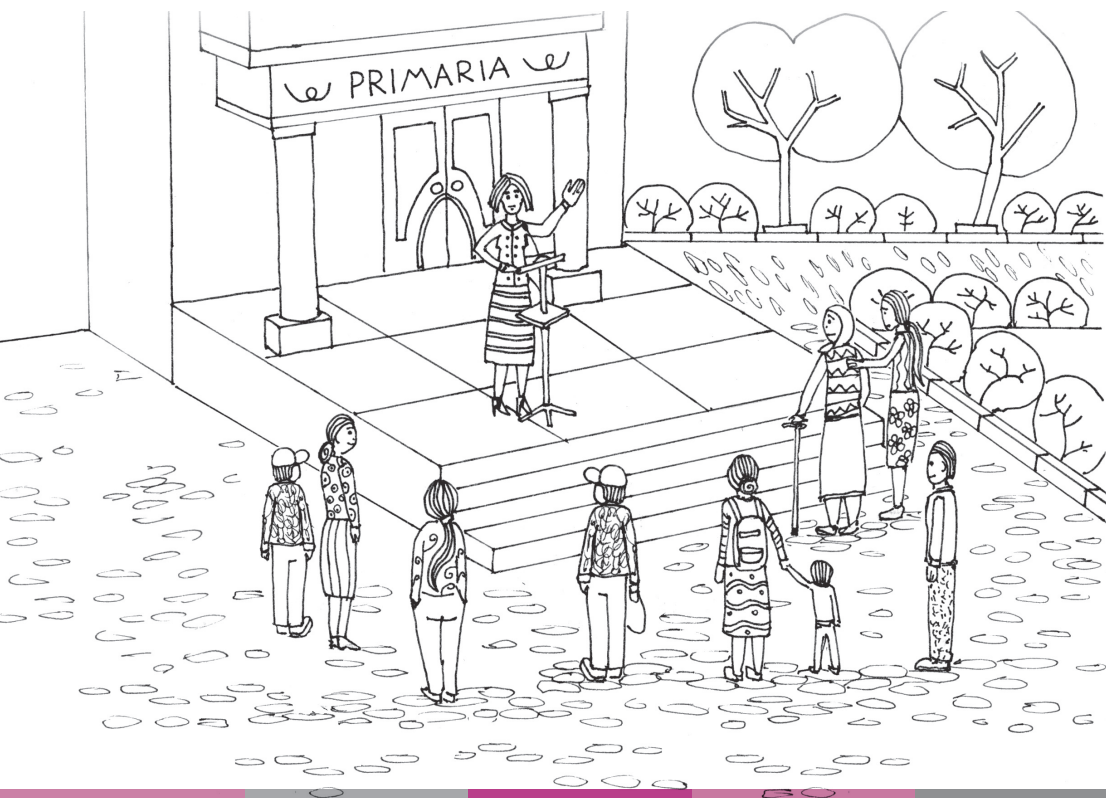
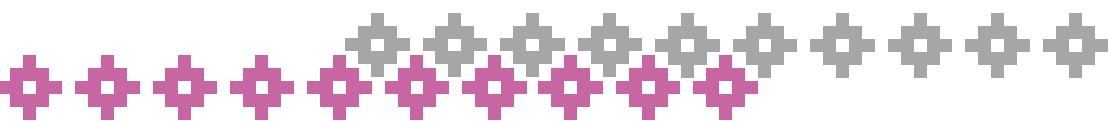
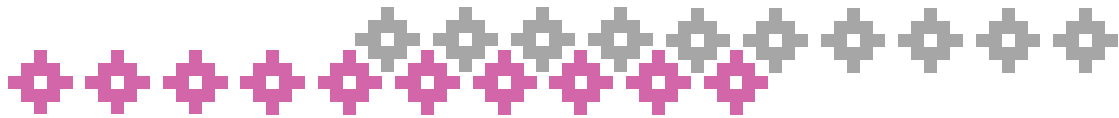


Profile of Women in Elected and Appointed Positions





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“Profile of Women in elected and appointed positions”, 2016

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This analytical note is part of a **series of profiles related to women and girls** that belong to certain underrepresented groups from Moldova, who are coming from disadvantaged socio-economic or geographical backgrounds (*migrant women, women from rural areas, Roma women and women who are victims of violence*), those with special health conditions (*women with disabilities, women living with HIV or elderly women*) or who are less present in certain sectors (*women in elected and appointed positions, women in decision-making positions and women involved in the economic and business sector*).

The purpose of these profiles is to inform the public, based on evidences, about the advantages, capabilities and potential of women's groups that have been analysed and the contribution they can make to the development, their interaction environments, the opportunities that they benefit from or are deprived of, as well as the limitations and obstacles they face. The profiles include a factual analysis of the described vulnerable group (by its subpopulations) and its comparison with the opposite group (invulnerable) of women (sometimes also with the corresponding group of men). Quantitative and qualitative data from various available official (official and administrative statistics) and independent sources (studies, surveys) were combined and used.

The document is intended for decision makers, policy makers, civil society and the general public and aims at increasing the understanding of data and exemplifying the use of the multi-dimensionally disaggregated statistical data with a view to identifying the intervention measures necessary to promote equality, inclusion and cohesion, non-discrimination and acceptance of the underrepresented groups of women.

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**“PROFILE OF WOMEN IN ELECTED AND APPOINTED POSITIONS”, author VIORICA TOARTA,
UNDP & UN WOMEN, 2016.**

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Abbreviations

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| NBS | - | National Bureau of Statistics |
| CEDAW | - | UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| PDC | - | “Partnership for Development” Centre |
| CORM | - | Classification of the Occupations of the Republic of Moldova |
| IWPE | - | Indicator of Women’s Political Empowerment |
| GGI | - | Gender Gap Indicator |
| DK/NR | - | Don’t Know or Non-Response |
| MDG | - | Millennium Development Goals |
| NPEGE | - | National Programme on Ensuring Gender Equality for 2010-2015 |
| MP | - | Member of Parliament |
| P.P. | - | Percentage Points |

Introduction

Since the ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), signing and committing to implement the Beijing Platform and the Millennium Development Goals, including the EU Association Agreement, the Republic of Moldova committed at a national and international level, along with other major issues, to ensure gender equality in all social and economic areas, including in public and political life. The implementation of the assumed commitments resulted not only in the adjustment of the existing legal and regulatory framework, but also in the development of the new framework based on the recommendations and international practices, which resulted in the Law on Gender Equality, the National Programme on Ensuring Gender Equality for 2010-2015 (NPEGE) and its Action Plans¹.

However, the Republic of Moldova continues to be a patriarchal society with “centrist-male” and distorted visions on the role of women and acceptance in decision-making and policy-making structures. The algorithm to promote women in decision-making positions and on electoral lists is unclear, and the initiatives promoted to introduce minimum representation quotas of 30%, and then 40%, in the public and political processes did not succeed². Thus, accounting for about 52% of the country’s stable population and about 57% of the active highly educated people, women are still underrepresented in the administrative and political structures, thus over two-thirds of the country’s intellectual capital is not used.

In a democracy, the representation of women in the administrative and political structures is mainly related to their participation in the decision-making and electoral processes. These processes constitute the main milestones in the attempt to discover the determinants of women’s underrepresentation and identify measures needed to ensure their full participation in the sustainable development processes and outcomes, which is actually the focus of this Analytical Note.

¹ Law No 5-XVI on Gender Equality (2006), National Programme on Ensuring Gender Equality in the Republic of Moldova for 2010-2015, etc.

² Draft Law No 101 proposed a minimum quota of 30% for women’s representation, in order to increase their chances to get involved in politics. At the Government’s initiative, draft Law No 180 proposed a minimum quota of 40% for women’s representation in the public and political life. Both drafts were approved in the first reading by the Parliament, but did not pass the second reading.

