georgia holds 77 percent of the seats in the national parliament and 77.45 percent of the seats in local councils, but does not utilize the financial incentive. Without the buy-in of the largest party, this measure is unlikely to have any significant impact.

Prior to the October 2017 municipal elections, the Task Force on Women's Political Participation (a coalition of local and international organizations that advocate for gender equality and women's political participation) submitted a bill to the parliament that would set mandatory quotas for women in the national Parliament and local *sakrebulos*. The bill proposes a quota that would adhere to a "zipper" system, in which male and female candidates appear in an alternating manner on the party lists of candidates in parliamentary and municipal elections.

In September and October 2017, the parliamentary committees for legal issues, human rights issues and regional development unanimously endorsed the main principle of the bill, which garnered 37,000 signatures expressing support. The legislation will now go before the parliamentary bureau, which will decide whether to put it before a full parliamentary vote. It is estimated that
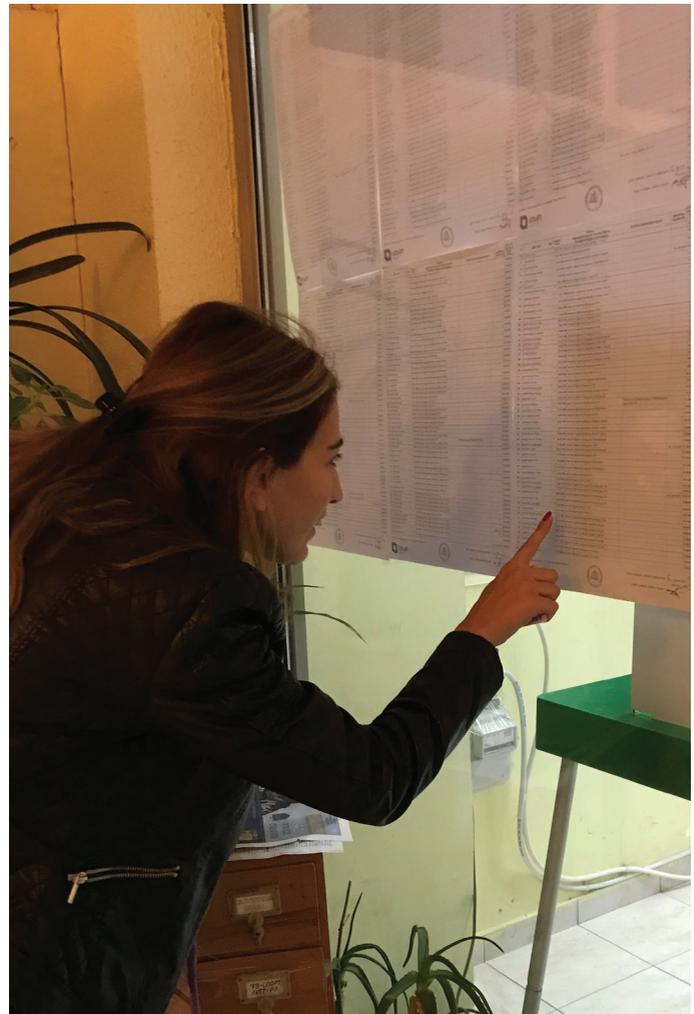
passage of this bill will result in no less than 38 female lawmakers elected to the next parliament, based on the current mixed system of party lists and majoritarian candidates.[6]

The Women's Democracy Network (WDN) believes that a full and robust democracy depends on the equal participation of women. Established by the International Republican Institute in 2006, WDN empowers women around the world to participate in the political process and help them gain the skills needed to take on greater leadership roles in government, political parties and civil society.

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[6] "MPs Discuss Mandatory Gender Quotas Bill." Civil Georgia. Retrieved from http://civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=30497 on 21 November, 2017.

To this end, WDN, in partnership with IRI Georgia, initiated the use of its "SheVotes" gender assessment toolkit for the October 21, 2017 municipal elections in Georgia and the mayoral runoff contests held in six cities on November 12th. No women participated in the runoffs. The "SheVotes" toolkit is intended to enhance women's political participation by providing a framework to identify barriers to entry as well as opportunities for engagement. The information gathered is instrumental in designing the interventions necessary to increase women's political participation and leadership. WDN will apply the results of the assessment to guide its own programming in the country.

Informed by desk research and the input of IRI experts, WDN considered two overarching questions to guide the assessment prior to deploying to Georgia:

**1. Do sentiments about women's political participation differ between rural and urban areas? If so, how?**

**2. How do party officials feel about the proposed gender quota? How can it most effectively be implemented?**

According to the United National Development Programme (UNDP) statistics, 54 percent of Georgian citizens are ready to see more women politicians.[7]  According to an IRI public opinion survey conducted between February 22 and March 8, 2017, more than half (52.7) percent of Georgians said that it "makes no difference" to them if the candidate is a man or a woman as long as they are equally qualified.[8] If the quota is approved by Parliament, it will be important to understand the opinions of lawmakers and party officials being tasked with the implementation of the law.

