

**Albania's 2009 Parliamentary Election:
Monitoring the Implementation of Gender Quota and Women's Participation**

Tirana, 1 September 2009

Prepared by
ACER and ASET

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List of Acronyms

CEC	CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION
CEAZ	COMMISSION OF ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION ZONES
DP	DEMOCRATIC PARTY
DCP	DEMOCHRISTIAN PARTY
SP	SOCIALIST PARTY
SMI	SOCIALIST MOUVEMENT FOR INTEGRATION
SDP	SOCIAL- DEMOCRATIC PARTY
HRUP	HUMAN RIGHTS UNION PARTY
ADP	ALLIANCE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
RP	REPUBLICAN PARTY
PJI	PARTY FOR JUSTICE AND INTEGRATION

¹ Selected NGOs monitored on Election Day.

KEY FINDINGS

1. Women earned 16.4 percent of seats, or 23 mandates, in the June 2009 parliamentary election. This is the greatest percentage of women parliamentarians since Albania's communist period, but it did not fulfill gender activists' expectations of 30 percent.
2. In the June 2009 parliamentary elections, and with the exception of one regional list (per party), the main political parties respected the letter, if not the spirit, of the new gender quota in the preparation of their candidate lists.
3. The Central Elections Commission was committed to implementation of the quota law, and worked collaboratively with the political parties to ensure they complied with the requirements for candidate lists and commissioner lists. Vigilance on the part of the CEC and CEAZs contributed to political parties' adherence to the law.
4. The 2009 Albanian election provides a cautionary example about the implementation of quota laws. It demonstrates that having a quota can effect great change, as happened in these national elections. However, it also demonstrates that if the quota allows for merely "30% of the list" and does not include a formula of "rank order" (alternating names), it will not guarantee the election of women to 30 percent of seats in parliament.
5. Monitoring of voting centers on Election Day showed that women's participation as voters increased, and there has also been a slight reduction in the phenomenon of "family voting" since previous parliamentary and administrative elections.
6. The 2009 parliamentary elections saw an increase in citizen participation generally, and an increase in women's participation specifically, over previous elections. Women are poised to assert themselves as a significant constituency in Albania.
7. During the election cycle, there was improved coordination among civil society organizations, particularly with regard to the political and civil rights of women voters and the promotion of gender equality.
8. Throughout Albania, there are still significant challenges for women's leadership and political activism. There is an ongoing need, particularly in rural areas, to raise awareness about women's rights, to promote women's leadership at the community and national levels, and to expand the attention paid by civil society organizations to gender equality and women's political rights.
9. If women's representation in Albania is to reach a level of 30 percent in the Assembly in the next election, it will require a review of the existing Electoral Code to strengthen the quota.

1. INTRODUCTION

Albania's most recent national legislative election was held on 28 June 2009. The national legislative body in Albania is the Assembly of the Republic of Albania (Kuvendi i Republikës së Shqipërisë); it is comprised of 140 deputies. The deputies are elected through a regional party-list proportional system.

The 2009 election was the first to take place after the adoption of a quota for women's participation in political life, and after the revisions to the Electoral Code approved in late 2008. The quota law, "On Equality in Society," was enacted in July 2008. It stated that at least 30 percent of appointed positions should be filled by the under-represented sex (i.e. women). It also stated that 30 percent of all candidates put forward in national and local elections should be from the under-represented sex. The subsequent Electoral Code (December 2008) stated that, in national elections, candidates from both sexes must be represented among the first three names on lists submitted by political parties, and/or that the under-represented sex must be 30 percent of each party's list.

This paper examines the role of women, as voters, commissioners, and candidates, in the 2009 Albanian elections. Women's engagement in the public sphere has gone through several transitions in Albania's recent past. Immediately after the communist period, women were generally pushed out of public and political life. "The transition from communism to democracy was, in part, accompanied by a call for a return to 'traditional' values ... the number of women in politics dropped radically in the first parliaments formed under democracy."²

Since the retrenchment in the 1990's, women have begun to push their way back, politically and economically. The 2005 parliamentary elections saw an increase in the number of women candidates, but at that point Albania still ranked last in terms of women's political representation in Southern Europe.³ Women face a number of sex-specific challenges in Albania and could, if empowered and organized, be an important constituency in this burgeoning democracy. Therefore, their access to the political process, both as voters and as party members and candidates, is of central importance to their advancement overall. Thus, the quota and the 2009 election were a watershed for women's political participation in Albania. Twenty-three women deputies were elected in the parliamentary election of 28 June 2009, which is 16.4% of the total (140) mandates.

This study is the result of collaboration between UNIFEM, ACER and ASET, and partner NGOs throughout the country. ACER and ASET monitored four aspects of the election – implementation of the gender quota, public events in the pre-election period, media coverage, and the Election Day behavior of women voters. The results are presented here. The purpose of the study is both to capture the monitoring of partner NGOs in seven regions of the

² Albanian Centre for Economic Research and the Albanian Social Economic Think Tank for UNIFEM. "Public Perception of Women's Participation in Elections in Albania: A Survey," 2008. Page 8.

³ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Report on Women in Politics," January 2008.

country during the national elections period in Spring-Summer of 2009, and also to develop a baseline against which women's participation in future elections can be measured.

A. 2009 Parliamentary Elections

The June 2009 parliamentary elections were the first to be held in Albania on the basis of the new Electoral Code approved in December 2008.⁴ The Electoral Code introduced significant improvements. A system of regional proportional representation replaced the previous system which was a mix of proportional representation and majoritarian. A national computerized population register was created and used as a source of voter lists, reducing the risk of fraud. Overall, the new legal framework provided a thorough technical foundation for conducting democratic elections.

Thirty-six political parties submitted candidate lists; of these, 33 parties were members of one of the four established political coalitions. Two candidates competed as independents. The official campaign period was scheduled to begin on 29 May, but some of the political parties were observed launching their campaigns some days in advance of the official start. One hundred and forty deputies were elected from 12 electoral zones.

For the purposes of data collection, this study focused on a limited number of political parties. The activities of the two main political parties, the Democratic Party (DP) and the Socialist Party (SP) were monitored. Several smaller parties who had electoral mandates in the previous Parliament (2005 national elections) were also monitored, as well as the Party for Justice and Integration which won its first mandate and will be part of the parliament for the first time, and the G99 Party, which was the newest party to participate in the election campaign.

B. Albania's New Legislative Quota

Social science research has established that in order for minority groups to rise above token status and make a significant impact on the dominant culture, they need to be represented at a level of at least 30 percent.⁵ This number is generally referred to as reaching a "critical mass." The international women's movement has embraced the concept of critical mass, and its 30 percent target with regard to women's political participation. It was included, for instance, in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, which states that women should occupy 30 percent of all decision-making positions.⁶ As the number of countries embracing electoral quotas has increased in recent years, 30 percent is a widely accepted and common goal.

Women earned 16.4% of seats, or 23 mandates, in the June 2009 parliamentary election; this is the greatest percentage of women parliamentarians since Albania's communist period. It is

⁴ Central Elections Commission, Law No.10019, "Electoral Code of the Republic of Albania." 29.12.2008.

⁵ Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. "Some of Effects of Proportion on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women." *The American Journal of Sociology* 82, 5 (March 1977): 965-990.

⁶ *Beijing Platform for Action*. Beijing: United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/decision.htm>. Para. 182.

far below 30 percent envisioned in the Law “On Gender Equality in Society”, however. The “Law On Gender Equality in Society” (2008) and the new Electoral Code (2008) were important steps forward in terms of women’s representation, but did not result in a critical mass of women entering parliament.

The UN has observed that “electoral systems are not gender-neutral. The type of system in place can have a major impact on the number of women elected to office. ... [Many] aspects of election systems – including types of candidate lists, district magnitude, and threshold levels – significantly affect women’s electoral prospects as well.”⁷ Similarly, not all quotas are created equal. The design, implementation, and enforcement of quotas vary greatly from country to country.

From the point of view of women activists in Albania, the December 2008 Electoral Code was a significant advancement towards ensuring a critical mass, particularly regarding the quotas for local party lists (local elections). However, the quota for national party lists weakened language that had appeared several months earlier in the Law on Gender Equality in Society. While the Law on Gender Equality in Society called for women’s political participation to reach the level of 30 percent, the Electoral Code did not put in place mechanisms that would guarantee that. In fact, by specifying that parties could fulfill the quota by either listing a woman in one of the first three names and/or as 30 percent of the whole list, many would argue that it created the conditions for a 30 percent target *not* to be met, as explained below. The Electoral Code is organic law and it superseded the Law on Gender Equality in Society.

The Electoral Code gave parties the latitude to decide whether they would include women’s names as one of three names at the top of the list or whether they would simply include women as 30 percent of the overall candidate list. Advocates of women’s participation in politics need to be aware that quotas on party lists are not the same as “reserved seats,” which mandate a certain number of women in parliament. It is also important to scrutinize legislation to understand the mechanism that will be used to implement a quota, and what the means of enforcing it will be. In this case, the Electoral Code in Albania weakened the quota that had been included in the Law on Gender Equality in Society by providing two options for political parties, neither of which alone could mathematically result in an Assembly that was 30 percent female.

