

Local elections 2020 and gender quotas: pros, cons, pitfalls

The research was commissioned in 2020 by Viola von Cramon-Taubadel

The goal was to

1. analyze the impact of the gender quota
2. analyze compliance

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In July 2020, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine amended a **new election code** which was passed earlier in December of the same year.

- **The new ballot** on which voters can vote for both a party and for an individual candidate of the party.
- The new **open-list proportional system** for councils representing more than 10,000 voters.
- Increased **party control**, since a deputy now can be recalled by the party.
- Increased **participation of women**, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and economic migrants, and persons with disabilities.



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*For councils representing more than 10,000 voters: **40% gender quota** for local elections. At least two women must be included in each group of five candidates on any party list.*

How to get a seat?

5

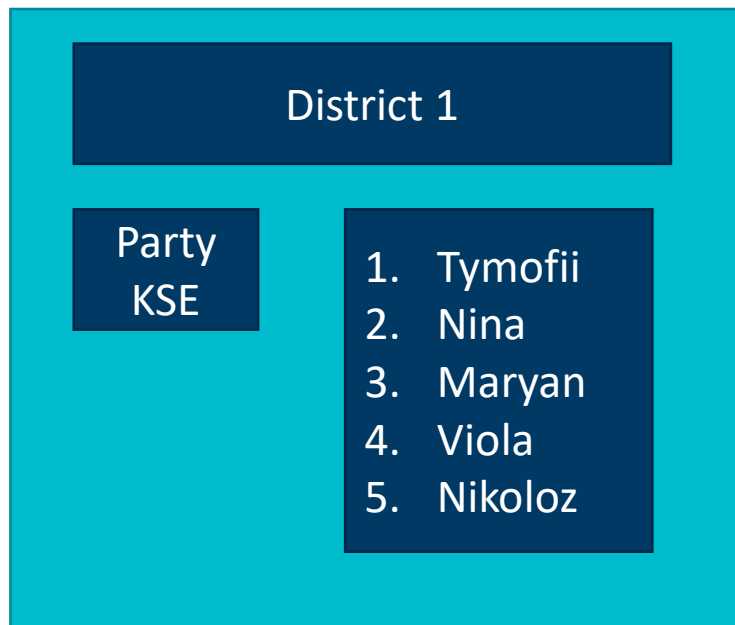
Council (city, rayon, oblast) have different sizes (or number of seats)

- For example, 120 seats in the Kyiv city council

Depending on the number of seats, territorial districts are created

- 13 in the Kyiv city council

A party must pass a threshold of 5% votes to get in (they receive 5% of seats, N=6 in Kyiv)...but how does the party decide **which person gets it?**



How to get a seat?

6

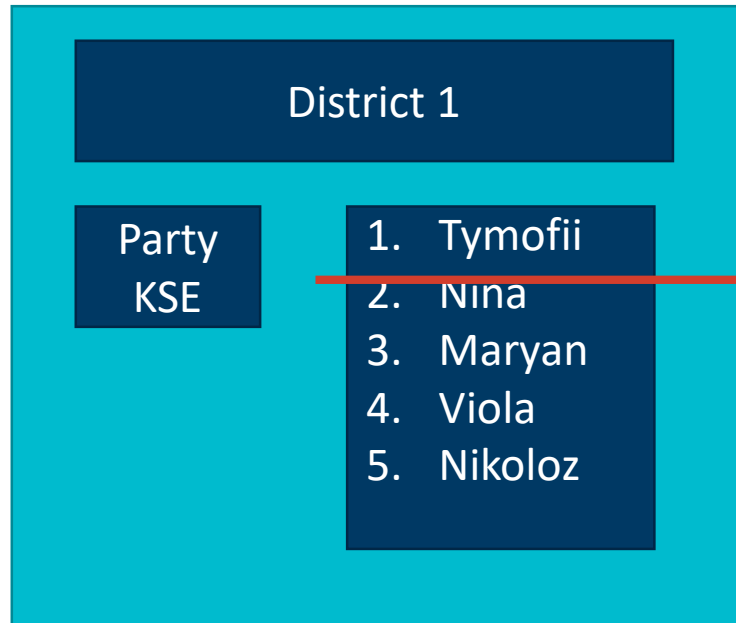
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District 1	
Party KSE	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Tymofii2. Nina3. Maryan4. Viola5. Nikoloz