[7] UNDP Georgia. "Raising Women's Voices in the Parliament." United Nations Development Programme. July 19, 2017.http://www.ge.undp.org/content/georgia/en/home/ourperspective/ourperspectivearticles/2017/07/19/raising-women-s-voices-in-the-parliament.html
[8] Center for Insights in Survey Research. "Survey of Public Opinion in Georgia" International Republican Institute. February 22-March 8, 2017. http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/iri_poll_presentation_georgia_2017.03-general.pdf

> **"**
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> **Political parties, at least a majority of them, don't make an effort for women's political engagement. Even those who claim they do follow this trend because it's new in Georgia. In a dominantly masculine society such as ours, it is hard to support women's participation in politics."**
>
> - young woman from Samegrelo

# BARRIER ANALYSIS

## Governmental Barriers

The Women's Democracy Network observed no legislative and/or regulatory barriers preventing women from political participation as candidates or voters in the local elections.

According to the Constitution of Georgia, "Every citizen of Georgia who has attained the age of 18 shall have the right to participate in referenda or elections of state and self-government bodies. Free expression of the will of electors shall be guaranteed;"[9] and "Every citizen of Georgia shall have the right to hold any state position if he/she meets the requirements established by legislation."[10] Both articles underscore the fact that the Georgian Constitution gives equal rights to men and women to elect their governments or to run for office themselves.

There are no barriers within the Georgian Electoral Code that disproportionately affect women, such as an unduly burdensome nomination process. The only requirements are age-related: candidates running for President must be 35 years or older; mayoral candidates must be 25 or older; and parliamentary candidates and city council candidates must be 21 or older.[11] This is the same for men and women and does not create any special impediment for women candidates. There is no special requirement regarding the education or background for individuals in an elected position, so neither gender has a disproportionate advantage.

Over the course of Election Day, IRI and WDN witnessed almost no discriminatory practices against women or any form of preferential treatment to men or women. In 92 of 93 instances, IRI and WDN noted that they did not observe men and women voters, election officials, domestic observers, or party/candidate agents being treated differently during Election Day proceedings.

At one polling station in an Azeri majority region, it was observed that when new male voters came in from the neighborhood, they had their hands and IDs checked quickly before they were allowed to vote. In contrast, women who came in groups to vote had their hands checked carefully for indelible ink and had their IDs similarly scrutinized, and were given detailed instructions on where to go next and how to vote before they were allowed to enter the Precinct Election Commission (PEC). Men were also observed entering and leaving a back room being used by commissioners without having their identifications checked.

This can most likely be attributed to entrenched cultural norms in the region, and not as an active attempt to prevent women from voting. Rural regions of Georgia, especially those populated by ethnic minorities, are traditionally more patriarchal than their urban counterparts and are more likely to see women as serving solely in household roles.

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[9] Constitution of the Republic of Georgia, Chapter II, Article 28. *Parliament of Georgia*. Web. December 27, 2006.
[10] Constitution of the Republic of Georgia, Chapter II, Article 29. *Parliament of Georgia*. Web. December 27, 2006.
[11] Organic Law of Georgia. Election Code of Georgia. *Legislative Herald of Georgia*. 2015. Web. May 18, 2015.

# Societal Barriers

**The Women's Democracy Network found that there is a difference in the barriers faced by women in urban and rural regions of Georgia. The overwhelming response from interviews with citizens and political representatives is that women in urban regions have a definite advantage over women from rural areas.**

The main cause of this disparity is the greater access to opportunities and more freedom of movement in urban centers such as Tbilisi. Women in rural areas, in contrast, face the full constraints of a patriarchal society, where they are relegated to traditional roles of caring for the family and do not have the time or ability to participate in politics. Women from both rural and urban areas expressed this sentiment, indicating that this is a widely-known phenomenon.

A female member of the Tbilisi City Council from the Conservative Party (elected as a member of Georgia Dream) pointed out that women in rural areas did not have the time for political activity in light of the pressures of agricultural work and domestic expectations. She commented that husbands in these areas do not support women taking an active role outside the home or farm, and adhere to the traditional idea that politics is not a woman's job.

A party member from the Civil Platform - New Georgia echoed this sentiment: "In rural areas, women are busy with the daily routines of housework and don't have time for politics. Besides, a lack of education represents a bigger challenge for women in politics." Another woman from Tbilisi told interviewers that although women rarely express their concerns and make their voices heard, parties are more likely to pay attention to women from cities than rural regions because they have more visibility in urban societies.

As a result of these societal barriers, **political parties do not make recruitment of and outreach to women a regular focus of party activities.** While some political parties in Georgia have women's wings, or an affiliated women's organization, there is no institutionalized women's platform for the party as a whole. Approximately one third of the interviewees – comprised of women from both urban and rural areas, including some elected officials – suggested that women believe that parties only reach out to women during election cycles, and otherwise rely solely on women's organizations for outreach. If women's organizations are sidelined and not integrated into party platforms, women will continue to be marginalized.

Political parties have neglected to take concrete steps to improve women's representation both in the party structure itself and in government. As a young woman from Samegrelo told interviewers, "Political parties, at least a majority of them, don't make an effort for women's political engagement. Even those who claim they do follow this trend because it's new in Georgia. In a dominantly masculine society such as ours, it is hard to support women's participation in politics."

Both party officials and citizens complained that parties are all talk and no action on this issue. A mayoral candidate from the European Georgia Party in Ambrolauri said that even though her party has a women's wing that is focused on hiring female members, the party platform lacks an institutionalized mechanism to recruit female members.  The perception among five of the women interviewed is that although political parties express rhetorical commitment to gender equality, this is only done to appease the international community, and is not followed by meaningful action.