Having said this, however, it is important to note that the parties did show genuine intent through the strong sanction stipulated for national party list quotas (i.e. lists would be rejected by the Central Elections Commission). The sanction of the national party lists was also very good and was applied by the CEC. And finally it should be emphasized that the quotas pertaining to the bodies administering the elections; and pertaining to the party lists in local elections, are quite strong.

The implementation of the national-level quota is explored in further detail below.

⁷ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues. “Women and Elections: A Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections.” Page 12. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/TableofContents.htm>.

C. Quotas in the European Context

Albania has been a potential candidate for accession to the European Union since January 2003, and it formally applied for EU membership on 28 April 2009.

Within the framework of European integration, Albania's adoption of the new Electoral Code was an important step forward in terms of women's representation in the national parliament. In Europe, the average percentage of women members of national parliaments increased from 16% to 24% between 1997 and 2008 (national figures range, however, from 9% to 46%). Eleven EU member states are above 30%, which is deemed to be the minimum level necessary for women to exert meaningful influence on politics. In national governments, one out of four senior ministers is a woman, but various member states range from zero to 60% female ministers. There has been some progress within the institutions of the European Union, but women are still underrepresented in top positions. Only three out of ten members of the European Parliament are women.⁸

⁸ Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, "Equality Between Women and Men — 2009." Brussels, 2009. Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/FindByProcnum.do?lang=en&procnum=INI/2009/2101>

2. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENDER QUOTA

This section of the paper assesses the implementation of Albania's new quota. In particular it examines political parties' adherence in the development of their candidate lists and their CEAZ lists. It also reports on the election results and the profiles of elected female deputies. As stated above, this paper focuses on the two main political parties, the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party, and several of the small parties that had achieved mandates in 2005. It will also consider the Party for Justice and Integration, as it gained a mandate in parliament for the first time in 2009, and the G99 Party because it is the youngest or newest party to participate in the 2009 election campaign.

A. Election of Women Deputies

Twenty-three women deputies were elected in the parliamentary election of 28 June 2009, which is 16.4% of the total (140) mandates.⁹ In the 2005 legislature, there had been ten women deputies (seven of them elected directly from multi-nominal lists), or 7% of the seats in parliament.

Table 1: Results of Parliamentary Elections 2005¹⁰

	Political Subjects	Total Candidates	From whom			
			Female		independent candidates	
			Total	%	Total	Female
A. Candidates Elected Directly	28	1,235	98	7.9	12	2
Winner	3	100	7	7	1	0
B. Candidates from Multi-Name						
List	27	1,616	141	8.7	0	0
Winner	10	40	3	7.5		

Source: Central Elections Commission-----

⁹ Central Elections Commission, Results of Parliamentary Election 2009, available at:

<http://cec.org.al/2004/Zgjedhejekuvendfiles/dokumentacioni%20zgjedhor09/rezultatet/rezultatet.htm>

¹⁰ In the 2005 parliamentary elections, the electoral system was based on a mixed system, where political parties competed through lists with candidates elected directly (majoritarian) and multi-nominal candidate lists. In total, there 35 political parties were registered and one independent candidate. From these, 28 political parties competed through direct (majoritarian) candidate list and 25 parties competed through multi-nominal nominal lists. As a result only 3 political parties who won were represented with candidates elected directly (DP, SP, SMI, in total 100 elected deputies) and 10 political parties were represented by candidates from multi-nominal lists (40 elected deputies). Please refer to: CEC, Parliamentary Elections 2005, Search in:

<http://www.cec.org.al/2004/Zgjedhejekuvendfiles/partite%20e%20regjistruara/partit2005.pdf> and CEC, Parliamentary Elections 2005, Search in: http://www.cec.org.al/2004/Zgjedhejekuvendfiles/Rez-zgjedhje2005/rezultatet%20vendore/linke/perberja%20e%20kuvendit_grafiku.pdf

Table 2: Results of Parliamentary Elections 2009

Candidates	Political Subject	Total Candidates	From whom			
			Female		independent candidates	
			Total	%	Total	Female
	9	1,143	356	31	12	2
Winner	6	140	23	16.4	1	0

Source: CEC “Bulletin of Parliamentary Elections 2009”

Thus, the 2009 election had more than double the percentage of women elected than in 2005. The use of a quota for the first time in Albania is responsible for this dramatic increase. However, the percentage of women parliamentarians did not reach the “critical mass” target of 30 percent.

Table 3: Number and Percent of Female Deputies by Party

Party	Total No. of Mandates	Total No. of elected Female Deputies	Percent
DP	68	10	14.7%
SP	65	13	20.0%
LSI	4	0	0%
PR	1	0	0%
PBDNJ	1	0	0%
PDI	1	0	0%
TOTAL	140	23	16.4%

Source: Central Elections Commission

According to the Central Elections Commission’s official results, there were 10 women elected from the DP List, and 13 from the SP list, as shown in the table above. The Socialist Party had the greater percentage of women as a part of their total mandate – 20 percent, compared with 14.7 percent of the Democratic Party’s mandates. None of the smaller parties elected any women from their lists.

There were three women ranked near the top of the Socialist Party’s list. There was one woman ranked near the top of the Democratic Party’s list. The number of mandates held by women in the new parliament is a significant increase over previous elections, but the number would have been significantly higher if all political parties had included women as every third name, alternating from the top of the list all the way down, rather than putting a few token women near the top and then filling in up to 30% of their lists from the bottom. But neither the Code nor the law on gender equality required parties to put women in winnable positions.

B. Geographic Distribution of Mandates and Ranking on the Candidate Lists

The 23 women in the new parliament represent 10 of the 12 districts of the country. No women were elected from Kukës or Diber.

Table 4: Women Deputies according to Districts and Ranking in the Candidate Lists

Democratic party (DP)

Socialist Party (SP)

District	Women Deputies	Name Surname	No. in the List	District	Women Deputies	Name Surname	No. in the List
Shkodra 11 Mandates	2	Jozefina Topalli Arenca Trashani	1 3	Shkodra 11 Mandates	0	x	
Lezha 7Mandates	1	Pavlina Gjoni	3	Lezha 7Mandates	0	x	
Durrës 13 Mandates	1	Albana Vokshi	2	Durrës 13 Mandates	2	Rudina Seseri Klodiana Spahiu	2 5
Tirana 32 Mandates	3	Rajmonda Bulku Majlinda Bregu Lajla Pernaska	3 5 15	Tirana 32 Mandates	3	Vasilika Hysi Eglantina Gjermeni Enkelejda Shkreli	1 8 10
Elbasan 14 Mandates	1	Adriana Gjoni	3	Elbasan 14 Mandates	2	Valentina Leskaj Shegushe Ligori	1 3
Fier 16 Mandates	1	Mesila Doda	3	Fier 16 Mandates	1	Ermelinda Meksi	2
Gjirokastra 5 Mandates	0	x		Gjirokastra 5 Mandates	1	Arta Dade	1
Korca 12 Mandates	1	Ledina Aliolli	3	Korca 12 Mandates	2	Mimi Kodheli Olta Xhacka	3 6
Berat 8 Mandates	0	x		Berat 8 Mandates	1	Ermonela Veliaj	3
Kukës 7 Mandates	0	x		Kukës 7 Mandates	0	x	
Dibra 7 Mandates	0	x		Dibra 7 Mandates	0	x	
Vlora 12 Mandates	0	x		Vlora 12 Mandates	1	Luiza Xhuvani	2
Gjithsej	10			Gjithsej	13		

Source: Data Collection made by ACER & ASET based on CEC data

C. The Profile of Elected Women

Worldwide, fewer women than men enter formal politics, and parliaments remain male-dominated institutions. In fact, there is only one country in the world – Rwanda – that has a majority female parliament. Even when legal barriers to women’s political access are removed, they confront a wide range of social, cultural, and economic barriers to entry. This is beginning to change, however. In the last decade, the worldwide percentage of women in unicameral or lower houses of parliament has risen from 13.4 percent in 2000 to nearly 18 percent in 2008.

When women do enter politics, they tend to come from different backgrounds than their male counterparts. Because women are often new to public life, fewer of them than men are “professional politicians.” Many come from activist or civil society backgrounds, and bring a different skill set and as well as a different constituency to parliament. A 2008 survey by the Inter-Parliamentary Union found that, while both men and women most frequently cite political party activity as their route into politics, party activism is a stronger determinant for men. Women are more likely than men to come from a background in social work, civil society work (NGOs), or elected office at the local level. In fact, “Nearly twice as many women (20% as opposed to 11%) as men entered politics through civil society and non-governmental organization (NGO) activity.”¹¹ In the short-term this can have an impact on women’s confidence and effectiveness, as they learn the rules and operating procedures of an institution that is unfamiliar to them, and frequently not gender-sensitive. In the long-term, however, research demonstrates that women tend to bring a different style of leadership, and new constituencies with them when they enter parliament. Women can have a liberalizing effect on the democratic process.

Of the 23 female deputies elected to the Assembly, 16 of them were elected for the first time in 2009. This means that 70 percent of female parliamentarians will be new to parliament. The overall rate of new deputies in this election was 54 percent. So, a majority of all parliamentarians will be new to the institution, but a more significantly larger portion of women entering parliament will be doing so for the first time. This has important implications for the training of deputies and their introduction to the rules and regulations of the institution.