“The first candidate” gets it by design, if a party has 5%

All others – depends on (1) electoral quota and (2) order in the list





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Electoral quota 25% by law

Kyiv city council – 120 seats and 500,000 voters

Suppose there are five winning parties:

1. 120 minus 5 first candidates = 115 vacant
2. $500,000/115 = 4,347$ (per seat)
3. $4347 * 0.25 = \mathbf{1,086}$



Electoral quota 25% by law

Kyiv city council – 120 seats and 500,000 voters

Five parties are winners

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Party gets 5% - the first candidate is in

Party gets 5% :

If I have more than the threshold – I am in

If 2 people have more than the threshold – then we check the order

If I get more than the quota and you don't – I move up the ladder



It's nice to be the first candidate

It's nice to be on top in the list

It's nice to get more votes

Key findings #1 – “first candidates” are skewed

Table 2.1. Distribution of the places in the territorial party list.

	% are men	% are women
First candidate	78.0	22.0
1 place	54.0	46.0
2 place	52.2	47.8
3 place	54.1	45.9
4 place	54.3	45.7
5 place	55.3	44.7
6 place	55.8	44.2
7 place	56.2	43.8
8 place	55.6	44.4
9 place	56.7	43.3
10 place	55.6	44.4
11 place	58.8	41.2
12 place	57.1	42.9
13 place	57.8	42.2
14 place	58.6	41.4

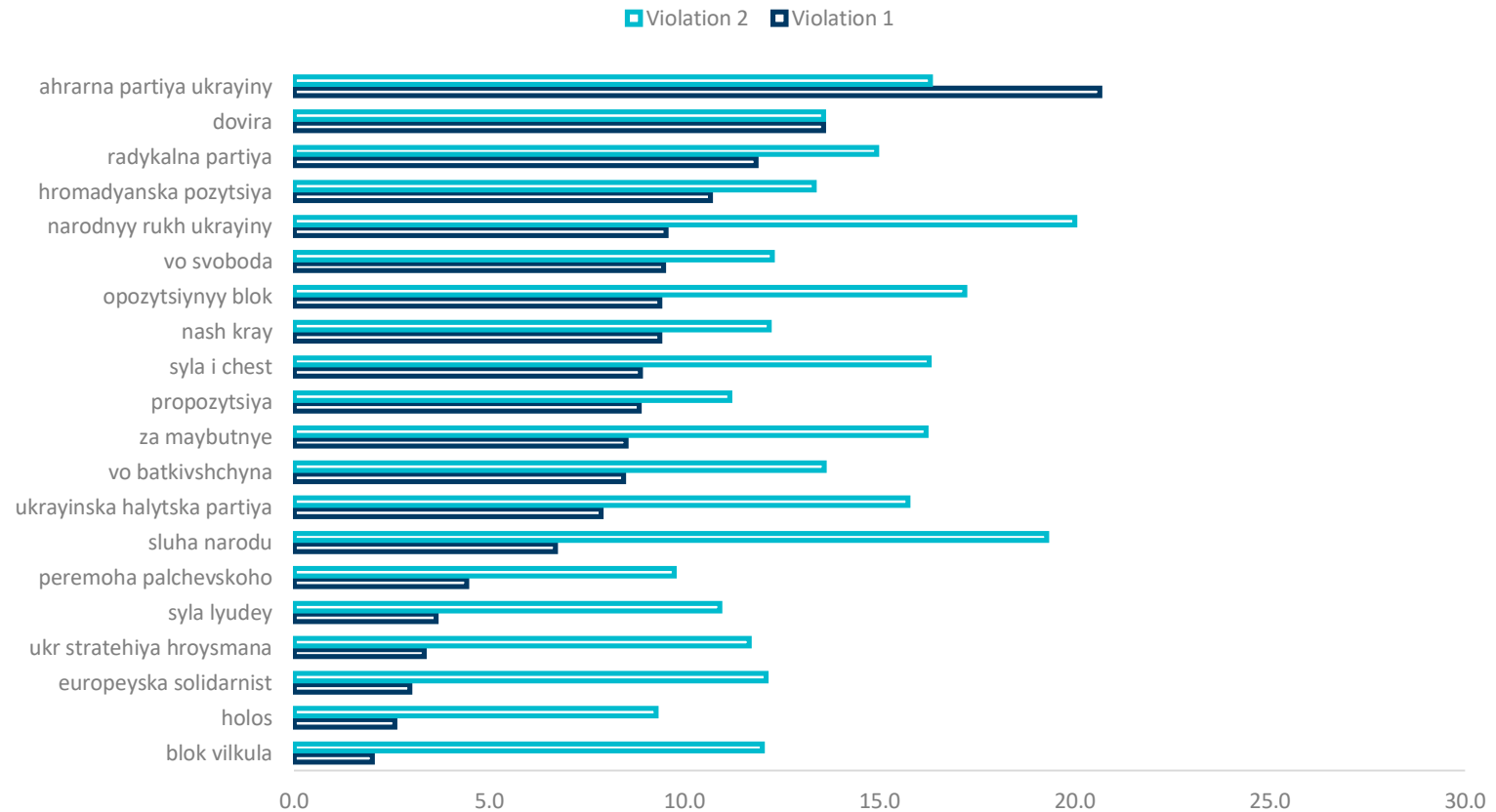
Table 2.2. Distribution of the places in the territorial party list (only “first candidates”)