Interviewees expressed frustration with what they perceive to be societal barriers which impact women's private and public lives. The cultural environment of the country shapes the gender norms

regarding the roles and activities that are considered to be appropriate for women to take on in their communities and country. In this male-dominated society, the lack of female representation is not viewed as a pressing issue, or even as a problem. A female member of Georgia Dream, who was elected to the city council in Kobuleti through the proportional list, said that the most important barrier that women face is that "society and politicians expect women candidates to be perfect," and complained there is no equivalent requirement for male candidates.  One party member from the New Georgia Party pointed

out that family constraints were the single largest factor that hindered her participation in the party. She stated, "I had to make a significant effort to prove that I was strong enough to be involved in politics, and not just a housewife."

## Individual Barriers

The responses received during interviews provided unexpected insight into a common individual barrier, as **a majority of the respondents claimed that women do not have confidence to speak up for themselves because they think that their voices won't be heard.** A student from Tbilisi voiced her belief that even women think that it is better to have men in politics than women, because they do not see themselves as capable of making important decisions. As another interviewee put it, "Women welcome change but don't initiate it."

This lack of confidence and disinterest starts at a young age. As was pointed out by a female student from Tbilisi, "In villages, where it is not important for girls to be educated, families care only about boys' education since they are meant to be "masters" of the family. As a result, girls who grow up with this stigma are rarely interested in politics and will not actively take part in it."

The interviewees were resigned to the fact that political parties do not intend to follow through on their promises to change this status quo. Interviewees who held an elected office or a leadership position within their party could not cite any intervention by their parties to promote them to these leadership roles. Most achieved their position based on their own initiative. While it is admirable that these women were able to reach these positions, the barriers to entry clearly remain far too high for the majority of Georgian women.

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>
> - female student from Tbilisi

# RECOMMENDATIONS

## Political Parties

**Political parties should partner with their respective women's wings/ organizations to develop an outreach strategy that engages women voters, especially in rural communities.** Engagement with these women should occur throughout the year, not just at or during election season. This would demonstrate a sincere commitment by the parties to including women in the political process and listening to their needs, and would help break the stigma against participation in rural areas. The increase in political participation by these women would likely boost the representation of issues of importance to women in party platforms.

**Political parties should work closely with their women's wings/organizations to mainstream women's voices and issues into the party platform.** Based on the feedback from interviewees that women's issues are not an integral component of party platforms and that women do not feel their voices are being heard, parties need to demonstrate that they are serious about making a difference. This will put action behind their words. Mainstreaming women's issues at the central party level will ideally trickle down to parties at the regional level, providing needed support to women in less urban environments.  Party leadership should take steps to ensure that the views of women are take on board when deciding on issues of importance. Additionally, party leaders should amplify the voices of strong women leaders within the party and elevate women to decision-making positions. Mentoring young women in the party will help to ensure that this continues with the next generation of leaders. Sustained support for recruiting women to political parties is crucial to overcoming these barriers to entry.

**Political parties should provide their respective women's wings with financial support that enables them to contribute to the work of the party.** Political parties should allocate special funds for women's organizations/wings in order to give them space to work and have an impact. For parties that receive additional

funding from the state budget through the financial incentive mechanism, these funds should be used by the women's wing/organization to invest in developing a strong female presence in the party. Political parties should have an internal promotion mechanism that identifies and further develops qualified women candidates who can be put forward during elections.

## Central Government/Parliament

**The Georgian government should implement temporary special measures to increase women's participation in politics.** There is broad support for the gender quota bill that has currently been proposed in Parliament. The bill is still awaiting a vote by the full Parliament, but at a conference on 12 December, 2017, senior lawmakers from the three parties in Parliament voiced their support for its passage. The chairwoman of the Parliamentary committee on legal issues expressed her hope that the bill will be adopted as early as the spring of 2018.[12]

However, the majority of women interviewed do not want to just see the quota put into place without additional educational support and leadership training. WDN recommends that the quota should be put in place for a limited period of time in order to provide women the opportunity to demonstrate their effectiveness in office. If implemented correctly, this should give voters the opportunity to see the positive impact of women in elected positions, and will induce political parties recruit more women candidates without needing a quota.

## Civil Society

Civil society organizations are important partners in educating women of all ages about their rights and with providing women with opportunities to hone their political skills. These organizations are especially effective because they exist outside of party politics, and therefore cast a wider net in promoting participation and inclusion.

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[12] Civil Georgia. "Senior Lawmakers Voice Support to Mandatory Gender Quotas Bill." *Civil.ge*, December 12, 2017, http://civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=30723

**Civil society organizations can be instrumental in conducting trainings in rural areas of the country to raise awareness of political challenges.** As was evidenced by interviews conducted with both citizens and party members, there is a general consensus that rural women do not get involved in politics because of the patriarchal culture that forces them into the "caretaker" roll. A woman from the Tbilisi City Council pointed out that after the work of taking care of the family, children, and any agricultural duties, there is no more time left for social activeness. A female journalist originally from Samegrelo shared that women from there are just not interested in politics. They may participate in elections, but their participation is dependent upon family members and friends. Accordingly, civil society trainings should focus on educating the women in rural areas on their rights and the different ways in which they can become involved in political life. The Women's Democracy Network believes that civil society organizations can have a role in increasing women's political awareness and addressing societal barriers.