Of the 23 elected women deputies, only seven of them were re-elected incumbents with previous parliamentary experience. A notable difference from previous legislatures is the fact that in the new parliament there will be more women from civil society. A total of ten deputies come from this sector (3 from the academy, 2 from arts/culture, and 5 from non-governmental organizations or interests groups). Five female deputies have significant experience in public administration and one previously served in a governmental staff position.

¹¹ Inter-Parliamentary Union. “Equality in Politics: A Survey of Women and Men in Parliaments.” 2008. Pg 16.

Table 5: Route to Parliament for Women Deputies

Background	SP	DP	Total
Re-elected deputy	3	4	7
Civil society organization	5	0	5
University or Art/Culture	2	3	5
Public Administration	2	2	4
Political Party Leadership	2	0	2
Government Staff	0	1	1

In terms of professional training, 4 of the female deputies are lawyers, 10 come from the human sciences, 2 from arts/culture, and 7 from the economic sciences. Their average age is 43.

D. Monitoring Parties' Candidate Lists for Compliance with the Quota

As explained above, the Albanian Electoral Code allows parties to choose between two different means of complying with the quota. Parties could include women as one of three at the top, and/or include women as 30 percent of their overall list in unspecified positions. In terms of quota laws, this is a relatively weak mechanism. Research and experience with quotas from around the world demonstrates that unless parties are *required* to use “rank order” in the lists – by listing women in every other slot or every third slot (sometimes called a “zipper” or “zebra” ballot) all the way down the ballot, they are very unlikely to do so voluntarily. The experience in Albania bears this out; not a single party chose voluntarily to include women on its list in every third spot, alternating down from the top. In fact, in Albania, a party could technically comply with the quota law without ever placing women in winnable spots on its candidate list.

Forty-five parties registered with the Central Electoral Commission (CEC),¹² which is the permanent body that prepares, supervises, leads and verifies all aspects and elements regarding elections and referendums. A total of 36 parties submitted candidate lists to the CEC. Of these, 33 were part of a coalition.¹³ Through a process of consultation with the parties, the CEC approved the candidate lists of 35 parties and the candidacy of one candidate nominated by a group of voters.¹⁴

¹² CEC, “List of Political Parties Registered for the Parliamentary Elections 2009”, available at: <http://cec.org.al/2004/Zgjedhejekuvendfiles/dokumentacioni%20zgjedhor09/subjektet.htm>

¹³ One party within the DP-led coalition did not submit candidate lists.

¹⁴ CEC, “List of Candidates”, available at: <http://cec.org.al/2004/Zgjedhejekuvendfiles/dokumentacioni%20zgjedhor09/subjektet.htm>

In presenting their initial candidate lists, most parties submitted candidate lists that were rejected by the CEC and returned for corrections, often due to incomplete or incorrect documentation,¹⁵ or a failure to comply with the gender quota.

It should be noted that the CEC's authority to reject a party list that does not comply with the quota is an effective enforcement procedure. Even though the quota itself was weak, as explained above, the CEC played a constructive enforcement role. Rejection of a party's list for non-compliance with a quota is an extremely effective sanction. After the CEC's interventions, most parties revised and corrected their candidate lists in order to fully comply with the new legal framework.¹⁶ The CEC ruled on the corrected lists by 29 May.¹⁷ The SP was the only party that submitted its candidate list after the deadline of midnight on 19 May.¹⁸ The SP claimed that nobody was at the CEC to receive its lists, a claim which the CEC refuted. Ultimately, the CEC voted unanimously to accept the SP candidate lists.

When candidate lists did not fulfill the quota and were rejected by the CEC, parties made adjustments by adding more female candidates to the bottom of their lists, often exceeding the number of possible seats per region for the election¹⁹. The law does not provide a ceiling on the number of candidates that can appear on a list relative to the total number of seats in a constituency. Thus, in some cases, political parties submitted candidate lists containing more candidates than the total number of mandates foreseen in certain election zones. In concrete terms, and when looking at the two largest parties the DP and SP in Kukes added a 5th female candidate in the respective candidate lists, exceeding the number of possible (4) seats. This phenomena was repeated by SP in Lezhe, where it was added a 8th female candidate exceeding the number of possible 7 seats (please refer to Annex IV for more details). To this end, the gender quota was respected only because the last name added to the bottom of the list was a female candidate. As the OSCE election observer report explained, "Theoretically, candidate lists with 30 per cent women all listed at the bottom in probably unwinnable positions would qualify."²⁰

The following table illustrates the number and percent of female candidates on final party lists for the 28 June 2009 elections, as approved by CEC.

¹⁵“ In most such cases, candidates had submitted copies of expired passports as identity documents”, .OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report”, 14 September, available at: <http://www.osce.org/odihr-elections/documents.html?lsi=true&limit=10&grp=207> In most such cases, candidates had submitted copies of expired passports as identity documents.

¹⁶ Article 67, point 5, “Parties and Coalitions Candidate’s List”, Law No. 10019 “Electoral Code of the Republic of Albania”, date 29.12.2008.

¹⁷ CEC, Communication of the CEC on the opening of the Electoral Campaign, available at: <http://cec.org.al/2004/veprintaria/2009/Maj.htm>

¹⁸ At 08:00 hours on 20 May, according to the CEC Protocol register book

¹⁹ Refer to the Annex Table “Candidates List per Women Ranking”, Source: Monitoring made by ACER & ASET to Candidates Lists

²⁰ OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report”, 14 September, pg 18, available at: <http://www.osce.org/odihr-elections/documents.html?lsi=true&limit=10&grp=207>

Table 6: Percentage of women on political parties' candidate lists

Political Parties	Total No. Candidates	No. Female Candidates	% Female
PD	140	41	29.3
PS	140	39	28
LSI	140	43	30.7
PR	140	41	29.3
PBDNJ	101	37	36.6
PDK	140	43	30.7
PSD	117	29	24.8
PDI	85	29	34.1
G99	140	54	38.6

Source: Central Election Commission

Table 4 shows the total number of women candidates on lists, and the percentage of lists that were female, by party. The data is taken from the “Official Lists of candidates for deputies of political parties who took part in the parliamentary elections of 28 June,”²¹ approved by the CEC.

Neither of the two main parties, the DP or the SP, met the 30 percent target. The DP’s lists were 29.3 percent female. And the SP’s lists were 28 percent female. Furthermore, these percentages were achieved only after list corrections were requested by the CEC. In total, of the nine parties profiled in this study, only five met the 30 percent target. An examination of the smaller parties reveals that the newest party, the G99 Party, had the most female candidates on its candidate list. It had 54 women or 38.6% of the total, followed by SMI (30.7%), DCP (30.7%). The RP had a list that was 29.3% female; this number was reached after a list correction requested by the CEC. Twenty-nine women candidates, or 24.7% of its 117 candidates in total, were put forward by the SDP. Overall, the smaller political parties had a greater percentage of women candidates on their lists than the two larger parties, the DP and SP. In fact, of the five parties in Table 4 that achieved the 30 percent target, all were smaller parties.

According to the Electoral Code,²² the political parties should have specified the method by which they would ensure the representation of women candidates, either the option of ranking a woman as one of the top three, or ensuring that women were 30% of the total number of candidates on a list. The CEC decided to accept candidate lists without this specification, however, in order to adhere to deadlines and in order not to block the process entirely.

²¹ Central Electoral Commission, www.cec.org.al

²² Article 67, point 5, “List of Parties and Coalition Parties Candidates”, Law No. 10019 “Electoral Code of the Republic of Albania”, daten on 29.12.2008

Table 7: Ranking of women candidates on candidate lists by party

Political Party	Total No. Candidates on Party List	Total No. Women on Party List	% Women	No. of Women listed in every third position from the top	% of Women listed from the top	No of women in the middle or bottom of the list, to comply with overall 30% requirement	% of Women at middle or bottom
PD	140	41	29.3	8	5.7	33	23.5
PS	140	39	28	9	6.4	30	21.4
LSI	140	43	30.7	7	5	36	25.7
PR	140	41	29.3	7	5.0	34	24.3
PBDNJ	101	37	36.6	8	7.9	29	28.7
PDK	140	43	30.7	12	8.6	31	22.1
PSD	117	29	24.8	12	10.3	17	14.5
PDI	85	29	34.1	10	11.8	19	22.4
G99	140	54	38.6	9	6.4	45	32.1

Source: Data collected by ACER and ASET based on CEC data

None of the political parties included women on their lists in every third position, consistently, all the way down their lists. Instead, all parties chose a mixed methodology. That is, they listed a few women near the top, but put the majority of women at the bottom of their lists. As seen in Table 5, most of the political parties complied with the law by including 30% women overall. The result of this is that the political parties placed women candidates at the middle or bottom of the list rather than in the top of it.

The DP had only 8 female candidates or 5.7% of its total number of female candidates (41) at the top of its list, while 23.5% of female candidates were listed in the middle or the bottom of the candidate list. The SP placed 9 female candidates or 6.4% of the total number of women candidates (39) at the top of the list in every third position. The placement of women candidates determined their success. Because the SP placed more women in higher-ranking positions than DP, women account for a greater percentage of SP's elected members of parliament than the DP's elected members. Thus, women accounted for 20 percent of the SP's elected members of Parliament (13 of 65).