I. Presentation of the Group

The model of women's representation in the decision-making and political area is connected closely to the variety of roles, identities and forms of their involvement, formed throughout history. As a result, the imaginary conceptualised political individual has five typologies: (i) the identity of a hero, (ii) the ordinary person (*monsieur-tout le monde*), (iii) the charismatic leader, (iv) the parent/mother of the nation, and finally (v) the feminine political star, so-called political non-woman. When explaining why “non” was used in the name of a typology, its author Roger-Gérard Schwartzberg brings the following arguments: “First there are only a very few women leading a State or the Government, or even a ministry or a party. Our patriarchal society places them in subordinated positions, practicing sexism, male chauvinism. (...) Moreover, the few women, who made it to the top of society, are quick to forget their feminine identity.” Thus, women as political representatives align themselves to the system of values promoted by their male counterparts, reproducing a series of stereotypes characteristic for male political stakeholder - strong female master, leading with an iron fist (Iron Lady). However, there is a feminine hue, a matriarchal substance that female politicians can superimpose over this pattern: “the maternal image of the authority is two-fold: there is the memory of maternal worries, as well as reprimands; there is a mother that offers, as well as a mother that frustrates.” Hence, the female political personality seems to have a higher complexity than the male one, having the ability to tackle some delicate issues, while displaying an attitude that is characteristic for male politicians³.

However, it is important to stress that the political competence does not have a gender, and the power to promote and attract electoral capital derives from the positional competence and sources and from personal qualities. Currently, there aren't any clear characteristics that would allow defining objectively and delimiting clearly a subgroup of women, who managed to build successfully a political career, from the majority group of women. However, some particular features can be outlined, such as: high authority, influence and social responsibility, deriving from the assumed public and political role.

People's vision of women's role in the society has an important impact on women's capacity to assert themselves in the public and in the political arena. Relevant studies reveal, though, that it is still “masculinized,” with a distorted acceptance of vertical admission, reported to the level of trust. Thus, over 60 percent of respondents in a study on the participation of women and men in the Republic of Moldova in the decision-making process believe that gender has an important role in the decision making, while about one-third of them believe that decision-making positions should belong to men⁴.

³ Voina A. (2013). *Reprezentarea politică a femeii. Studiu de caz: Parlamentul României* [Political Representation of Women. Case Study: Parliament of Romania].

⁴ Soros-Moldova/Partnership for Development Centre/Swedish Government (2012). *Women and Men Participation in Decision-Making Process in the Republic of Moldova*. Report produced by CBS-AXA on the basis of an opinion poll results.

Though the stereotyped visions on the women's capacity and role in the decision making have decreased, their intensity is still quite strong. Over one-quarter of respondents of a comparative study on the discrimination in the Republic of Moldova, conducted in 2014, still believed that women were less capable of holding management positions (21% in 2014, compared to 32% in 2010) and should not get involved in politics (22% in 2014, compared to 30% in 2010). A larger share of men (27%) have such a vision, compared to women (19%)⁵.

All these prove the validity of Thomas theorem on the inter-connection between the consciousness based on a subjective and the objective reality⁶, which actually explains the persistent acceptance of the vertical distortions of genders in decision-making positions (either the rank of decision-making positions, or the prestige of professions). Women are much more accepted, and even preferred, than men in low-level decision-making positions (chair of the parents' committee - 23.5% or school principal - 15.9%), with the level of preferences decreasing in favour of men with the increase in the importance/weight of the position (only 5.4% of respondents would prefer a women in the position of mayor, 4.1% would prefer a women as the president of the district council or a Member of Parliament, and 4% would prefer a women as the country's President)⁷ (Table 1).

Table 1. Population Preferences for Women/Men in Decision Making Positions, 2014, %

| | A woman | A man | Gender does not matter | DK/NR |
|---|---------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| Chair of the parents' committee | 23.5 | 13.0 | 62.7 | 0.8 |
| School principal | 15.9 | 19.4 | 64.6 | 0.2 |
| Member of the local council | 5.6 | 20.0 | 73.8 | 0.6 |
| Mayor | 5.4 | 33.2 | 61.0 | 0.4 |
| Member of district/municipality council | 5.0 | 20.8 | 73.2 | 1.0 |
| President of the district council | 4.1 | 24.9 | 70.2 | 0.8 |
| MP | 4.1 | 27.9 | 67.4 | 0.6 |
| President of the country | 4.0 | 41.4 | 54.1 | 0.9 |

Source: Soros-Moldova/Partnership for Development Centre/Swedish Government (2012). Women and Men Participation in Decision-Making Process in the Republic of Moldova. Study.

⁵ Moldova/SOIR (2015). The Phenomenon of Discrimination in Moldova: Perceptions of the Population. A Comparative Study. <http://www.soros.md/files/publications/documents/The%20Phenomenon%20of%20Discrimination%20in%20Moldova.pdf>;

⁶ ADEPT/Soros-Moldova (2006). Participarea femeilor în viața publică și politică: provocări și impedimente. Studiu. [Participation of Women in the Public and Political Life: Challenges and Impediments. Study]

⁷ Soros-Moldova/Partnership for Development Centre/Swedish Government (2012). Women and Men Participation in Decision-Making Process in the Republic of Moldova. Report produced by CBS-AXA on the basis of an opinion poll results

Even if women are not preferred for decision-making positions, they enjoy a higher level of people's trust (30%) compared to men who participate in politics (23%). Thus, greater public confidence was expressed toward women working in the Parliament - 31.3% (21.3% for men), Government - 29% (21.5% for men) and district authorities - 31.2% (24.8% for men). At the same time, confidence in women working in decision-making bodies is higher among women than men and the rural population prevails over the urban population (Table 2)⁸. Women also enjoy a higher level of confidence from male politicians, who believe that their presence in politics is very important as long as they express verticality, they are more honest and sincere, are stronger than some men and many of the women working in decision-making and the political sphere would enrich and improve the landscape⁹.

Table 2. Share of Persons Expressing a Higher Confidence in Women/Men Working in Decision-Making Bodies

| | Women | | | Men | | |
|-------|------------|------------|----------------------|------------|------------|----------------------|
| | Parliament | Government | District authorities | Parliament | Government | District authorities |
| Total | 31.3 | 29.0 | 31.2 | 21.3 | 21.5 | 24.8 |
| Women | 33.7 | 30.8 | 33.7 | 19.4 | 19.7 | 22.7 |
| Men | 28.4 | 27.0 | 28.1 | 23.6 | 23.6 | 27.4 |
| Urban | 29.5 | 25.4 | 29.2 | 20.5 | 21.0 | 23.9 |
| Rural | 32.7 | 32.1 | 32.9 | 21.9 | 21.9 | 25.5 |

Source: IPP/CBS-AXA. Public Opinion Barometer – April 2015.

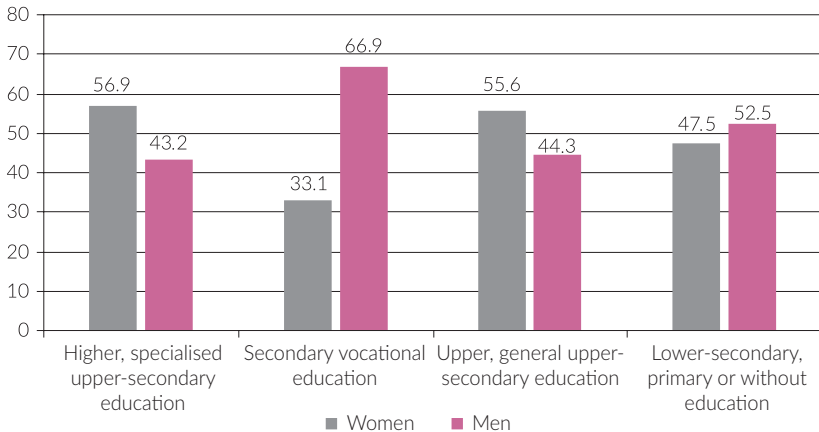
⁸ IPP/CBS-AXA. Public Opinion Barometer – April 2015;

⁹ <https://point.md/ro/noutati/politika/femeile-mai-oneste-decat-barbatzii-in-politica-moldoveneasca>

II. Women's Social Capital and Potential to Accede in Elected and Appointed Positions

Women's potential, expressed by the intellectual, professional, social-economic capital, is an important resource that can be mobilized to build a successful political career¹⁰. At the same time, women's creative skills in decision-making, the different way from men that they perceive, assess situations and solve issues, are important elements in ensuring a functioning democracy and harmonious sustainable development.