**Civil society organizations also have an important role to play in making the political culture more inclusive by engaging with girls at a young age about the importance of political involvement.** This engagement should occur in both rural and urban communities. By intervening with girls at a young age, young women will grow up believing that there is a place for them in politics. Empowering young girls help them to overcome the self-confidence barrier that many of the rural women interviewed expressed. WDN recommends that civil society organizations initiate a social media campaign highlighting women leaders that will show young girls what they can achieve. With only 16 percent of Parliament comprised of women, there are few role models for young girls to look up to. It is important to ensure that women in government are heard and use their position to empower the next generation of leaders.

# ANNEX I: METHODOLOGY

## Design and Tool Development

In order to provide scope and direction to this assessment effort, WDN worked closely with IRI-Georgia to develop guiding questions. These questions were formulated after a desk review of relevant project documents, including the branded SheVotes toolkit, and after discussions between IRI's gender experts and Georgia experts.

• **Guiding Question 1:** What are the cultural attitudes in Georgia that create problems for women to participate in politics? How are these attitudes different in urban and rural areas?

• **Guiding Question 2:** Why does party leadership have differing views on quotas from the general public and how can lobbying for quotas be more effective?

With these questions in place, WDN and IRI-Georgia began working with IRI's Office of Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning to develop data collection tools, protocols and sampling plans. OMEL worked with both WDN and IRI Georgia to include gender-specific questions in to the Election Day observation forms, which included opening, observation, and closing forms. The OMEL team also developed the interview protocols that were used for the in-person interviews with party officials, candidates, and citizens.

# Data Collection



The legal analysis of Georgia's Constitution, the Georgian "Election Code", and the Georgian Law on "Citizens' Political Union" took place from July 31 – August 4, 2017. IRI staff member Nino Dolidze conducted the legal analysis utilizing the guide developed in the SheVotes toolkit. The purpose of the legal analysis is to identify if there are legislative barriers to women's political participation that would spur the gender gap in political representation. It is also intended to identify any interventions, such as affirmative action seats or gender quotas, that seek to overcome these barriers. IRI reviewed the documents for legislation that is applicable to both candidates and voters.

IRI and WDN staff travelled to Tbilisi, Georgia from October 18-23, 2017 for elections that would take place on October 21, 2017. On October 19th, 10 teams were deployed to 10 different regions in the country for meetings and election day observation. Regions included: Batumi, Guria/Poti, Samegrelo, Imereti, Shida Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Kvemo Kartli, Tbilisi,

Mtskheta, and Kakheti. On October 20th, teams met with political parties and candidates in their respective regions to get a feel for the mood in the lead-up to election day.

IRI and WDN met with a total of 26 candidates from the ten regions. These 26 candidates represented five political parties (Georgia Dream, United National Movement, European Georgia, New Georgia, and Development Movement), with two candidates being on independent lists. Three out of the 26 candidates were women. On October 21st (Election Day), teams observed opening and closing procedures at ten selected PECs and conducted observations throughout the day.

From October 30 – November 13, 2017, the IRI team in Georgia conducted 23 interviews with 11 female political party and candidates, and 12 Georgian citizens (three men, nine women) utilizing the appropriate interview protocols. Interviewees were selected from both urban and rural areas

**Polling Stations Visited**

📍 Opening

✅ Throughout the day

🔒 Closing
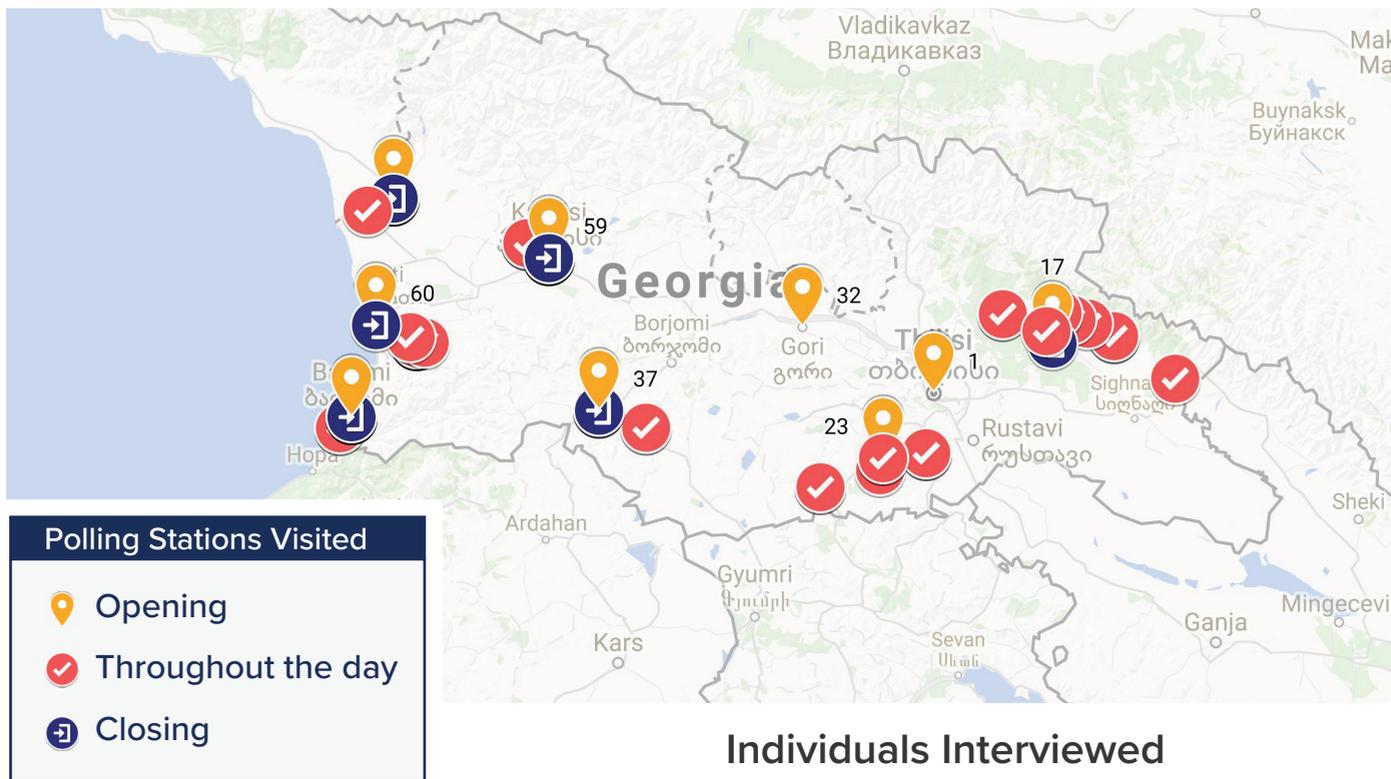
across a range of ages and occupations, but more women were targeted due to the focus of the assessment. As the assessment was covering specifically the municipal elections, the IRI team selected politicians who had been directing involved as candidates and had direct experience on barriers that women faced at this time. The politicians represent six different political parties, majoritarian candidates and candidates from proportional lists, and those who were successful and unsuccessful.