Among the small political parties, G99 had the greatest number of female candidates on its final candidate list. G99 placed 45 women in the middle or bottom of its list, equal to 32.1% of the total. Only nine of them were placed as one out of three first names from the top. The DCP had the greatest number of female candidates positioned at the top of its candidates list. It had 12 female candidates, or 8.6 percent of the total number of women at the top, followed by SDP and PDI.

In general, the smaller parties were more compliant with the gender quota than the two larger parties, the DP and SP. Not only were smaller parties more likely to meet the 30 percent target, they were also more likely to list women in every third position near the top of their lists. These parties, however, won an insufficient number of votes in the election and did not earn parliamentary mandates. Therefore, though they complied with the quota law, they did not fill any parliamentary seats with women. The parties with large mandates, the DP and SP, were less compliant with spirit of the quota law, but because of their overall electoral success and large mandates, they did seat women in the parliament.

B. Monitoring of Gender Quotas in CEAZ Lists

The Commission of Election Administration Zone (CEAZ) is the body responsible for the administration of elections in each Electoral Administration Zone. Its rights and duties are established in the Electoral Code and Regulations of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC). CEAZs are expected to conduct their activities based on the law, in a professional, transparent and impartial way. Each CEAZ is comprised of members from across the political spectrum and all major parties, as required by law. There were 66 CEAZ across Albania in the 2009 election.

The main duties of the CEAZs are to:

- Organize and inform members of the Voting Center Commission (VCC)²³ about training programs;
- Maintain contacts with local government institutions and regularly update the CEC on electoral progress;
- Collaborate with the VCCs to ensure that the logistics and environment for the CEAZs and VCCs are appropriate and legal;
- Publish information in public spaces about the election procedures in its respective election zone;
- Evaluate and make decisions on all requests and appeals submitted by electoral subjects;

²³ Electoral Code, Article 36: Voting Center Commission

The VCC is a collegial unit, who is responsible for the administration of voting process in the respective Voting Center. The VCC is composed of seven members and a secretary and is established in accordance with the manner and the criteria provided by article 29 of this Code for all kinds of elections, except for letter (ç) of point 1 of article 29 of this Code. 2. The members and the secretary of the VCC are appointed only for the period of the elections. Proposals for the members and the secretary of the VCC are to be submitted no later than 45 days prior to the election date and, in case of partial or early elections, 20 days before the election date. The CEAZ appoints the VCC members no later than 5 days after the submission of the proposals, when it finds that the proposal is in compliance with the requirements of articles 37 and 38 of this Code.

-
- Safeguard and verify election security measures;
 - And ensure that there are sufficient voting materials in CEAZs and VCCs until the end of voting process.

Each Commission of the Electoral Administration Zone (CEAZ) has 7 members and a secretary, who are appointed by the CEC. The decision to establish a CEAZ is made by the CEC no later than 90 days before the date of elections.²⁴ In order to safeguard the political balance, two members of CEAZ are proposed by the main party of the parliamentary majority, two members are proposed by the main party of the parliamentary opposition, one member is proposed by the second party of the parliamentary majority and one member is proposed by the second party of the parliamentary opposition. In half of the CEAZs, the seventh member is proposed by the largest party of the parliamentary majority, while in the other half this member is proposed by the largest party of the parliamentary opposition, according to objective criteria based on random selection and equal distribution in the electoral territory. The secretary of the CEAZ shall be a jurist and shall be proposed by the party that proposes the deputy chairman of the CEAZ.

The Election Code contains clear provisions that guarantee that each sex should comprise at least 30 percent of CEAZ lists submitted by parties.²⁵ Of the parties, all but the SP respected the quota in their commissioner lists by 18 June, which was the final deadline for list submission. Initially, the CEC stated publicly that it was obliged to accept the proposed commissioner lists regardless of this fact, due to time constraints in establishing the CEAZs.²⁶

²⁴ Electoral Code, Chapter II, “Electoral Administration Zones (EAZ) and Commissions of Electoral Administration Zones (CEAZ), Article 27,

1. Electoral Administration Zones (EAZ) are established and function in accordance with this Code for every kind of election and referendum.

2. The territorial jurisdiction of an EAZ, as a rule, is the same as the administrative District according to the law regulating the territorial organization of the republic of Albania. Districts that have more than 70 000 citizens with the right to vote are divided by the CEC into more than one Electoral Administration Zone based on the following criteria:

a) the inseparability of the territory of a commune and municipality;

b) the contiguity and compactness of the territory, while avoiding the geographical barriers;

c) good possibilities for transport within the territory;

ç) approximate number of voters.

3. No Electoral Administration Zone may geographically expand into two or more regions or different districts within the same region.

Article 28: 1. The decision to establish a Commission of an Electoral Administration Zone (CEAZ) is to be taken by the CEC not later than 90 days before the date of elections.

2. The political parties are to propose their respective candidacies for the CEAZ members not later than 15 days before the time limit provided in point 1 of this article.

²⁵ Law No. 10019, “Electoral Code of the Republic of Albania”, dated on 29.12.2008, Article 29, point c, “CEAZ composition”.

²⁶ CEC Press Communication on 1.04.2009, available at, <http://cec.org.al/2004/veprimtaria/2009/Prill.htm>

Table 8: Origin of members of the CEAZs by party

Political Parties	Members
PD	2
PS	2
PR	1
PSD	1
7th member ²⁷	1
Secretary	1

Source: Central Elections Commission

Parties replaced CEAZ members, resulting in the substitution of many CEAZ members, including chairpersons, deputy chairpersons and secretaries, during the weeks before Election Day and, in some cases, even on and after Election Day.

Based on the available data,²⁸ it appears that the CEC approved 110 appointments in total to CEAZ lists for the parliamentary elections of 28 June 2009 in its capacity under the law on "Dismissal and Appointment of CEAZ members."²⁹ The number of late CEAZ member replacements shows that the required standards were compromised, in so much as the legal deadline for submission of commissioner lists and the gender quotas were not respected. It had a negative impact on the work of many CEAZs, as not all members could be trained in a timely fashion.

Based on the "Official List of CEAZ Commissioners"³⁰ and the decisions approved by the CEC "For the Dismissal and Appointment of CEAZ Members," it is clear that even after the deadline for the registration of commissioners (18 June 2009), the list of commissioners continued to change. The majority of changes happened on the 18th or 19th of June, that is, on or just after the deadline. But some changes occurred up until 28 June, or Election Day, which reflects poorly on the professionalism of the parties.

Table 9: Representation of women commissioners in CEAZ lists by party

Commissioners Lists of CEAZ								
	dt. 18 June			Election Day				
Political P.	Tot.Comm.	Women	%	Total Comm.	Women	%	Difference	%
PD	165	49	29.7	165	53	32.1	4	2.4
PS	165	42	25.5	165	61	37.0	19	11.5
PR	66	13	19.7	66	13	19.7	0	-
PSD	66	4	6.1	66	5	7.6	1	1.5

Source: Data collection by ACER and ASET based on CEC data

²⁷ Based on Article 29 "KZAZ Compose", Law No. 10019, "Electoral Code of Republic of Albania," date 29.12.2008. The seventh member is proposed for the half of CEAZ by the first party of parliamentary majority, while the other half by the first party of the parliamentary opposition, according to objective criteria based on: i) Casual Selection; ii) Equal distribution in the election territory; c) CEAZ secretary should be lawyer and it is proposed by the party, which propose the deputy head of CEAZ.

²⁸ Central Elections Commission, Decisions 2009

<http://www.cec.org.al/2004/legjislacion/Legjislacion2009/vendime.htm>

²⁹ Law No. 10019, "Electoral Code of the Republic of Albania", dated on 29.12.2008, Article 32, point d, "Dismissal and Appointment of CEAZ members and secretary".

³⁰ Central Elections Commission, www.cec.org.al

Based on Electoral Code, Article 29, “Composition of the CEAZ,” 30 percent of the members proposed respectively by the largest party of the majority and by the largest party of the opposition nationwide must be of each sex.

Table 9 demonstrates that the DP filled its CEAZ lists with women in 29.7 percent of slots by 18 June 2009 deadline. By the same date, the SP had put forward a list with women in 25.5 percent of slots. By Election Day, however, one can observe an increase in the number of women nominated by both the DP and SP.

The addition of 19 more women by the SP (replacing male commissioners) after the deadline was a result of the increased awareness by women about the important role they should play as members or heads of the CEAZ. In the view of ACER & ASET experts, initial resistance on the part of parties was countered by increased awareness and media attention to the issue of gender quotas. This emboldened the CEC to demand that parties nominate women commissioners on their lists. While it is subjective opinion, it is important to note that a number of international observers of elections have stated that the women commissioners tend to be more diligent in their duties and in respecting the regulations laid out by electoral codes. Analysis of the CEAZ lists before and after the deadline reveals that the gender quotas were achieved, in the main, by replacing male commissioners with female commissioners after the deadline.

Furthermore, analysis of media monitoring efforts and CEC declarations demonstrate that adjustments to the CEAZ lists was also a result of the CEC’s perseverance in encouraging political parties to fully comply with the Electoral Code regarding the CEAZ gender quotas. This was evident in several public declarations by the CEC, as well as underlying the fact that SP did not respect the gender quota in advance of the deadline. On the part of the DP, there were also adjustments made to the CEAZ lists after the deadline. Table 10 provides additional detail on the compliance with gender quotas and the manner in which the main political parties replaced commissioners.