Figure 1. Distribution of Active Population of 15 Years and Over, by Gender and Level of Education, 2014, %



Source: NBS, <http://statbank.statistica.md/>

The conducted analysis shows that most women in the Republic of Moldova currently working in appointed and elected positions, are characterized by a high level of intellectual capital (university and higher educational levels), which, in fact, does not derive from the general national picture regarding the education level of the female population. According to NBS data, women accounted for about 57% of the total active population with higher and specialised upper-secondary education in 2014, some 13.7 percentage points more than men (43.2%) (Figure 1). Most of the women having a high level of education are concentrated in urban areas - 64.5%, which is one-third higher than in rural areas (35.5%)¹¹. It further reiterates the opportunities the urban area offers not only for professional integrity and application of the knowledge, but

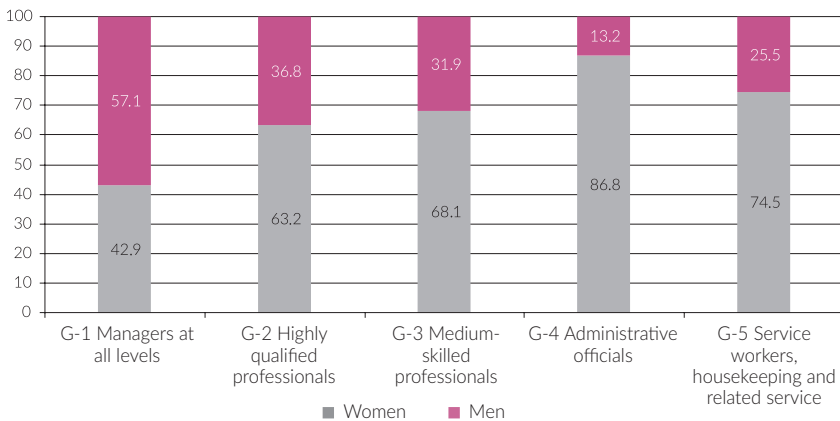
¹⁰ Baluta, I. (2012) Women within the political space of post communist Romania. From the political "game" to social construction. In: Annals of the University of Bucharest / Political science series 14 (2012). http://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/39002/ssoar-annunivbuch-2012-2-baluta-Femeile_in_spatiu_politic_din.pdf?sequence=1.

¹¹ Authors' calculations based on NBS data from the statistical data bank.

also for making a career, including in the public and political area. Every year, women constitute over 60% of the graduates of the higher education institutions (university cycles I + II). They also show a higher tendency than men to pursue further studies. In 2014, they accounted for 56% of PhD students and about 59% of people enrolled in postdoctoral studies¹².

The quality of women's professional capital is reflected by their prevalence among positions requiring highly qualified personnel. The analysis of the break-down of employed women by type of occupations (positions held/professions according to CORM)¹³ shows their prevalence among administrative officials (major group 4 – 86.8% compared to 13.2% men) and service, household housing and public utility services, trade and assimilated workers (major group 5 – 74.5% compared to 25.5% for men). More significant weights of women are also recorded among high-skilled professionals (major group 2 – 63.2% compared to 36.8% for men) and medium-skilled professionals (major group 3 – 68.1% compared to 31.9% for men). Note that, despite women have a high level of professional skills, they have a lower share in leadership positions at all levels (major group 1 – 42.9% compared to 57.1% for men)¹⁴. This reveals not only an underrepresentation of women in power structures, caused by gender discrimination based on stereotypical visions, but also the neglecting of their human capital in ensuring sustainable development (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Proportion of Employed Women Compared to Men by Occupation According to CORM, 2014, %



Source: NBS (2015). Employed population by occupation, level of education, age groups, genders and areas.

¹² NBS (2015). Education in the Republic of Moldova. Statistical publication 2014/2015. http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii_electronice/Educatia/Educatia_RM_2015.pdf

¹³ According to the Classification of the Occupations of the Republic of Moldova (CORM), approved by Order of the MLSPF No 22 of 3 March 2014. <http://www.angajat.md/files/Clasificatorul%20ocupatiilor%20%281%29%20ro.pdf>

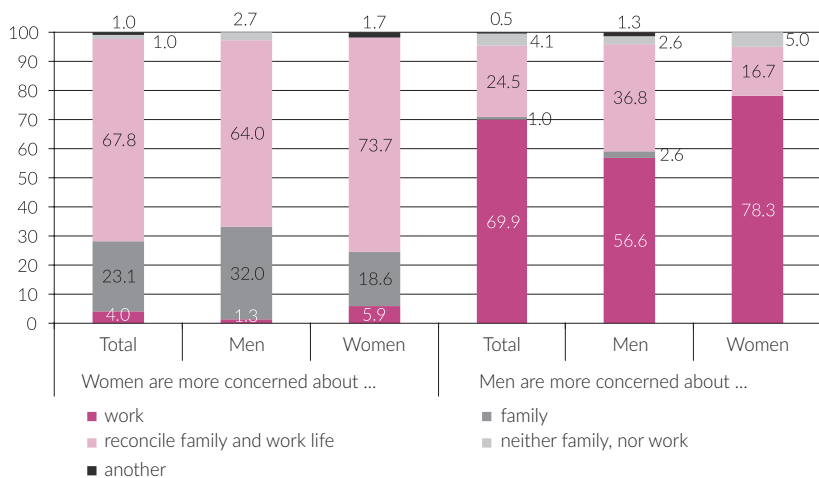
¹⁴ NBS. Employed population by occupation, level of education, age groups, genders and areas, 2000-2014. Statistical Data Bank. <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/Database/RO/03%20MUN/MUN02/MUN02.asp>

III. Interaction Environment of Women in Elected and Appointed Positions

The interaction environment of women, or their social capital, has a significant influence on their inclusion and maintenance in the public and political life. This is reflected by methods of conciliation of family life with the political life, social relationships held, party affiliation and the position held within it, interactions with representatives of other parties, members of civil society and community, that represent the voters.

Family is the primary environment for women, thus the participation or giving up a public or political career is influenced by family relationships, the responsibilities in their roles of mothers or wives, the available free time for socializing, entertainment and meetings, and the visions of their life partner. Field studies report that, while undertaking economic roles together with men, women continued to hold family-related liabilities, which doubled their burden - at home and at work. As a result, finding ways to reconcile family and work life with public and political career has become one of the current concerns of women. Thus, 68.7% of a study's respondents on women's participation in the public and political life¹⁵ believe that women are more concerned with reconciling family and work life than men.

Figure 3. People's Visions on the Major Concerns of Women and Men from the Republic of Moldova



Source: ADEPT (2006). Participarea femeilor în viața publică și politică: provocări și impedimente [Participation of Women in the Public and Political Life: Challenges and Impediments].

¹⁵ ADEPT (2006). Participarea femeilor în viața publică și politică: provocări și impedimente. Studiu; [Participation of Women in the Public and Political Life: Challenges and Impediments. Study] <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/participarea-femeilor.pdf>

Thus, only 24.5% of the respondents believe that men try to find ways to combine work and family.