	% are men	% are women
Oblast council	83.5	16.5
Oblast City Center council	78.5	21.5
City council	81.5	18.5
Rayon council	73.8	26.2
Town (selyshna) council	74.9	25.1
Village (silaska) council	83.4	16.6

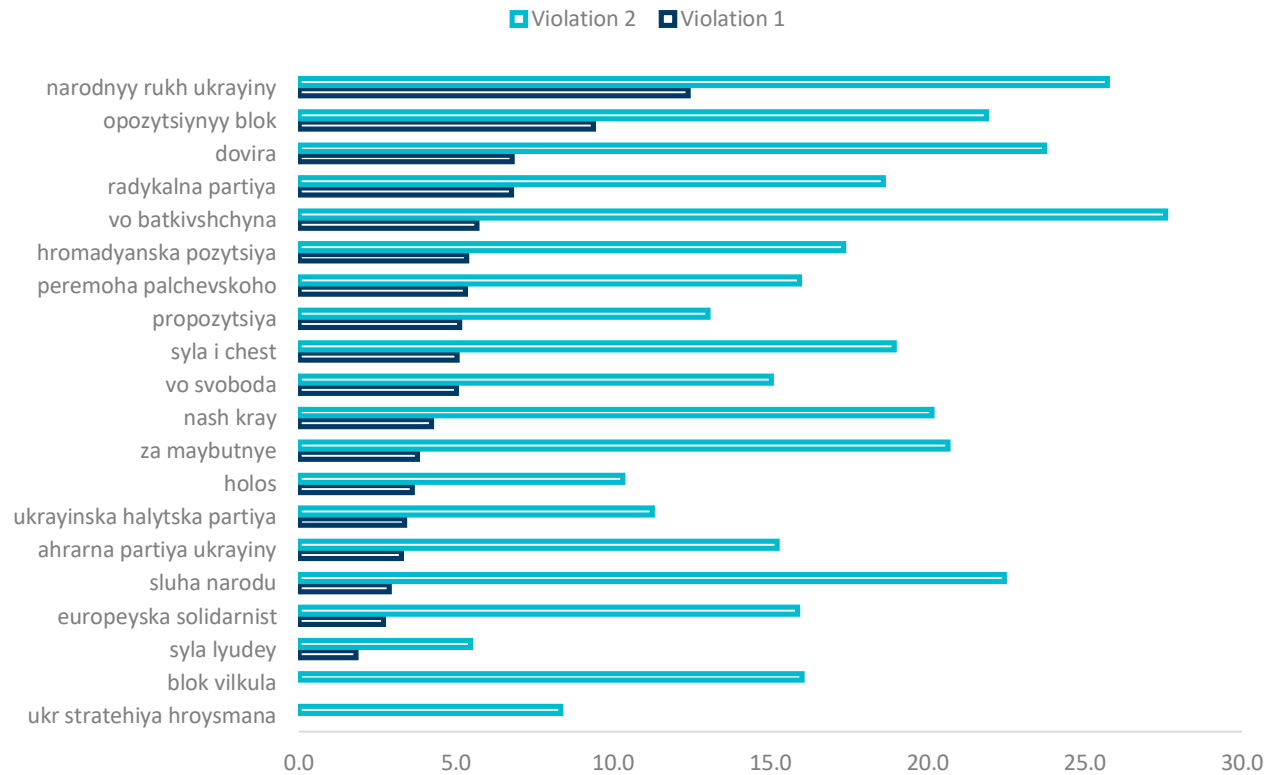
- **Violation 1.** The rule of 2 or 3 women in every five candidates is violated
- **Violation 2.** In case the number of candidates is not multiple of five, the order of “m-f-m-f” or “f-m-f-m” is violated.