The data from the CEAZs reinforces an important lesson. In electoral politics, political party lists are not the only mechanisms that must be monitored closely for adherence to quotas and for gender-sensitivity in general. Throughout the political system, there are a range of “gatekeepers,” informal and formal, which can serve to prevent or accelerate women’s entrance into the system. Political parties, local election administrators (such as CEAZ), and national election commissions all hold formal power over the role women play, as candidates and voters. Internationally, it has been observed the greater the level of internal democracy (e.g. transparency with regard to party nomination procedures), the better the prospects are for women leaders to emerge as candidates, officers, commissioners, etc. in these institutions. The media and “old-boys networks” also hold informal – but significant – power over the role that women can play in such institutions. For this reason, monitoring and vigilance at every step of an election cycle is necessary for advocates of gender equality.

Table 10: Dismissals from and appointments to commissioner lists, between 18 and 30 June

Political Party	Total No. of Commissioners	Total No. of Dismissal and Appointments Decisions	No. of Women dismissed and appointed.	Percent	No. of women who replaced men	No. of men who replaced women	No. of Women who replaced other women
DP	165	24	4	16.7	1	1	3
SP	165	61	19	31.1	15	1	5
RP	66	16	0	0.0	0	0	0
SDP	66	9	1	11.1	2	1	0
Total	462	110	24	21.8	18	3	8

Source: Data Collection by ACER & ASET based on CEC data

As shown in Table 10, the four political parties made respective adjustments to the CEAZ lists. Overall, they replaced male commissioners with female commissioners in order to respect gender quotas. The table also shows eight cases in which female commissioners were replaced by other female commissioners, thereby maintaining the same percentage overall. There were only three cases in which men replaced women (one each for the DP, SP, and SDP).

The SP and SDP submitted requests for dismissal and appointment of new commissioners after the deadline for submission of official CEAZ lists and before Elections Day, between 18 and 26 June. The DP dismissed a woman commissioner and appointed a man on 30 June, which was after Election Day and during the vote counting process. This occurred in Fier district, which is known as a politically polarized district. In general, the significant number of commissioner replacements reveals a lack of training and professionalism on the part of the commissioners. There are also concerns about the extent to which commissioners are manipulated and used by the parties that appoint them.

The following table provides data on the number of women commissioners by party and district appointed, in the light of attempts to comply with the gender quota.

Table 11: Adjustments made to women commissioners on CEAZ lists by district and party

District	DP	SP	RP	SDP
Tirane	2	4	0	0
Durres	1	1	0	0
Fier	1	0	0	0
Vlore	0	3	0	0
Gjirokaster	0	0	0	1
Elbasan	0	5	0	0
Korce	0	0	0	0
Berat	0	1	0	0
Lezhe	0	4	0	0
Shkoder	0	1	0	0
Kukes	0	0	0	0
Diber	0	0	0	0
Total	4	19	0	1

Source: Data Collection by ACER & ASET based on CEC data

Table 11 reflects that adjustments to CEAZ lists (dismissals and appointments of new women commissioners) were most often made in the following districts: Elbasan (5), Tirana (4), Lezha (4), and Vlora (3). These four districts were also the most contested districts during the vote counting process, on Election Day and after. There is no record of a women commissioner being dismissed or withdrawing on the day of the election in any of the districts.

C. Gender Issues in Political Party Platforms

Through working with local NGOs in seven regions also supported by UNIFEM, a harmonized tool for monitoring both political party debates and media at the local level was developed. Each month, the NGOs would submit the monitoring reports. Additionally, ACER and ASET monitored – daily – the national media coverage of women and elections, and sent these media monitoring reports to the NGOs each day. The following analysis is based on these collective monitoring strategies, supported by UNIFEM.

Worldwide, women comprise at least 50 percent of the electorate, yet too often issues of importance to them are invisible or go unmentioned during election campaigns. One vehicle that can be used to rectify this is the party platform. All political parties should be encouraged to make public their stances on relevant national women’s issues, including gender equality and women’s equal status before the law. Gender-sensitive members of political parties – men and women – should advocate within their parties for the inclusion of these issues on the official agenda. Women’s civil society organizations should distribute and publicize the party stances on issues of importance to them. Once elected, women activists should hold parties

accountable to their commitments by monitoring adherence to statements in the party platforms and evaluating progress on women's issues.

In Albania, the NGOs involved in this study were unable to access the party platforms of the two major parties, DP and SP, although the reasons for this remain unclear as official requests were submitted. The platforms could not be found online, and requests of the 2A Consortium to obtain the party platforms in advance of the election were ignored. As a consequence, the public debates which were monitored by NGOs supported by UNIFEM did not, for the most part, include debates about concrete gender policies or the parties' stances on issues related to gender equality and women, even at those events where women candidates participated.

Despite the lack of party platforms, however, ACER and ASET was able to collect some declarations made by politicians on gender issues. For example, representatives of the Democratic Party declared that they would increase women's access to equal opportunities, draft health and social policies to support women, and respect the gender quota in local and central administration.³¹ Several Socialist Party representatives mentioned that they would enhance the role that women play in society by guaranteeing equal participation, combating violence against women, and promoting policies to increase women's access to education and employment.³² The challenge for women activists is that these declarations were only semi-official, and because they were not enshrined in the party platform, it will be difficult to hold elected officials accountable on these gender issues.

In contrast to the two large parties, the SMI and a few other smaller parties (e.g. SDP, DCP, DAP) published their party platforms in advance of the elections. In those platforms, gender issues were explicitly mentioned. The primary issues were protecting of women's rights, combating violence against women, prioritizing women's employment, providing economic support to women head of households, and supporting unemployed women who wish to establish a business by allocating an annual unemployment payment.³³

Despite the lack of significant attention to gender issues in the party platforms of the two major parties, it should be noted that all major parties had supported the "Law on Gender Equality," which was adopted in July 2008, the year before the election. The law, which included a 30 percent quota for women's representation, passed with a significant majority. . Thus, there appears to be a level of commitment to women's rights on the part of all parties. Specific policies will be needed to translate that general commitment into real gains for women.

³¹ Democratic Party: <http://www.pd.al/programi-i-pd>

³² Socialist Party declarations in the media, available at: http://ps.al/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=64&Itemid=129

³³ SMI Electoral Platform, available at: www.lsi.al

3. NGO MONITORING OF PUBLIC EVENTS³⁴

UNIFEM financially and technically supported local partner organizations in seven main regions to monitor public events associated with the electoral campaign period in order to assess the level of participation by women. Local partner organizations compiled reports on a total of 180 events. The reports on public events addressed the following questions:

1. Which party, coalition of parties, NGOs, or international organization organized this activity?
2. How many people attended the event and how many of them were women?
3. How many people were on the dais (on the main panel) and how many of them were women?
4. In a panel of persons (in the main panel) how many of them were from Tirana and how many of the people from Tirana were women?
5. How many women were on the dais and spoke, and how many of the speakers were from Tirana?
6. What were the problems that were discussed (key issues) and what problems had to do with the role of women in elections as candidates and voters?
7. How long did the meeting last, and how many minutes of discussion was devoted to the role of women in elections?

The most thorough reporting on political activities came from the Gjirokastra and Kukës regions. The table below shows the number of reports collected from each of the main regions.

Table 12: Reports collected by region

No.	Region	No. of Reports
2	Gjirokastrer	59
1	Kukes	48
3	Shkoder	29
5	Elbasan	16
4	Vlore	13
6	Korce	10
7	Tirane	5
Total		180

Source: ACER and ASET

A. Summary of Findings from the Monitoring by NGOs of Political Activities

³⁴ Përmbledhje e Gjetjeve nga veprimtaria e Organizatave Partnere Lokale të Unifem që punuan në Projektin “Gratë Dhe Zgjedhjet”. Kjo përmbledhje është bazuar në diskutimet që Prof. Fatmir Mema, në emër të Konsorciumit 2A, pati me OJQ-të lokale gjatë muajit Prill.

Women's Attendance at Public Events

Events organized by the local branches of political parties during the electoral campaign period ranged in size from 5 – 300 people in closed halls, and 500 – 5000 people in open squares. The meetings with the higher number of participants were registered in Tirana (4000 – 5000) and Shkodra (3000 – 5000). Fewer people participated in other zones; turnout was particularly low in Gjirokastra and Kukes. Women were relatively active participants in electoral activities, though they attended public events in smaller numbers than men. Women were observed to be 40 – 50% of participants in Tirana, 25 – 50% in Vlora, 35 – 45% in Shkodra, 30 -35% in Elbasan, 20 – 40% in Kukes, and 25 – 35% in Gjirokastra.

The relatively high rates of women's participation makes the lack of attention to gender issues in the main political parties' platforms, discussed above, notable. Given their rates of involvement, it would appear that an organized women's movement could pressure the parties to formally declare their stances on policies of particular interest to women. Activists should work to ensure that the "women's vote" is understood to be an important interest group.