At the same time, visions in this regard differ depending on the respondents' gender. In a greater proportion, female respondents (73.7% compared to 64% men) believe that women are simultaneously taking care of both areas (family and career) to the detriment of the proportion of those who believe that women are focused mainly on family life (18.6% women compared to 32% men). Differences are twice as high when it comes to men's preoccupations. Male respondents (56.6%) believe that men in our country are focused only on work and 36.8% - on both areas. When it comes to women, these shares represent 78.3% and 16.7%, respectively (Figure 3)¹⁶.

Hence, women's family life is mainly about household chores, bringing up and taking care of children. Thus, along with the paid work, most women provide perform work in the household, which significantly decreases their free time for socializing, entertainment and meetings. The study data on the time use by the population¹⁷ reveal that women's unpaid work in the household took on average 4.9 hours a day, which is by 2.1 hours more than men. However, if the amount of unpaid work performed by women in households during one year were calculated in macroeconomic terms, it would have the same value as the Gross Domestic Product¹⁸.

In addition, women remain the main persons involved in bringing up, taking care and educating children, regardless of the status/position that they occupy. The rate of women's involvement in these activities represents 64%, compared to 41% for men¹⁹. As a result, women have less time for socializing, entertainment and meetings (12.4% of the daily time or about 3 hours per day) in comparison with men (14.7% of the daily time or 3.5 hours per day). Even culture of social life itself varies according to gender, women in a greater proportion (67.7% compared to 59% men) spend their leisure time at home, while men mostly prefer to have enjoy themselves and socialize outside the family²⁰.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ NBS/UNDP/UN Women/Swedish Government (2015). Importance of Unpaid Work in the Republic of Moldova. Analytical note made on the basis of the survey "Use of Time by Women and Men in the Republic of Moldova"; http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii_electronice/Utilizarea_timpului_RM/Note_analitice_rom/07_brosur_ROM.pdf

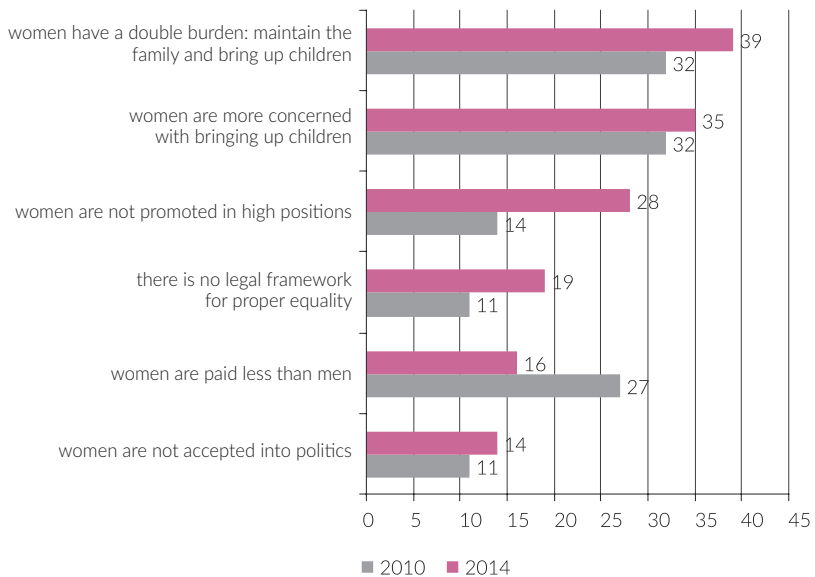
¹⁸ Estimation in relation to 2012, when information for the study "Use of Time by Women and Men in the Republic of Moldova" were collected;

¹⁹ NBS/UNDP/UN Women/Swedish Government (2015). Time Use by Moldova Parents for Taking Care of Their Children. Analytical note made on the basis of the survey "Use of Time by Women and Men in the Republic of Moldova"; http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii_electronice/Utilizarea_timpului_RM/Note_analitice_rom/01_brosur_ROM.pdf

²⁰ NBS/UNDP/UN Women/Swedish Government (2015). Social Life and Entertainment in Moldova. Analytical note made on the basis of the survey "Use of Time by Women and Men in the Republic of Moldova"; http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii_electronice/Utilizarea_timpului_RM/Note_analitice_rom/08_brosur_ROM.pdf

In most cases, the visions of spouses/partners on women in public and political life play a decisive role in determining women to give up on their career. The survey data on discrimination in the Republic of Moldova²¹ reveal that men have a conservative view on women's role in public and political life and about 66% of them continue to believe that women are meant to take care of the family and household, and 99% of them think that the man is the head of the family.

Figure 4. Subjective Causes of Inequality of Opportunities for Women's Participation in Public and Political Life, %



Source: IPP/Soros-Moldova/SOIR (2015). The Phenomenon of Discrimination in the Republic of Moldova: Perceptions of the Population. A Comparative Study.

Even all these features reveal once again a patriarchal society, however, there are some changes in people's perceptions of the causes of inequality of opportunities for women to participate in public and political life, these causes being the following: (i) the double burden of maintenance of the family and child-rearing (from 32% in 2010 to 39% in 2014); (ii) preponderant childcare occupation (from 32% in 2010 to 35% in 2014); (iii) lower salaries than men (from 27% in 2010 to 16% in 2014); (iv) women are not promoted in high positions (from 14% in 2010 to 28% in 2014), (v) women are not accepted into politics (from 11% in 2010 to 14% in 2014) and (vi) there is no legal framework for the assertion of women (from 11% in 2010 to 19% in 2014) (Figure 4).

²¹ IPP/Soros-Moldova/SOIR (2015). The Phenomenon of Discrimination in Moldova: Perceptions of the Population. A Comparative Study. http://www.soros.md/files/publications/documents/The%20Phenomenon%20of%20Discrimination%20in%20Moldova_0.pdf

A political party which has women members represents their secondary environment while other parties, civil society, the media, and community members (i.e. the voters) are their reference environment. Field analyses show that despite the adjustments made to ensure *de jure* equality of rights and opportunities within the statutory and basic documents, political parties still remain hostile to the practice of recruiting and promoting women, and women do not feel comfortable within these entities²². Thus, on the one hand women's potential is recognized and valued²³ while on the other hand, *de facto*, within the parties they still manage or conduct the activities of various thematic committees established, without being promoted (to key positions in the party or to the top of the lists of electoral candidates). The conclusion is that the current algorithm of selection and nomination of women in decision-making and policy-making positions is still ambiguous, to their detriment. In competitions for power, women are often put in a position of competing with other women (from her own party or other political parties) and not with men. However, even if they manage to reach the Legislative or the Executive, women continue to coordinate and monitor social spheres (education, health, social protection and culture), as occurred in the Soviet era, without being actually admitted to political positions²⁴.

Women interact with members of other parties, civil society, the media, and voters: (i) during the election campaigns to attract political capital; (ii) in the legislative and executive, if they reach appointed and elected positions; (iii) during different social awareness and mobilization campaigns dedicated to solving various social problems.

²² ADEPT (2006). Participarea femeilor în viața publică și politică: provocări și impedimente. Studiu; [Participation of Women in the Public and Political Life: Challenges and Impediments. Study] <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/participarea-femeilor.pdf>

²³ Equality in Elections or How Important the Women's Participation in the Electoral Process is (24 June 2014); http://www.cec.md/files/files/1724_raport_club_de_discutii_2014.doc

²⁴ Femeile și scenariile ascensiunii politice [Women and Political Ascent Scenarios]. <http://www.platzforma.md/femeile-si-scenariile-ascensiunii-lor-politice/>

IV. Opportunities that Women Benefit from or Are Deprived of in Reaching Appointed and Elected Positions

The opportunities for women participating in public and political life are influenced by a range of interdependent factors, such as: personal qualities and skills, position and years of experience they have in a political party, the ability to access needed funds to conduct a campaign, including media resources to attract electoral capital. Statistical data show that women not only account for about 52% of the total stable population of the Republic of Moldova²⁵, but also 53.46% of voters with a high level of participation in elections in comparison with men²⁶. However, the actual chances of women reaching elected and appointed positions are still low. The recommendation of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers notes that, for a balanced participation of women and men in any decision-making body in political or public life, their representation should not fall below 40 percent.²⁷ Based on this premise and the commitments taken by Moldova in the context of MDGs, a series of initiatives were promoted from 2010-2014 to develop a mechanism of positive discrimination of women in decision-making bodies at all levels by introducing a "minimum rate of representation". Initially a share of 30 percent was proposed, but it was later increased to 40 percent. However, the initiatives have not been reviewed and passed by the legislative in the second reading²⁸.