Interviews were conducted in Georgian and notes from the interviews were translated into English. This data was transmitted to WDN staff at the Washington, DC headquarters for preliminary analysis. Interview data was reviewed by WDN staff, who analyzed the data to identify societal, governmental or individual barriers. These data points were further grouped based on similar responses to demonstrate patterns and trends. WDN then reviewed the data to identify patterns and differences in responses from urban interviewees versus rural interviewees. The data was analyzed a third time in order to identify those who supported a gender quota and those who did not.

## Individuals Interviewed

### Citizens

Female, 32, resident of Tbilisi
Male, 34, resident of Tbilisi
Female, 26, resident of Martvili/Samegrelo
Female, 47, resident of Guria
Male, 31, resident of Tbilisi
Male, 26, resident of Tbilisi
Female, 24, resident of Batumi
Female, 25, resident of Tbilisi
Female, 66, resident of Shida Kartli
Female, 57, resident of Shida Kartli
Female, 35 resident of Rustavi
Female, 29, residency not identified

### Party Members

Female, Georgia Dream, Kobuleti
Female, New Georgia
Female, New Georgia
Female, European Georgia
Female, European Georgia, Member Ambrolauri
Female, European Georgia, Zugdidi
Female, European Georgia, Rustavi
Female, United National Movement, Ajara
Female, United National Movement, Kakheti
Female, Republican Party
Female, Conservative Party, Tbilisi

# ANNEX 2: DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

| Georgia 2016 Parliamentary Elections **Opening Form** | *Please complete this checklist for every polling station you visit. Immediately after departing the polling center, fill out an Oppening Form in KoBo Collect.* |
|---|---|
| Team #: _____<br><br>Town/Village:_____<br><br>District #:_____<br><br>PEC Number: _____<br><br>MAJORITARIAN #_____<br><br>How many voters registered at PEC:_____<br><br>Number of ballots received:_____ | **Please briefly describe polling station in a way that will jog your memory later** *(e.g., classroom with posters of animals):*<br>_____<br>_____<br>_____<br><br><br>**Time Arrived**_____<br><br>**Time Departed**_____ |

**Q1) How would you describe the environment outside the polling center?**
(Circle one)
    1.) Calm, no crowding      2.) Crowded/lively, but generally peaceful      3.) Tense
    4.) Violent               5.) Deserted                         6.) Other
**Please describe:**


Q2)  Did the PEC open at 7:00am?
    1) Yes
    2) No

If no, why? And when did it open?



Q3) Did the PEC have handicap accessible ramps, or other facilities for persons with disabilities to participate?

    1)  Yes
    2)  No


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**Q4)  Did you observe any agitation (including campaign materials, propaganda or party affiliated apparel) in the PEC?**
    1)  Yes
    2)  No

**If yes, please describe:**



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**Q5)  Were the roles of PEC members decided by casting lots?**
    1)  Yes
    2)  No

If yes, did anyone refuse the duties of the mobile ballot box?
    1)  Yes

2)  No

If yes, which party? _____

**Q6) Generally speaking, throughout the opening procedures, how would you describe the atmosphere inside the polling station?**
1.) Orderly
2.) Disorganized but calm
3.) Disorganized and chaotic
4.) Other

**Q7)  How many PEC Commissioners were present?**
1)  less than 7
2)  7- 9
3)  10
4)  11
5)  12
6)  13

**If no, please explain who is missing and describe the functions of the present electoral officers:**

**Q8)  What entity was the Chairman, Deputy Chair and Secretary from? Please circle all applicable**

1)  United National Movement
2)  Georgian Dream Democratic Georgia
3)  Commissioner appointed by DEC
4)  Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement
5)  Conservatives
6)  Industrialists
7)  Free Democrats
8)  Republicans