Women's Participation on Discussion Panels

Local partner organizations reported to UNIFEM that in election meetings, men were the majority of panelists sitting at the head table during events and conferences, particularly at those meetings organized in the communes. Panels without any women were more likely to be found in rural areas. However, at panels where women were introduced as candidates for parliament, and especially at those meetings organized specifically for women by the Speaker of Parliament, women were nearly 50 percent of panel participants.³⁵ In those instances when women were panelists, they played an active role due to the fact that they were candidates and were charged with presenting their parties' programs and the priorities of the zone in which they were competing. The table below gives some additional data on women's participation in panels and discussions, in 180 meetings monitored by UNIFEM NGO local partners.

Table 13: Women's participation on panels at election events as per monitoring reports of partner NGOs

District	Total No. of Meetings monitored	No. of meetings where women participated in the panel	No. of Women who participated in panels	No. of Women who took a speech or discussed about gender policies
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³⁵ The Speaker of Parliament, Ms. Jozefina Topalli organized several electoral meetings only with Women in main districts (7)

Kukes	48	29	49	42
Gjirokaster	59	27	49	29
Shkoder	29	26	84	36
Vlore	13	9	21	9
Elbasan	16	13	22	18
Korce	10	9	23	18
Tirane	5	5	49	9
Total	180	118	297	161

Issues discussed

As reported by UNIFEM's local partners, the main problems discussed during electoral activities and public meetings were: Albania's application for and status as a candidate country to the EU, investments in the rural infrastructure (the Durres – Kukes road), increases in wages and pensions, further investments in the health sector, concerns regarding corruption, increases in education and health budgets, and poverty reduction. Women's role in elections was not cited as a main topic. Again, this seems like a missed opportunity because a significant portion of the electorate in Albania is female. When women's participation was discussed, the following issues were raised:

- Increasing women's role as candidates,
- Increasing women's role as voters,
- Increasing the role of women in decision-making and ensuring the active participation of women in politics
- Promoting women leaders from communities who have capacities to be engaged in public life
- Increasing collaboration with the media to promote awareness of women leaders in their communities
- Guaranteeing women's equal participation in local administration and decision-making in general

Finally, according to NGO observers, women attending the meetings agreed that efforts to promote women's participation as candidates and voters would improve women's living standards, access to education and employment, and economic and social status in the family and community. Globally, experience shows that this is true. That is, women's participation in public life does result in greater attention to women's issues and women's status.

Duration of meetings and the time dedicated to women's role in elections

On average, electoral meetings lasted between 30 – 90 minutes. Typically, observers reported that 10 minutes of each meeting was dedicated to the role of women in the political life of the country. However, there were meetings where there was no discussion on this matter. Typically at these large meetings, panelists initiated the conversations and introduced topics for discussion. Thus, not surprisingly, observers reported that discussions were more likely to focus on women's role in politics when there were women active as panelists. This reinforces

the experience of women activists worldwide – that, in order to get women’s issues on the agenda, women must be present to represent their concerns.

Table 14: Additional data on women’s participation on panels

District	Total No. of Meetings	No. of meetings where women participated in the panel	No. of Meetings where women were not panelists	No. of meetings where no women related topics were discussed
Total	180	118	63	30
Gjirokaster	59	27	32	5
Kukes	48	29	19	7
Shkoder	29	26	3	6
Elbasan	16	13	3	6
Vlore	13	9	4	2
Korce	10	9	1	4
Tirane	5	5	0	0

B. Gathering information from the political parties

NGOs involved in this monitoring process reported that the local women’s forums, or women’s wings of parties, were not particularly well organized and were largely ineffective in terms of helping the local partner organizations liaise with political parties. In the assessment of the local partners, then, this weakness was likely to have a negative effect on women’s participation on Election Day (i.e. voting), and the monitoring of women’s participation in parties, as decision-makers or candidates. Ideally, women’s wings would be strong internal advocates for women within the parties. At present in Albania, this does *not* appear to be the case.

C. Monitoring political parties’ application of the quotas by NGOs

Initially, political parties involved more men than women in the pre-election process, on the CEAZ lists, and in public meetings and pre-election events. Local partner organizations observed that political parties believe men to be more active than women in terms of monitoring election lists, and parties assume that men have better contacts with the voters. While this may have been true in the past, as more women enter politics and more female voters turn out on Election Day, the old systems and contacts will be insufficient. Parties will need women candidates and women voter in order to win a mandate. Women activists and party members must work to make their presence felt and demonstrate their power as an electorate.

During meetings in advance of the elections, some of the local partners observed that there was a tendency to rank women candidates at the bottom of parties' candidate lists. This observation was made on the basis of the preparatory phase of party list composition and from media sources that published early, unofficial rankings. However, at public meetings, when local partners raised these concerns, women candidates and party members often replied that participation was itself a positive step. They argued that just being on the list, even at the bottom, would gain women promises of better positions in public administration after the election (ministries and other local and central administration institutions). Others suggested that it would allow women to earn a better reputation among party members, which would be useful in the future – that women needed to climb the political ladder, so to speak.

Such interactions represent a common divide between women activists and women party members. Activists are much more likely to push for full compliance with the spirit of a quota law, and for positioning women at the top of lists. Women party members owe their positions (even low-ranking positions) to their parties and are reluctant to criticize their parties, especially in public. In general, politicians are more likely to see the benefits of working within the party system and building up strength over time, rather than pushing for dramatic change.

For this reason, and because political parties are the “gate keepers” that can keep women out of the political process, it is imperative that parties' internal regulations and decision-making procedures are transparent. Too often, decisions about leadership positions in the party, or placement of candidates on lists, are made informally or behind closed doors by traditional male power brokers. A previous study in Albania found that among the greatest obstacles to women's political participation were “lack of support from male politicians” and “lack of support from the political parties” themselves.³⁶ Women are less likely to have access to these traditional power bases. Thus, the more democratic and transparent political party operations, the more access women party members will have to decision-making.

Local partners reported on a variety of challenges to the implementation of the new quota law. The following problems were observed directly by local partners, or discussed in pre-election meetings. A sample of the challenges that were discussed and encountered throughout the country in the pre-election period includes:

- Local NGO partners in Gjirokastrë and Vlorë observed that some women were asking permission from their husbands to be engaged as commissioners.
- Political party representatives claimed that some of the political coalitions “pretended” not to have enough women activists to nominate as commissioners, and in those cases they replaced female with male commissioners.
- Based on the experience of previous elections, some observers claim that male commissioners do not stay at the voting center all day, especially in rural areas. According to local partners, this was cited as a reason that women should be members of the CEAZ.

³⁶ Albanian Center for Economic Research and Albanian Social Economic Think Tank, with the support of UNIFEM. “Public Perceptions of Women's Participation in Elections in Albania: A Survey,” 2008. Page 7.

Taken together, this list represents a base of anecdotal evidence about the level of concern about the quota law in the pre-election period.

4. NGO MONITORING OF MEDIA

A. Media Coverage of Women Candidates for Parliament

ACER and ASET prepared more than 120 daily media monitoring reports over a five-month period, between 2 March and 31 August 2009. The objective of the monitoring was to collect and disseminate information about the 28 June 2009 parliamentary election to UNIFEM's local partner organizations as well as other stakeholders.

In the pre-election phase, the daily reports collected information on the election infrastructure, including the establishment of the CEC, decisions made by the CEC, voter lists, the registration of political parties, the creation of political coalitions, and the submission of candidate lists by parties. Special attention was given to announcements regarding the distribution of identity cards to citizens.³⁷ Both identity cards and passports were accepted as forms of identification on Election Day because the distribution of national ID cards was not completed in advance of the election.³⁸ This information is critical for women voters. Globally, women are more likely than men to be undocumented, to lack passports, citizenship papers and identity cards. They are also less likely to have experience interacting with government officials, and less likely to be familiar with official processes such as obtaining identification, and voting. In Albania, among reasons given for not voting among women, "the main reason ... was that they were not registered in the Voter's List."³⁹ Gender-sensitive voter and civic education should take into account the specific needs and challenges of women voters.

ACER and ASET media monitoring reports on the day of the election included the progress of the voting process, the number of people voting, and preliminary results from official sources. Finally, the media monitoring reports continued throughout the post-election phase. These reports included announcements of election official results, the decision of the CEC to recount some of the voting centers' votes, as well as the claims of political parties to the Election College⁴⁰ of the Court of Appeals of Tirana, where all CEC decisions and failure of the CEC to make a decision were appealed as the last instance. The majority of appeals were

³⁷In 2008 and the months preceding the elections, the Government undertook two important administrative reforms; both were implemented by the Ministry of Interior (MoI). The first was the completion of the National Civil Status Register (NCSR) database maintained by the General Directorate of Civil Status and the assignment of a national personal ID number to every citizen by the end of 2008. The second reform aimed at providing every citizen with a new personal identity document, a high-level security ID card containing biometric data. For the first time in Albanian elections, voter lists were extracted from the central, computerized NCSR database. Previously, voter lists were extracted from records maintained in hardcopy by local Civil Status Offices (CSOs) prior to each new election. The old system did not allow for nationwide crosschecks for errors, omissions and duplicates, and was a major obstacle to improving the overall quality of the civil register and the voter lists. However, problems occurred when citizens did not find their names on the database and people who passed away were still registered as the National Civil Status Register database was not entirely cleaned and updated in order to further improve the quality of the voter lists.