Example

Figures 1 and 2 describe the ratio of violations to the number of councils where each party competed. For instance, “Holos” competed in 194 councils. We observe “violation 1” in 5 of councils (2,6%) and “violation 2” in 18 of councils (9,3%). At the same time “Ahrarna party” competed in 92 councils. We observe “violation 1” in 19 of them (20,7%) and “violation 2” in 15 of them (16,3%).

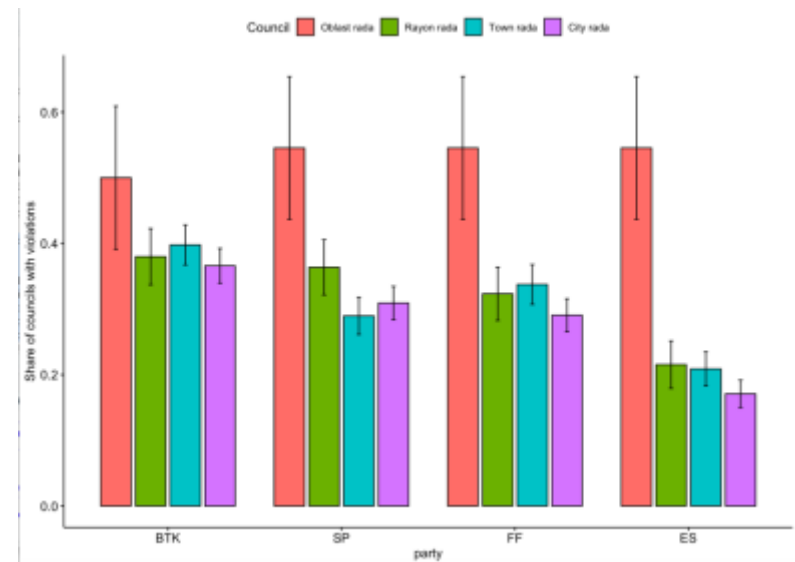
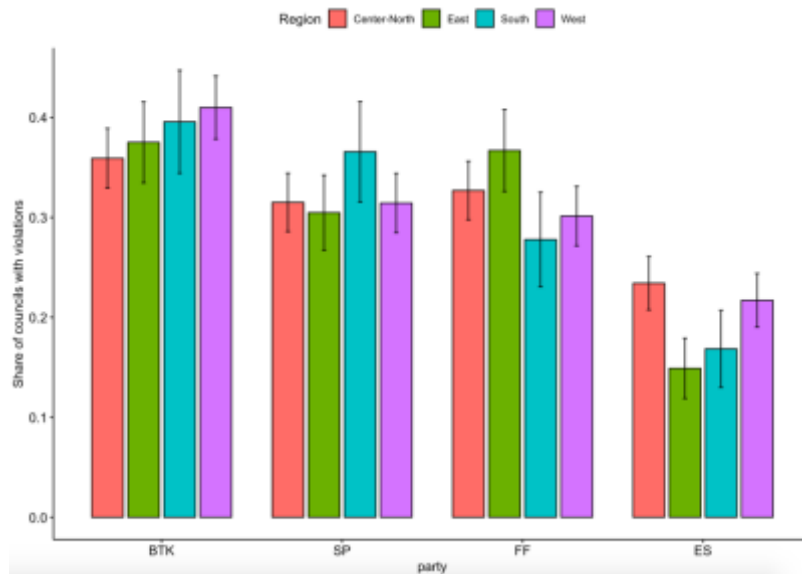


Top-20 largest parties. Single list. Violations relative to number of councils.



Top-20 largest parties. Territorial list. Violations relative to number of councils.

Shares of lists with any violation by largest parties relative to those councils where a respective party competed. Region and Council



On the one hand, the analysis shows the success of women in elections to regional councils. Compared to 2015, the share of women winners in regional councils has doubled from 14% to 28%.

Other studies show that in village and rural councils, on the other hand, the share of women fell from 46% and 55% to 37% and 41%, respectively.

- Half of all parties that competed in large councils (more than 10,000 voters) violated the first rule of gender quota (i.e., to have 2 or 3 women in every five candidates on the list).
- Two-thirds of all parties that competed in large councils (more than 10,000 voters) violated the second rule of gender quota (i.e., to have a strict order of males and females in the tails of their lists).
- 70% of all parties that competed in small councils (fewer than 10,000 voters) violated the rule of having no less than 30% of females in their list.