**Q9)  Did PEC Commissioners receive training or reference materials on Election Day procedures?**
1)  Yes
2)  No

**If Yes, please describe the type of training/materials received and indicate from who the training/materials were received.**

**Q10)  Were any unauthorized persons present?**
1.  Local Officials
2.  Candidates
3.  Police
4.  Party Officials
5.  Other

Q11) What time did the PEC open its doors to voters?    _____

**Q12) Approximately how many voters were waiting in line to vote when the PEC opened?**
(select one)
   1.) 0 - 10     2.) 11 - 25     3.) 26 - 50     4.) 51 - 75     5.) 76-100     6.) More than 100

**Q12a) Approximately what percent were women?**
   **1.) none   2.) less than one-third   3.) more than one-third, less than two-thirds   4.) more than two-thirds**

Q13) "Did you (you= the Election Day observer) observe men and women voters, election officials, domestic observers or party/candidate agents being treated differently during Election Day proceedings by any of the following groups:

               1.)  Election officials (commissioners)
               2.)  Domestic observers
               3.)  Party/candidate agents
               4.)  Other voters

Q13a) If yes, please describe who was being treated differently (woman voter, male election official, etc.) and how they were being treated differently.

Q14) Were there other international observers present?        If yes, which?

   1)  OSCE/ODIHR
   2)  NDI
   3)  USAID, UK & NL Embassies
   4)  Other

Q15) Were there other local observers present?        If yes, which?

   1)  GYLA
   2)  TI
   3)  ISFED
   4)  Other

b) Which party observers were present?

**Q16) Overall were procedures for opening the PEC followed? (see attached checklist for details)**
   1)  Yes
   2)  No

**If no, please describe.**

**Q17) Were any complaints been filed during the opening?**

   **1)  No**
   **2)  Yes**

**Q18) Did PEC receive all election-related materials from the DEC on time?**
   **1)  Yes**
   **2)  No**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Georgia 2016 Parliamentary Elections**<br><br>**Election Day Form** | *Please complete this checklist for every polling station you visit. Immediately after departing the polling center, fill out an E-day formin KoBo Collect* |
| Team #: _____<br><br>Town/Village:_____<br><br>District #:_____<br><br>PEC Number: _____<br><br>MAJORITARIAN #:_____<br><br>How many voters registered at PEC:_____<br><br>Number of people voted:_____ | **Please briefly describe polling station in a way that will jog your memory later** *(e.g., classroom with posters of animals):*<br>_____<br>_____<br>_____<br><br>**Time Arrived**_____<br><br>**Time Departed**_____ |

**Q1) How would you describe the environment outside the polling station?**

   1.) Calm, no crowding      2.) Crowded/lively, but generally peaceful       3.) Tense
   4.) Violent                5.) Deserted                                     6.) Other

**Please describe:**

**Q2) Was there a police presence outside the polling station?**
   **1) Yes**                **2) No**

**If yes, how many?**
   **1)  1 – 3**        **2) 4 – 5**        **3) 5 – 10**        **4) more than 10**

**Q3) How would you describe the environment inside the PEC?**
   1.) Calm, no crowding      2.) Crowded/lively, but generally peaceful       3.) Tense
   4.) Violent                5.) Deserted                                     6.) Other

**Q4)  Did you observe any agitation (including campaign materials, propaganda or party affiliated apparel) in the PEC?**
   **1)  Yes**
   **2)  No**

**If yes, please describe:**

| | Y | N |
|---|---|---|
| **Q5)  Were voters' thumbs or index fingers of the right hand of all voters marked with indelible ink?** | ☐ | ☐ |

**Q6) Do you feel the PEC Commissioners have good knowledge of their duties and responsibilities?**
   1)  Yes
   2)  No
**If no, please explain.**

**Q7) Did you observe any intimidation of voters or vote buying near the PEC?**
1) No
2) Yes, intimidation
3) Yes, vote buying
4) Other (please leave details in message at end of questionnaire)

**Q8) How many PEC Commissioners were present?**
1) Less than 7
2) 7 – 9
3) 10
4) 11
5) 12
6) 13

**If no, please explain who is missing and describe the functions of the present electoral officers:**

**Q9) What entity was the Chairman, Deputy Chair and Secretary from? Please circle all applicable.**
1) United National Movement
2) Georgian Dream Democratic Georgia
3) Commissioner appointed by DEC
4) Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement
5) European Georgia
6) Industrialists
7) Patriot Alliance
8) Christian Conservative Party

**Q10) Have any complaints been filed so far?**
1) Yes
2) No

**If yes, please describe and include who filed the complaint:**

**Q11) Were any unauthorized persons present?**
1) No
2) Local Officials
3) Candidates (unless voting themselves)
4) Police
5) Party Officials
6) Other

**Q12) How many requests for the mobile ballot box?**
1) 0 – 10
2) 11 – 20
3) 21 – 30
4) 31 – 40
5) 41 +

Q13) "Did you (you= the Election Day observer) observe men and women voters, election officials, domestic observers or party/candidate agents being treated differently during Election Day proceedings by any of the following groups:
1.) Election officials (commissioners)
2.) Domestic observers
3.) Party/candidate agents
4.) Other voters

Q13a) If yes, please describe who was being treated differently (woman voter, male election official, etc.) and how they were being treated differently.