³⁸ ACER and ASET

³⁹ Albanian Centre for Economic Research and the Albanian Social Economic Think Tank for UNIFEM. "Public Perception of Women's Participation in Elections in Albania: A Survey," 2008. Page 16

⁴⁰ The Electoral College, which consists of eight judges chosen by a lottery from a pool of all appellate judges adjudicates cases in panels composed of five members, also chosen by lottery.

submitted by the SP. Ongoing media monitoring includes reporting on the decrees of the new parliament and government.

B. Summary of Media Monitoring

Referring to monitored information⁴¹, the elections of 28 June, certainly have been the most monitored considered the number of domestic and international observers who were engaged to monitor the voting centers and commissions. There were 6,120 domestic observers from 16 different NGOs, showing an increased transparency. The biggest observation effort was undertaken by a coalition of six NGOs under the leadership of the Society for Democratic Culture that deployed over 2,300 observers.⁴²

Media monitoring conducted by ACER and ASET revealed the following irregularities on the part of the political parties. Political parties did not submit the correct information on logistics in a timely fashion. Political parties did not comply with their legal obligations to submit the names of their representatives for vote counting groups and CEAZ members lists. The political parties replaced commissioners during the last days with individuals who had not been previously trained. There was a lack of transparency from the political parties with regard to electoral campaign financing sources. Also, there was also a lack of debate between political parties concerning the details of their party platforms, especially between two main political parties, the DP and SP.

The monitoring activities also uncovered reports of problems on the part of local officials. Some mayors from local government units established voting centers on privately owned property,⁴³ which violated their obligation to guaranty impartiality and free access. Only 61 of 384 mayors fulfilled their obligation to provide the CEC with precinct maps, locations of voting centers, and a breakdown of the voter lists by voting centers.⁴⁴

The 2009 parliamentary elections once again demonstrated that the role of women in political life in Albania is quite limited. It is evident from the daily media monitoring reports prepared by ACER and ASET that the media coverage of male and female candidates was not equal. The national media was more likely than local media outlets to cover female candidates, but overall, women received much less coverage than their male counterparts. In the written media, for example, there were only few cases of profile interviews with some of the more prominent women candidates from the larger parties, such as Ms. Jozefina Topalli (DP) and Ms. Valentina Leskaj (SP).

In Albania, another UNIFEM-supported study found that the role of media in shaping political opinions is “immense.” Researchers and politicians alike have observed that “media coverage of women candidates is poor when compared that of male candidates.” Because “the media can play a key role in creating an enabling environment for women candidates ... it is essential that gender equality advocates have a clearer picture of what impact media has

⁴¹ Daily Media Monitoring Reports, prepared by 2A Consortium, 2 March – 20 July 2009.

⁴² OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report, 14 September, pg. 19

⁴³ Electoral Code. Article 93” Location of the Voting Centres, CEAZ headquarters and Ballot Counting Centres”

⁴⁴ OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report, 14 September, pg. 19

on women in elections.”⁴⁵ When coupled with global data that demonstrates that women also have less access to media as consumers, we see that women are both featured less often in media reports, and are less likely to have access to coverage of elections. In this way, as stated above, the media is a critical “gatekeeper” in terms of women’s effective political participation.

C. The Electoral Campaign of Women Candidates

Monitoring by UNIFEM’s local partners and ACER and ASET revealed that the electoral campaigns of male candidates were much more visible than those of female candidates. Despite efforts by female candidates to promote themselves in public debates, they were not able to mobilize any perceptible support for their candidacies in the media, as evidenced by the 2A media monitoring reports. In particular, ACER and ASET noted that women candidates were less aggressive and less likely to promote themselves to the media outlets. And representatives of the media outlets were less likely to cover women candidates, as a result of tradition, expectations, and entrenched, if unacknowledged, bias. Two notable exceptions were the Speaker of the Parliament and DP candidate, Ms. Jozefina Topalli and the Head of the Socialist Parliamentary Group, SP candidate Ms. Valentina Leskaj. Both of these women were incumbents with significant leadership roles within their respective parties; each was able to mobilize significant support for her candidacy. ACER and ASET experts believe that the leadership of the respective political parties should have given a more prominent role to the female candidates representing their parties during the electoral campaigns.

⁴⁵ Albanian Centre for Economic Research and the Albanian Social Economic Think Tank for UNIFEM. “Public Perception of Women’s Participation in Elections in Albania: A Survey,” 2008. Page 40.

5. ELECTION DAY MONITORING BY NGOS

A. Introduction

UNIFEM's partner NGOs, in collaboration with ACER and ASET, monitored women's participation as voters on Election Day in four regions. Annex II shows the monitoring centres in the four regions (Elbasan, Gjirokastra, Vlore, Kukes) and the NGOs who monitored.

B. Preparatory work to complete monitoring process

Preparations by local NGOs and ACER and ASET for monitoring of voters began May 2009. The preparatory work consisted in part of ensuring that all local partner organizations in the targeted regions had up-to-date information about the CEC registration process. Partner organizations received copies of Order No. 13, dated on 22.04.2009, entitled "For accrediting procedures and observation rules on elections from Albanian and foreign non-governmental organizations, international organizations, representatives of foreign countries and media," and the necessary registration assistance was provided.

ACER and ASET drafted and shared a data collection template for the women participation on the Elections Day with all partner organizations, to ensure consistency of data gathering in advance of the election (see Annex 1). A second template, one designed to collect information about female voters was also drafted by ACER and ASET and disseminated to local partners (see Annex 2).

UNIFEM and ACER and ASET conducted trainings in three different venues, in Kukes on 18 June 2009, Elbasan (where monitors from Vlora took part as well) on 20 June 2009, and Gjirokastra on 21 June 2009. The training was designed to clarify all observer procedures for Election Day, and to ensure consistency of data collection techniques. In the second training session, instructions were given regarding the type of data to be collected before and on Election Day.

It should be noted that the training was very useful not only for implementation of this project, but also, given a long term perspective, for increasing collaboration between local NGOs and building capacity of civil society more generally. In general, ACER and ASET observed an increased cooperation and improved coordination among civil society organizations during the 2009 election cycle. This occurred through the exchange of information in online discussions, the establishment of contacts during field meetings organized by ACER and ASET, and participation in training sessions. Civil society organizations shared best practices with each other, and increased their levels of awareness-raising activities, particularly with regard to the political and civil rights of women voters and the promotion of gender equality.

C. Getting Out the Female Vote

In the lead up to the elections, UNIFEM’s local NGO partners reported that they were having challenges organizing rural women and assisting them in election preparation. There were many cases of women not having information about the Electoral Code, the parties and candidates, or even about the actual mechanics or “how to” of voting. And on Election Day, partner organizations reported that the biggest challenge they faced was in urging women in the rural areas to get out and vote.

In addition to rural women voters, another group that experienced difficulty was elderly women, particularly those who have problems reading and writing. In those cases, it was difficult to protect the secret and independent nature of the vote, as the elderly were often accompanied and assisted, by either a child or an adult. Anecdotally, it was observed that when adults accompanied the elderly, they pressured the elderly women to vote a certain way. And children who accompanied the elderly were sometimes instructed to vote for their own parents’ preferred candidate, not the candidate that the elderly woman herself chose. In such cases it would have been ideal if an impartial commissioner could have accompanied the elderly woman and assisted her.

Other challenges that local partners faced in turning out the female vote were the fatalist attitudes of some women. Local NGOs reported that some women were tired of politics, and did not believe in the political parties. These women reported being disillusioned, having voted in each election and never seen a change in their community or living conditions. There were also challenges particular to marginalized communities – the Egyptian and Roma populations, for instance – where women tend to have less economic independence or social mobility.

Globally, we see that women face a variety of sex-specific barriers to their participation as voters. Notably, they have less access to education, both traditional school-based education and civic or voter education. They are more likely to be illiterate than men. They also have less access to media and public information. And in general, women have less time and money and access to transportation than men in their communities do. All of these factors played out in the Albanian election to one degree or another.

Civic and voter education should be supported to combat such problems, and designed with specific outreach to women voters. Such programs should include training on the rights of women voters, but also on practical solutions for the logistical challenges women face. Election administrators must also be empowered to design elections that are gender-sensitive and encourage women’s engagement in the political process. Guidance for encouraging women’s participation as voters include the following: “developing effective voter education campaigns, instituting simple procedures for voter registration, ensuring easy access to polling stations, establishing convenient polling hours, providing adequate security at polling locations, preventing intimidation, designing ballots and voting procedures that are clear and

simple, making certain each person's vote is cast secretly, and providing balloting facilities for illiterate voters."⁴⁶

The local partner organizations also recommend, based on their experience working with women voters, that in order to increase the number of women voters in the future, a "strong voices" strategy be adopted. This strategy would require identifying women of influence at the local level, and women who have influence in marginalized communities. Female opinion leaders could conduct more effective outreach, serve almost as mentors, and could be used to help conduct voter education for women. Such a strategy requires good contacts on the ground, and an intensive campaign to identify and promote such women leaders at the community level. Involving women leaders at the community level would confer greater legitimacy on voter registration and "get out the vote" efforts than perhaps a national campaign ever could.