The analyses of the 2014 Parliamentary Elections show that even if women had the highest representation ever (30.7% of the total electoral candidates) in this vote²⁹, it did not lead to a balance on political parties lists. The indicator ranged from 48.1 percent on the lists of the Democracy at Home Political Party (PPDA) to 17 percent on lists of the Centrist Union Party of Moldova (UCM). Out of all 20 electoral candidates, nearly

²⁵ NBS. Stable population at the beginning of the year by years, areas and gender; www.statbank.md

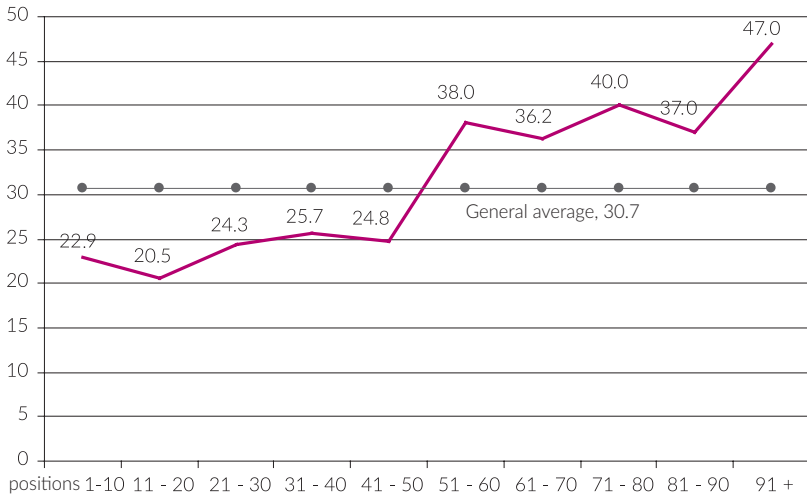
²⁶ CEC (2015). *Participarea femeilor la alegerile Parlamentului Republicii Moldova din 30 noiembrie 2014* [Women's Participation in the Moldova's Parliamentary Elections on 30 November 2014]. http://www.cec.md/files/files/participareafemeilorlaalegerileparlamentuluirepubliciimoldova_9161592.pdf; CEC (2015). Analysis of the general local elections of 14 June 2015 from the gender perspective.

²⁷ Rec(2003)3. The full document can be accessed here: <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=Rec%282003%293&Language=lanEnglish>

²⁸ Draft Law No 101 proposed a minimum quota of 30% for women's representation, in order to increase their chances to get involved in politics. At the Government's initiative, draft Law No 180 proposed a minimum quota of 40% for women's representation in the public and political life. Both drafts were approved in the first reading by the Parliament, but did not pass the second reading.

²⁹ According to CEC data, before "Patria" Political Party was taken out of the electoral run, the number of female candidates accounted for 30.5%, and after the exclusion of this party from the electoral run the weight of female candidates increased by 0.2 p.p.

Figure 5. Positioning Women on Electoral Lists, by deciles, %



Source: CEC (2015). Women's Participation in the Moldova's Parliamentary Elections on 30 November 2014.

half (8 political parties) have given women more than one-third of the seats in the electoral lists³⁰. Evaluating the equity of women's positioning on electoral lists by deciles shows they are preponderantly in the second part of the lists (positions 51-60 from a list of 100 candidates), with much lower chances of acceding to a decision-making position (Figure 5). Thus, the average position occupied by women on the electoral lists of candidates was 53 or by 9 points lower compared to the position of men (average position – 44). It should be mentioned that only two political parties included one woman on the top of the lists, although they recorded the highest number of candidates³¹. This explains the progress of women's share in the top 5 positions of the lists, which in 2014 was 24 percent by 8 percentage points more than in the 2010 elections and by 14 percentage points and 2.3 percentage points respectively compared to the 2009 elections³² (Figure 6).

³⁰ CEC (2015). Participarea femeilor la alegerile Parlamentului Republicii Moldova din 30 noiembrie 2014 [Women's Participation in the Moldova's Parliamentary Elections on 30 November 2014]. http://www.cec.md/files/files/participareafemeiolorlaalegerileparlamentuluiirepubliciimoldova_9161592.pdf

³¹ PDC (2014). Equal Opportunities in the Electoral Process. Case Study: Parliamentary Elections of 30 November 2014. Developed with support of UN/East European Foundation/ Government of Sweden. http://www.progen.md/files/6842_raport_fnal_alegeri_2014.pdf; PDC (2015)

³² Gender (dis)Balance on the Lists of Candidates for the 2014 Parliamentary Elections. <http://progen.md/?pag=n&tip=publicatii&l=>

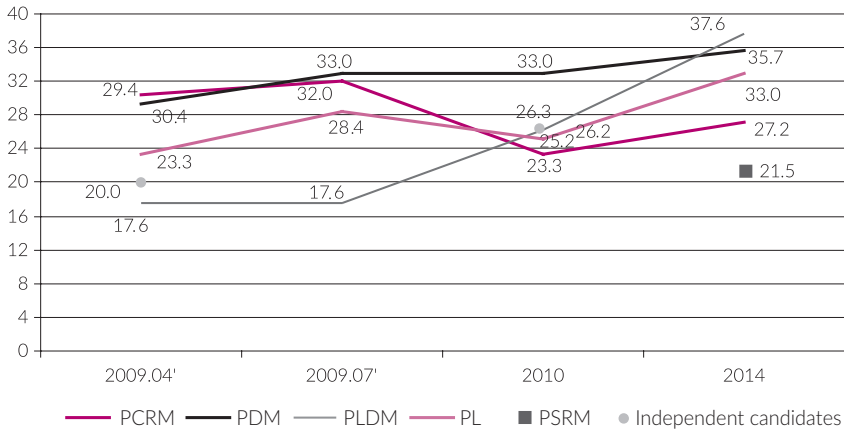
Figure 6. Share of Women and Men in the Top 5 Positions on Electoral Lists, %



Source: PDC (2014). Equal Opportunities in the Electoral Process. Case Study: Parliamentary Elections of 30 November 2014.

The algorithm itself of development by the political parties of the lists of candidates for elected and appointed positions remains unclear, and women's opportunities in this regard are absolutely unpredictable, varying from one legislature to another, or an executive cabinet to another. As a confirmation of this, the analysis of the number of women candidates on the lists of political parties of the last legislature reveals that if the PLDM started in 2009 with a share of 17.6% of women on the electoral lists, then their share increased to 37.6% in 2014. It is also the case of PDM, which started with a share of 29.4% women on the lists of candidates in the first elections of 2009, then stagnating in the second elections of 2009 and in the 2010 elections, registering an increase up to 35.7% in the last ballot. The evolution of the number of women on PCRM and PL candidate lists was uneven, with ups and downs. If during the 2014 elections, PL increased the share of women on the lists of candidates compared to the previous elections, then the increase recorded by PCRM failed to overcome the shares of women of this formation during the two elections from 2009. It is also necessary to be mentioned that no woman was registered as an independent candidate in the 2014 elections (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Evolution of the Gender Ratio on the Lists of Candidates of Political Parties* by legislatures, %



Source: PDC (2014). Equal Opportunities in the Electoral Process. Case Study: Parliamentary Elections of 30 November 2014.