**Q14) Did the PEC post the number of votes cast at 12:00pm and 5:00pm? (skip if before 12pm)**

Y N
☐ ☐

**Q15)** Were there other international observers present?        If yes, which?

1) OSCE/ODIHR
2) NDI
3) USAID, UK & Netherlands Embassies
4) Other

Q16) Were there other local observers present?        If yes, which?
1) GYLA
2) TI
3) ISFED
4) Other

**Q17) Which party/candidate representatives were present?**

_____

_____

_____

**Q18)  Did party representatives have IRI manuals?**
1) Yes
2) No

**Q19) Overall were procedures in the PEC being followed? (see checklist in deployment book for details)**
1) Yes
2) No

**If no, please describe at the end of the survey.**

**Q20) Did the PEC have handicap accessible ramps, or other facilities for persons with disabilities to participate?**

1) Yes
2) No

**Additional comments:**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Georgia 2016 Parliamentary Elections**<br><br>**Closing and Counting Form** | *Please complete this checklist for the closing procedures of one polling station and the counting procedures of one polling center. Immediately after departing the polling center, fill out a Closing form in KoBo Collect* |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Team #:** _____<br><br>**Town/Village:**_____<br><br>**District #:**_____<br><br>**PEC Number:** _____<br><br>**MAJORITARIAN #:**_____ | **Please briefly describe polling station in a way that will jog your memory later** *(e.g., classroom with posters of animals):*<br>_____<br><br>**How many voters registered at PEC:**_____<br><br>**Number of people voted:**_____<br><br>**Time Arrived**_____<br><br>**Time Departed**_____ |

Remember to TEXT AK or David once you are back at your hotel with the protocol results and to let us know you are finished for the night**

**Q1)  How would you describe the environment inside the polling center? [IVR Question 1] (Circle one)**
    1.) Calm, no crowding     2.) Crowded/lively, but generally peaceful     3.) Tense
    4.) Violent          5.) Deserted                6.) Other

**Please describe:**

**Q2)  At what time did electoral officers prevent voters from entering the line? [IVR Question 2] (Circle One)**
    1.)  Before 8:00 pm
    2.)  8:00 pm
    3.)   Between 8:00 pm and 8:30 pm
    4.)  After 8:30  pm

**Q3)  Were all voters in line by 8:00 pm allowed to vote?**       **If no, please describe:**

**Q4)  What time did closing procedures begin? _____**

| | Y | N |
|---|---|---|
| **Q5)  Did the PEC Secretary record the number of people queued to vote at 8pm?** | ☐ | ☐ |

**Q6) Were any party representative or observer ejected from the PEC throughout the day?**
    1)  Yes
    2)  No

**If yes, how many? _____**

**And who were they? _____**

**Q7)  Were lots cast for no less than 3 counting officers?**
    1)  Yes
    2)  No

| | Y | N |
|---|---|---|
| **Q8)  Did the PEC chair seal the main and mobile ballot boxes?** | ☐ | ☐ |

| | Y | N |
|---|---|---|
| **Q9)  Were unused ballots cut by the Secretary and included in a separate package and labeled with the PEC number and type of ballot paper?** | ☐ | ☐ |

| | Y | N |
|---|---|---|
| **Q10)  Did the PEC Chair check the integrity of the main and mobile ballot box seals in the presence of PEC members and observers?** | ☐ | ☐ |

**Q11)  Was the main or the mobile ballot box seal damaged?**
1)  Yes
2)  No

**Q12)  Was the mobile ballot box opened first followed by the main ballot box?**
1)  Yes
2)  No

| | Y | N |
|---|---|---|
| **Q13)  Following the opening, sorting and counting of the ballots, were the number of invalid ballots recorded in the in the log book and summary protocol?** | ☐ | ☐ |

**Q14)  Was the protocol signed by all PEC members?**
1)  Yes
2)  No

| | Y | N |
|---|---|---|
| **Q15) Did it include the PEC stamp and seal?** | ☐ | ☐ |

**Q16)  How did the PEC send the results to the CEC?**
1)  Cell phone
2)  Email
3)  Fax
4)  Other (please describe)

**Q17)  What time did counting officially end? _____**

**Q18) Were there other internationalobservers present?**            **If yes, which?**

1)  **OSCE/ODIHR**
2)  **NDI**
3)  **USAID, UK and /Netherlands Embassies**
4)  **Other**

**Q19) Were there other local observers present?**            **If yes, which?**

1)  **GYLA**
2)  **TI**
3)  **ISFED**
4)  **Other**

**b) Which party observers were present?**

**Q19) How many local observer organizations participated in the vote count?  _____**

**Please name_____**

Q20) "Did you (you= the Election Day observer) observe men and women voters, election officials, domestic observers or party/candidate agents being treated differently during Election Day proceedings by any of the following groups:

> 1.) Election officials (commissioners)
> 2.) Domestic observers
> 3.) Party/candidate agents
> 4.) Other voters

Q20a) If yes, please describe who was being treated differently (woman voter, male election official, etc.) and how they were being treated differently.

**Q21)** Did party agents or observers attempt to influence PEC decisions on procedure or counting? If yes, what, who, how?

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**Q22)  Were any queries or protests made during the counting?**          **If yes, please describe:**

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**\*\*\* REQUEST A COPY OF THE PROTOCOL, TAKE A PHOTO AND ATTACH HERE \*\*\***

**She Votes – Georgia**
**Interview Guides**

This draft interview guide is intended to address some of the key components of the gender assessment toolkit, as well as the following two questions:

1.  What are the cultural attitudes in Georgia that create problems for women to participate in politics? How are these attitudes different in urban and rural areas?
2.  Why does party leadership have differing views on quotas from the general public and how can lobbying for quotas be more effective?

Informed Consent:

Thank you for taking some time to talk to us.  We are a team that works for IRI in Tbilisi, Georgia and we are trying to learn more about the perception and opinions of women in politics.

Our conversation today will help IRI understand how to improve and modify programming in the future, based on what we learn from you and many others that we are talking with about this same topic. Therefore, there are no right or wrong responses – your honest opinion is all we need. Of course, you can also tell us if you don't know how to respond or don't wish to.

Eventually, our research will be summarized in a report that we will share publically on our website and with the National Endowment for Democracy, our funder. In this report, we would like to include a list of all the names and titles of people we spoke to during our research. However, anything you tell us will only be reported anonymously.  We are the only ones who will have access to the notes from this interview. Are you okay with us including your name in the report?

--Assuming they say yes, you may continue with the details.

**Interview Guide: Women Citizens**

1)  **It has been a busy election season here in COMMUNITY. Do you feel that women like you have a voice in that process?**
    a.  *Probe for more details based on the answer they provide.*
    b.  Do you consider yourself to be politically active? Why or why not?
    c.  Have you ever joined a political party or run for office? Please note that you don't need to tell me anything about your specific political beliefs or party affiliation.

    **2A) <u>If the interviewee is politically "inactive" based on Q1:</u> What would need to change to make you interested in participating in politics in your community?**

    d.  Do you feel like political parties care about the issues that women like you care about? Why?
    e.  Do you feel like political parties encourage women like you to join the party and run for office themselves? Why?
    f.  Are there differences between the way different parties address the needs of women like you?

**2B) If the interviewee is politically "active" based on Q1: What made you interested in participating in politics in your community?**

g. Do you feel like political parties care about the issues that women like you care about? Why?
h. Do you feel like political parties encourage women like you to join the party and run for office themselves? Why?
i. Are there differences between the way different parties address the needs of women like you?
j. If appropriate: You mentioned that you are a member of a political party / have run for office. Can you tell me more about that experience? *Probe for enablers and constraints based on the answer they provide.*

**3) Are you aware of the proposed gender quota system in Georgia ?**
a. If Yes: What is your opinion of the quota system?
b. We have heard from some people that party leaders feel differently than the general public about the value of this quota system. Why do you think that is?
c. If they have a negative opinion of the quota: What would need to change to make you feel that a quota is a good thing? *Probe for whether it is an issue of messaging, substance or both*
d. If they have a positive opinion of the quota: Does anything need to change about the quota system to make it more effective?

**4) What is the most important barrier to women's political participation in your community?**
a. COMMUNITY is URBAN. Do you think things are different for women who are interested politics in other parts of Georgia—like a rural area.  Why?
   **OR**
b. COMMUNITY is RURAL. Do you think things are different for women who are interested politics in other parts of Georgia—like an urban area.  Why?

c. Do you think politicians prioritize the issues that women like you care about differently in other parts of Georgia? Why?

**5) If you could give politicians and leaders in your community one piece of advice on how they can better represent the needs and interests of women like you, what would it be?**

**Interview Guide: Politicians/Party Leaders**

1) **How does your party address the needs of women in COMMUNITY?**
   a. *Probe for more details based on the answer they provide.*
   b. Have you ever done any outreach or research to learn about the policy issues women care about? *If yes, probe for topics covered and outreach process. If no, probe for why not.*
   c. Have you done any outreach to try to convince women to vote for the candidates of your party? *If yes, probe for topics covered and outreach process. If no, probe for why not.*
   d. Does the national branch of your party give you any specific guidance about outreach to women? *If yes, probe for what that guidance is. If no, ask why you think they haven't issued any guidance.*

2) **How does your party recruit women to join the party and run for office?**
   a. *Probe for more details based on the answer they provide.*
   b. Do you have a specific recruitment plan or strategy for women? *If yes, probe for strategy details. If no, probe for why not.*
   c. Are there any internal party quotas to include women on candidate lists, beyond what is required by law? *Probe for details.*
   d. Are there any women in leadership positions in your party? *Probe for details.*

3) **If the interviewee identifies as a woman: Can you tell me a little bit about your experiences as a woman in this party?**
   a. What have been the major enablers to your participation in the party?
   b. What have been the major constraints to your participation in the party?

6) **I am sure you are aware of the proposed gender quota system in Georgia? What is your opinion of that system?**
   a. We have heard from some people that party leaders feel differently than the general public about the value of this quota system. Why do you think that is?
   b. If they have a negative opinion of the quota: What would need to change to make you feel that a quota is a good thing? *Probe for whether it is an issue of messaging, substance or both.*
   c. If they have a positive opinion of the quota: Does anything need to change about the quota system to make it more effective? How should leaders in your community be describing the quota system to -get more people to see its value? *Probe based on different kinds of stakeholders who need to be convinced.*

7) **What is the most important barrier to women's political participation in your community?**
   a. COMMUNITY is RURAL/URBAN. Do you think things are different for women who are interested politics in other parts of Georgia? Why?
   b. Do you think politicians prioritize the issues that women like you care about differently in other parts of Georgia? Why?

WOMEN'S DEMOCRACY NETWORK
*Empowering Women to Lead*