Note: PCRM - Communists Party, PDM - Democratic Party, PLDM - Liberal-democratic Party, PL - Liberal Party, PSRM - Socialists Party.

After the 2014 Parliamentary Elections, a number of women were elected to Parliament, representing 20.9 percent of total number of MPs. At the same time, a positive dynamics of “gender losses” was noticed, compared with the previous ballots. Thus, if in 2009 “gender losses” accounted for 2.8%, in 2010 - 9.3%, and 9.8% during the last elections (Figure 8). Note that the evolution of this indicator was determined, on the one side, by the unbalanced distribution of genders on the lists of all participants in the electoral run (including the parties that have not entered the Parliament), and on the other side, by the low number of women MPs from the five parties that passed the electoral threshold. According to the analysts’ opinion, the “gender losses” would have been smaller, if the winning parties had had a more balanced and more equitable positioning of women on the lists of candidates, which would have given a share of over 30% women having seats in Parliament, compared to the current *de facto* situation³³.

³³ PDC (2014). Equal Opportunities in the Electoral Process. Case Study: Parliamentary Elections of 30 November 2014. Developed with support of UN/East European Foundation/ Government of Sweden. http://www.progen.md/files/6842_raport_final_algeri_2014.pdf;

Figure 8. Evolution of “Gender Losses” by Parliamentary Elections, %

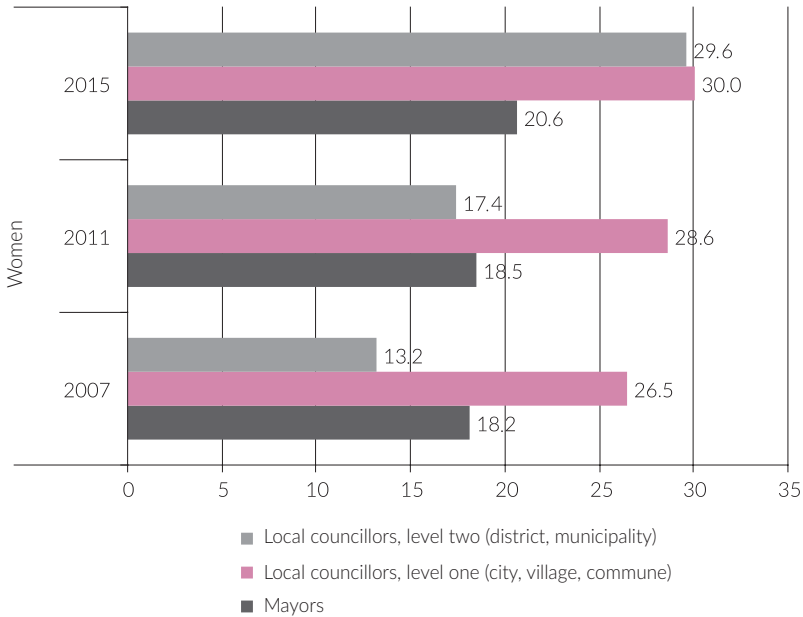


Source: CEC, PCD (2014). Equal Opportunities in the Electoral Process. Case Study: Parliamentary Elections of 30 November 2014.

The situation with women's representation in Local Public Authorities (LPA) is similar to this. Thus, during the June 2015 nationwide local elections, women accounted for 22.5% of all candidates for the post of mayor, 36% of all candidates to the position of level-one local councillor (town, village, township) and 21% of all candidates for the position of level-two local councillor (district, municipality). Note that the proportion of the places offered to women by the 21 competing political formations was extremely non-uniform. Thus, for the position of mayor, only 3 competing parties offered women more than one-quarter of the places on their electoral lists. For the position of level-one local councillor (town, village, township), the share of places on the electoral lists offered to women varied from 79.31% in the case of the Popular Socialist Party of Moldova to 4.6%, in case of the Socialist Party of Moldova. At the same time, 13 formations offered over one-third of the places to female candidates. There was a similar situation in the case of places offered for the position of level-two local councillor (district, municipality), over one-third of places being offered to women by 10 formations. It should be noted that, compared to the previous local elections in 2011, the gender structure of independent candidates did not vary significantly. Thus, in 2015, women accounted for 20.2% of all candidates for the position of mayor (compared to 20.3% in 2011), for

the position of level-one local councillor - 18.6% and for the position of level-two local councillor - 8.6%³⁴ (compared to 15.9% for these positions in 2011)³⁵.

Figure 9. Representation of women elected in LPAs during 2007-2015, %



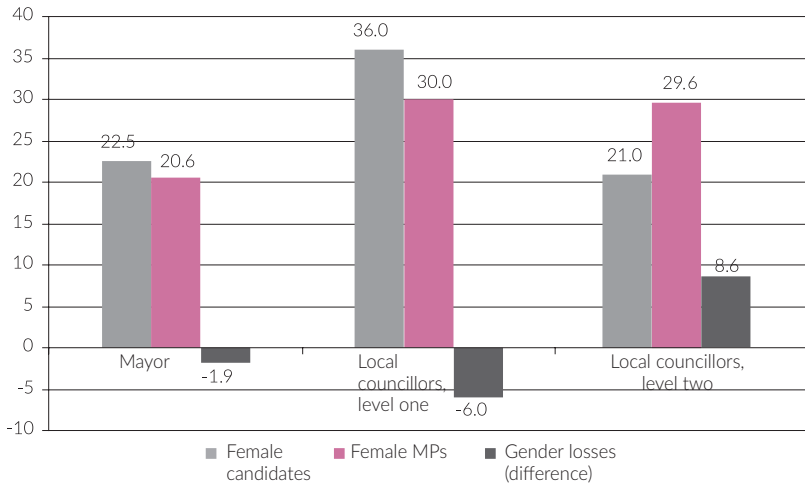
Source: CEC/UNDP (2013). Gender Audit at CEC (2015). Analysis of the general local elections of 14 June 2015 from the gender perspective.

As a result of the local elections, women managed to secure 20.6% of the mayoral posts, 30% of the level-one local councillor positions and 29.6% of the positions of level-two local councillors. If compared to the previous elections of 2007 and 2011, the share of women elected to the position of: (i) mayor increased by 2.1 p.p. and 2.5 p.p., respectively; (ii) level-two local councillor by 12.2 p.p. and 16.4 p.p.; and (iii) level-one local councillor increased by 1.4 p.p. and 3.5 p.p. (Figure 9.) As for the “gender losses”, the data reveal that, compared with the results of the 2011 elections, they were greater for the positions of mayor (-1.9% compared to -0.9% in 2011) and level-one local councillor (-6% compared to -4.6% in 2011), attesting a positive result of 8.6% for the positions of level-two local councillor (compared to -11% in 2011) (Figure 10).

³⁴ CEC (2015). Analysis of general local elections of 14 June 2015 in terms of gender. <http://www.cec.md/index.php?pag=news&id=1065&rid=14230&l=so>;

³⁵ PDC (2011). Sănse egală în procesul electoral. Studiu de caz: Alegerile generale locale 2011. [Equal Opportunities in the Electoral Process. Case Study: 2011 Local General Elections.] Study conducted with the support of the East Europe Foundation, funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs/DANIDA via the Eurasia Foundation. http://www.progen.md/files/8720_raport.pdf

Figure 10. „Gender losses” at the local elections of 2015, %



Source: CEC (2015). Analysis of the local elections of 14 June 2015 from the gender perspective, plus author's calculations.

The opportunities women have to succeed to be appointed in positions in central and local government remains a sensitive subject from the gender parity perspective, with both progresses and regresses. Besides the ambiguous algorithm, used by the political parties to appoint candidates for high-ranking decision-making positions, this situation is also impacted by the frequent changes of the Government, as a result of recent political instability. Thus, in 2015 the Government changed twice. In August 2015 women ministers accounted for 31.5 percent, some 6.6 p.p. more compared to the previous Government³⁶. This situation was maintained after the Government was dismissed in a motion of no-confidence in October 2016.

Some regresses were noticed in Moldova's external representation— the number of women ambassadors decreased. Only two of the 19 candidates approved for the position of ambassador were women, compared to three women who had previously held this position. This generated a vigorous debate in civil society, which warned the Government about the gap between the objectives of the assumed Gender Policy and those that were actually implemented. It seems that diplomacy is still a prerogative of men,

³⁶The Strelat Government was inaugurated on 30 July 2015, after the resignation of the Gaburici Government on 12 June 2015. On 29 October 2015, the Strelat Government was dismissed by motion of no-confidence, and the country was governed by an interim Government, which did not make any changes in the Cabinet from the gender perspective.

although women have the same diplomatic training. Thus, in the more than 20 years since the Republic of Moldova became independent, only 12 women managed to represent the country in the position of ambassador³⁷.

As for progress, a woman won the mandate of Governor (Bashkan) of ATU Gagauzia following the elections of March 2015³⁸, and two Roma women obtained the mandates of local councillors³⁹ as a result of the nationwide local elections in June 2015.

³⁷ Femei (ne)potrivite pentru a fi ambasadoare [Women (un)suitable to become ambassadors]. <http://www.zdg.md/editia-print/politic/femeile-nepotrivite-pentru-a-fi-ambasadoare>.

³⁸ Alegerile Guvernatorului (Başcanului) Găgăuziei (Gagauz Yeri) din 22 martie 2015 [Elections of the Governor (Bashkan) of Gagauzia of 22 March 2015]. <http://www.e-democracy.md/elections/bascan/2015/>

³⁹ <https://europa.eu/eyd2015/en/un-women/stories/first-roma-women-elected-local-council-moldova>

V. Capacity and Possibility of Women in Elected and Appointed Positions to Participate in Development

Women are and can become key players in the context of sustainable development. This means recognition and respect of their knowledge, rights, capacities, and bodily integrity, as well as ensuring that their roles are in line with rights, control over resources, and decision-making power⁴⁰. In 2014, the Republic of Moldova received a score of 0.740 in the Gender Gap Index (GGI), ranking 25th of 142 countries covered by the research. This result seems to be quite good and it would probably look even better if the value of the Political Empowerment Subindex (PES) of the GGI was not so low, 0.180, which places the Republic of Moldova in 59th place⁴¹. All these mean that the underrepresentation of women in elected and appointed positions of central and local government significantly reduces the opportunities and capacity they have to influence decisions, including ones related to promoting and solving women's issues in society. A good example of this would be the initiatives to create a mechanism of positive discrimination of women in decision-making authorities of all levels, by setting "quotas," which, though assessed as necessary, have not been adopted so far⁴².

The analysis of women's representation in the hierarchy of central government reveals some discrepancies, both vertically and horizontally. The vertical discrepancies are expressed in the inverse proportionality of women's representation on hierarchical levels, i.e. the higher the level, the less women are there in key positions. Thus we notice that in 2015 at the level of central authorities women accounted for 24% of level-three officials, 22.6% of level-two officials, and only 20.2% of level-one officials. The horizontal discrepancy is also expressed in the total share of 22.3% of women in central government (Table 3).

⁴⁰ UN Women (2014). The World Survey on the Role of Women in Development 2014. Gender Equality and Sustainable Development. https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/1900unwomen_surveyreport_advance_%2016oct.pdf

⁴¹ WEF (2015). The Global Gender Gap Report 2014. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR14/GGGR_CompleteReport_2014.pdf

⁴² Draft Law No 101 proposed a minimum quota of 30% for women's representation, in order to increase their chances to get involved in politics. At the Government's initiative, draft Law No 180 proposed a minimum quota of 40% for women's representation in the public and political life. Both drafts were approved in the first reading by the Parliament, but did not pass the second reading

**Table 3. Representative Forum of the Central Government in 2015
(ranked by hierarchy)**

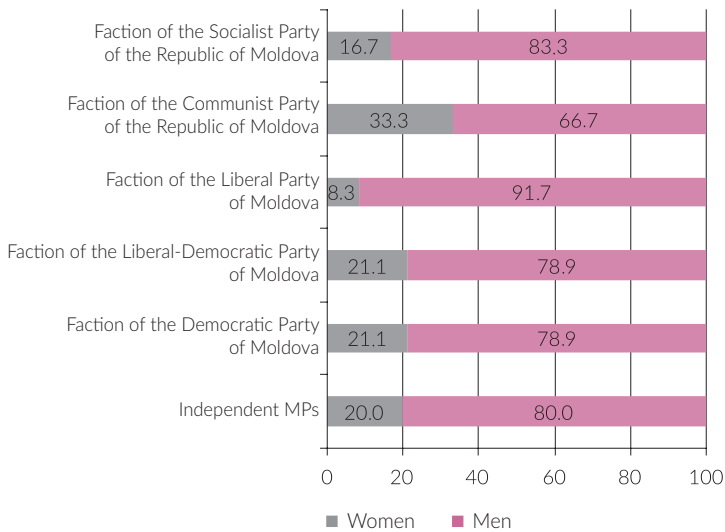
| | Persons | | Representation level | % of women | |
|---|-----------|------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------|
| | Women | Men | | % per level | % per position |
| President of the country | 0 | 1 | I | 20.2% | 0% |
| Speaker of the Parliament | 0 | 1 | I | | 0% |
| Deputy Speaker of the Parliament | 1 | 2 | I | | |
| MPs | 21 | 80 | I | | 20.9% |
| Prime Minister | 0 | 1 | I | | 0 |
| President of the Constitutional Court | 0 | 1 | I | | 0 |
| President of the Supreme Court of Justice | 0 | 1 | I | | 0 |
| Deputy Speaker of the Parliament | 1 | 2 | II | 22.6% | 33.3% |
| Deputy Prime Ministers | 1 | 3 | II | | 25% |
| President's Advisers | 0 | 8 | II | | 0% |
| Ministers | 5 | 11 | II | | 31.5% |
| State Chancellery | 16 | 17 | III | 24.0% | 48.5% |
| Administration of the President | 5 | 10 | III | | 33.3% |
| Secretariat of the Parliament | 0 | 40 | III | | 0% |
| Deputy Ministers, including State Secretaries | 10 | 35 | III | | 22.2% |
| Directors of other central administration authorities | 2 | 4 | III | | 33.3% |
| Deputy Directors | 2 | 5 | III | | 28.6% |
| Total: | 64 | 222 | | | 22.3% |

Source: NBS (2015). Number of civil servants in Moldova as of 1 January 2015⁴³

At the same time, even though women account for 20.9% of all MPs, their low share in parliamentary factions reveals that political parties are insensitive to their participation in politics. And although there is a clear gender imbalance, the highest share of women is registered in the PCRM Parliamentary Faction (33.3%) and the smallest is in the LP Parliamentary Faction (8.3%) (Figure 11). When it comes to the extent that

⁴⁴ Author's calculations, with a few adjustments following Government changes.

Figure 11. Proportion of Female and Male MPs in Parliamentary Factions, 2015, %

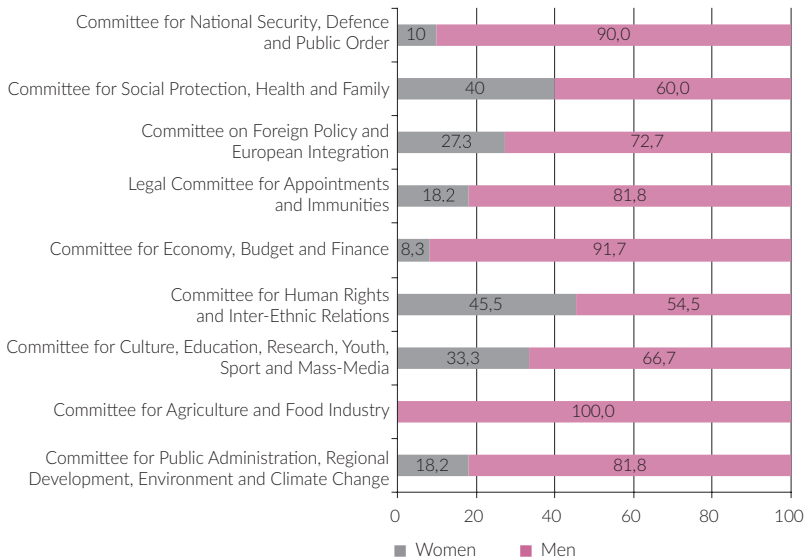


Source: Parliament of the Republic of Moldova.

women participate in decision-making, this is expressed by their participation in the Parliament's Standing Committees. Data show that, as already stated in this Analytical Note, the most significant share of women is concentrated in the social areas, such as: (i) human rights and inter-ethnic relations - 45.5%; (ii) social protection, family, and health - 40%; (iii) culture, education, research, youth, sports, and media - 33.3%. Women are least represented in the areas of (i) national security, defence, and public order - 10% (1 woman compared to 10 men); (ii) economy, budget, and finance - 8.3% (1 woman compared to 11 men). At the same time, there are no women at all in the areas of agriculture and the food industry. (Figure 12). It is worth mentioning that the share of women in the Standing Bureau of the Parliament is 25% (3 women and 9 men).

NBS data show that women's participation in the management of central public authorities is still low, but they are successfully kept in executive positions. In 2014, women in managerial positions accounted for only 61.3%, their proportion being 1.6 times higher than male managers (38.7%). It should be noted that compared to 2013, the proportion of female managers decreased insignificantly - by 0.6 p.p. Also, women have a very modest presence among officials with special status (13.6%), namely around 6.4 times less than men. At the same time, compared to the last year, the proportion of female

Figure 12. Proportion of Female and Male MPs in the Parliament's Standing Committees, 2015, %



Source: Parliament of the Republic of Moldova.

officials with special status decreased by 0.8 p.p. With respect to share of women in executive positions, it had been constant during 2011-2014, at the level of over 73% (Figure 13).

The representation of women in the representative forum of local government after the 2015 local elections is still lower than the reviewed target level set by MDGs, as well as under the 40% minimum representation quota, recommended by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. So, after the validation of mandates, women managed to get only 16.1% of the positions of district president and 17% of the positions of deputy district president⁴⁴. The share of female mayors is 20.6%, which means that one in five mayors is a woman. Also, 30% of the elected women are level-one councillors and 29.6% are level-two councillors. Additionally, the position of Bashkan or governor of ATU Gagauzia is a woman following the March 2015 election.

⁴⁴ CEC (2015). Analysis of general local elections of 14 June 2015 in terms of gender. http://www.cec.md/files/files/participareafemeilorlaalegerileparlamentuluiirepublicimoldova_9161592.pdf

Figure 13. Share of Women and Men in the Total Number of Civil servants of Central Public Authorities, by Categories and Years, %



Source: NBS, set of indicators monitoring the implementation of NPEGE for 2010-2015.

VI. Limitations, Barriers, and Obstacles Encountered by Women in Elected and Appointed Positions

Political participation of women depends on a number of factors, such as: knowing and claiming their rights; access to information about laws, policies, structures that “govern” their life; a high level of self-confidence and self-esteem and the capacity to challenge and confront (if necessary) the state structures; knowledge of institutions/organizations that would provide them support and positive role models; existence of a political, legal, economic, and cultural environment that would ensure their plenary involvement in the decision-making process. Other noteworthy factors are the following: economic dependence and the lack of appropriate financial resources; different opportunities for employment (and implicitly - career development); discriminatory attitudes and negative stereotypes prevailing in family and public life; overloaded with household chores; intimidation, harassment, and violence⁴⁵.

Beyond the legal framework that does not provide a mechanism of the non-discriminated access of women to public and political life, the barriers women currently face when trying to access the decision-making arena can be divided into three categories: (i) socio-political; (ii) economic; (iii) ideological and cultural.

Thus, the socio-political barriers are expressed in: (i) prevalence of a masculine model associated with political success and political life in general; (ii) unclear, paternally-oriented algorithm in the appointment of candidates in all social, economic, and political areas; (iii) limited support from political parties, as well as an unwillingness to actually promote women to the top of their lists, where they would have high chance of accession; (v) unfair competition of men, preferring the competition model among women; (vi) absence of a political and social incentive for an education and training system in the area of leadership for women, which would guide young women toward political life; (vii) no models and support coming from women already in positions of power.

In turn, the economic barriers consist of: (i) predominant financial dependence on men; (ii) lack or limited access of women to the needed resources or economic networks that could support them in an election campaign; (iii) shortage or lack of time and difficulty in reconciling family and professional life.

The ideological and cultural barriers are expressed in: (i) stereotyped visions of gender roles in the society, politics, and women’s ability to manage; (ii) unequal power relations between men and women in families; (iii) views that politics is not for women; (iv) fear of violence, harassment, criticism, and divorce; (v) the way media treat women in politics.

⁴⁵ IESP /EU/ Council of Europe (2013). Participation of women in the public and political life of Republic of Moldova. A report developed under the Eastern Partnership - Council of Europe Facility. Author: D. Terzi-Barbosie

Conclusions and Recommendations

Women account for about 52% of the country's stable population, and about 57% of highly educated people, and over 53% of voters, but are still underrepresented in administrative and political positions. Though the results of the Parliamentary and local elections reveal some progress in this respect, this is not enough to claim accomplishment of the reviewed MDG target to increase, by 2015, the representation of women in the decision-making positions in local council up to 40%, in district councils and positions of mayors - up to 25%; in positions of MP - up to 30%⁴⁶, as well as the minimum representation quota (40%), recommended by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe⁴⁷.

The lack of a national mechanism that would ensure not only "*de jure*", but also "*de facto*" non-discriminatory access of both genders to elected and appointed positions keeps women anchored in the cycle of being underrepresented. Thus, women continue to feel uncomfortable in political parties, and although the importance of their professionalism is recognised by their male colleagues, they are most often placed at the bottom of electoral lists with the lowest chances of being elected. Women's position in decision-making positions is still insecure and unpredictable, being highly dependent on political crises or the results of the next elections.

Women's vulnerability in terms of their access to and participation in political life is determined by a series of social-political, economic and cultural barriers. That is why, in order to enhance the representation of women to political life, it is necessary to increase the role and influence of education, the media and civil society in combatting the stereotyped visions and promoting the idea of a stable gender-responsive governance.

In addition, to support and facilitate women's participation in public and political life, it is necessary to develop and implement a viable legal and administrative mechanism that would lead to: (i) relevant reforms to mainstream gender equality in the national regulatory framework and in parties' statutory and planning documents; (ii) enforcement mechanisms for the national legal framework on gender equality and sanctions for non-compliance; (iii) development and implementation of a mechanism of positive discrimination of women in accessing decision-making positions, by establishing some numeric quotas, as well as temporary special support measures in this regard.

⁴⁶ <http://www.undp.md/mdg/MDG3/gender.shtml>

⁴⁷ Rec(2003)3. The full document can be accessed here: <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=Rec%282003%293&Language=lanEnglish>

At the same time, given the quite significant proportion of highly educated and qualified women, it would be appropriate to develop and implement some programmes that would enhance their self-confidence and leadership capacities, and strengthen their campaigning techniques and strategies in order to increase the electoral capital.

As Moldovan society is still patriarchal, it is important to increase and maintain the number of women in leading positions, so that they are accepted as legitimate and efficient leaders. It is also necessary to involve men in the promotion of women's needs in the public and political life at all levels.

For notes



For notes



For notes