D. The "Family Voting" Phenomenon

The issue of family voting in Albania received a lot of attention prior to the 2009 parliamentary election. International organizations and local political actors sponsored an awareness campaign to discourage family voting, a practice that has been widespread in the past. According to international standards, the practice of family voting, in which one family member (typically male) casts ballots on behalf of the entire family, or in which a husband and wife enter the voting booth together, is not an acceptable practice in democratic elections. According to the UN Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues, "Family voting is particularly likely to detract from women's ability to cast individual and secret ballots. In its worst form, family voting constitutes a type of fraud in which women are deliberately deprived of their right to vote. If perpetrated deliberately and on a large scale, family voting can bring into question whether an election outcome reflects the will of the people."⁴⁷

In Albania, the phenomenon of family voting is at times less direct, or obvious, than in the classic example above in which a family member accompanies a woman into the voting booth and votes for her. Research has demonstrated that, in fact, family voting starts at home. In Albania, women who do not vote often report that it is because their families did not vote. "Women are much less likely than men to be politically engaged if their families choose to remain uninvolved."⁴⁸

Throughout the pre-election period, the phenomenon of family voting was frequently highlighted. International organizations, namely the OSCE and UNIFEM, undertook an awareness campaign. UNIFEM supported local NGOs in selected regions to prepare

⁴⁶ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues. "Women and Elections: A Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections." Page 16. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/TableofContents.htm>.

⁴⁷ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues. "Women and Elections: A Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections." Chapter Five – Voter and Civic Education. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/TableofContents.htm>.

⁴⁸ Albanian Centre for Economic Research and the Albanian Social Economic Think Tank for UNIFEM. "Public Perception of Women's Participation in Elections in Albania: A Survey," 2008. Page 17.

manifestos, posters, and leaflets to raise awareness about the problems associated with family voting, and the ways in which it violates women's rights, and undermines democracy.

ACER and ASET and partner NGOs observed a slight reduction in family voting in 2009, when compared with findings from a national survey around previous elections (see section below on Election Day monitoring). The significance of the family voting problem varies in different regions across the country. As the data below, collected on Election Day, demonstrates, family voting was a larger problem in Kukes than in the other three regions that were monitored (Elbasan, Gjirokastra, and Vlora). The phenomenon was also observed more often among marginalized groups and poor families. It is important to note, however, that the analysis which follows is based only on monitoring of certain voting centres in four regions, and the baseline by which this information is measured is the national survey supported by UNIFEM on people's perceptions on women in elections.

E. Comparing the 2007 and 2009 elections

Attempts were made to gather data in relation to women's participation in the 2007 local elections, in order to establish a baseline for comparison with the 2009 election. Partner organizations had great difficulty, however, in collecting this data. Despite significant efforts, only a few partners managed to find this data by respective regional CEAZ, in part or whole. The results show us that only the partner organization in Kukës managed to find complete data about women's participation in the 2007 local elections. The partner organization in Gjirokaster found partial data. Tables No. 14 and 14a demonstrate a slight decrease in the number of registered voters in Gjirokastra who actually voted, from 47.3% in 2007 to 43.7% in 2009. In Kukes there was a slight increase in the number of registered voters who actually voted, from 56.1% to 58.7%.

The only region with complete data that allows for a comparison in women's voting rates is Kukes. There, a slight decrease in women's participation was observed, from 55.4 percent in 2007 to 50.4 percent in 2009. Given the overall increase in voters in Kukes, cited above, this is of particular interest and potential concern. While the numbers of voters in general went up in Kukes, the number of women voters went down. Further research would need to be conducted to understand the reasons for this. Ideally, a comparison would be made between the number of women who voted in 2007 as a percentage of the women registered in 2007 and the number of women who voted in 2009 as a percentage of the women registered in 2009. However, the lack of sex-disaggregated voter registration data makes this impossible.

Table 15: 2007 Election data

Region	2007 Elections Data				
	No. of Registered Voters in the Monitored Center	Total Voters	Female Voters	% of participation	% of women toward the total who voted
Elbasan					
Gjirokaštër	12,519	5,922		47.3%	
Kukës	3,027	1,697	865	56.1%	55.4%
Vlorë					
Total					

Source: Data collected by Local NGOs in Gjirokastra and Kukës based on regional CEAZ data

Table 14a: 2009 Elections Data

Region	2009 Elections Data – based on NGO monitoring in 4 regions				
	No. of Voters in the Monitoring Center	Total Voters	Female Voters	% of participation	% of women toward the total who voted
Elbasan	21,782	10,591	5,220	48.6%	49.3%
Gjirokaštër	12,682	5,545	2,857	43.7%	51.5%
Kukës	3,927	2,305	1,162	58.7%	50.4%
Vlorë	5,195	2,318	1,100	44.6%	47.5%
Total	43,586	20,759	10,339	47.6%	49.8%

Source: ACER and ASET

F. Election Day Monitoring

UNIFEM’s local NGO partners in the four regions were provided with tracking and monitoring tools to identify the main problems women faced as voters and as candidates. ACER and ASET supported local NGO capacity with specific tools for tracking media coverage of the elections, political party commitments, and implementation of the gender quota in party lists and commissioner lists.

The sample size, only four districts, was intentionally small. The goal was not to collect nation-wide data, but rather to share information about the quota, promote its implementation, and support women’s right to vote and be elected. In addition, local NGOs were to assess “best practices” with regard to women and elections and the management of independent monitoring of Election Day voting.

Voters (see Annex III for detailed breakdown of monitoring of women voters)

This section presents the aggregate data about women voters from all regions where monitoring occurred. Tables 16 and 16a provide data from the 44 monitored voting centers in four regions. Of the 20,759 voters who voted in the election on 28 June 2009 in these four regions, 10,166 of them (49.0%) were women.

As the tables in Annex III show, the monitoring of voters was broken down into three blocks of time: 7hr – 12hr (5 hours), 12hr – 16hr (4 hours), and 16hr – 19hr (3 hours). The participation of women was lowest in the morning as a result of family duties, and began to increase during the second block of time. Women's participation was greater during the third block of time, from 16hr to 19hr, even though that was the shortest block (only 3 hours). Women reported that the majority of their family duties had been completed by evening time and thus, they were free to vote. This self-reporting is substantiated by the fact that the percentage of women between 31 and 50 years, those most likely to be engaged with family responsibilities, comprised 41.2 percent of all women who voted in the third block of time.

The data (see Table 16 in Annex III) also reveals that young women – those under 30 years of age – voted at lower rates than older women. Younger women tended to vote throughout the day; their participation was not significantly greater in any one of the three time blocks. Still, it is a potential concern for the future of Albanian democracy that the interest of younger voters is lower. More research should be done to understand the reasons for this.

In an attempt to assess the phenomenon of family voting, discussed above, significant attention was paid to how women arrived at the voting center – accompanied or not, and by whom. Women arrived most frequently accompanied by a man, in 34.6 percent of cases. The next most common manner of arrival was women alone (22.9 percent), followed by those who arrived with another woman (21.6 percent). Other manners of arriving at the voting centers (e.g. in large groups) account for only 10 percent of cases. The data shows similar results, with regard to the way in which women go to voting centers, across the three blocks of time.

In addition to examining the ways in which women *arrived* at the voting centers, election monitors also carefully observed how the women voted *entered the voting booth* – alone or accompanied, and by whom. In 90.9 percent of cases, women went into the voting booth alone. Women voted with another person in only 9.1 percent of cases. Most often this was an elderly woman being accompanied by another person. In 6.5 percent of cases, women were accompanied by an adult, and in 2.6 percent of cases, by a child. In general, women were more likely to be accompanied by a male adult or child, than by a female adult or child. Additionally, it was observed that voting with assistance occurred more often in the morning time block, when the elderly were more likely to be voting.

In the following sections, data from each of the regions is presented and analyzed separately.

Elbasan

Twenty-four voting centers were monitored in Elbasan by the local NGO “In the Family, for the Family (IFFF)”. Of the 10,591 voters, 5,220 were female (49.3 percent). Table 17a demonstrates (see Annex III) that women’s voting patterns vary greatly over the course of the day. Overall, the percentage of female voters is smallest in the morning, increases in the afternoon, and rises dramatically in the evening.

Young women (less than 30 years) were a smaller percentage of voters than older women; only 24.8 percent of female voters were under 30. Younger female voters participated almost uniformly throughout the day, with little difference between time blocks. This is perhaps because they have fewer responsibilities in the home during the day. Middle-aged women voted at the end of the day, while elderly women (those over the age of 51) tended to vote in the morning. In the analysis of IFFF and ACER and ASET, the reasons that elderly women vote early morning could be related to their schedules and the burdens on their time during the rest of the day. It is more likely, however, that this is related to the experience elderly women had under communism when they were obliged to vote as early as possible.

Less than a quarter of female voters (22.8 percent) in Elbasan went to the polls alone or with another woman (21.6 percent). The most common manner for women to go to the polls was accompanied by a man (34.6 percent). It should be mentioned, as it is different than in other regions, that a sizeable number of women went to the polls in a large group (6.9%). The time of day did not seem to have an affect on the manner in which women went to the polls in Elbasan.

Gjirokastra

Eleven polling stations were monitored in Gjirokastra by the “Gjirokaster Community Centre (GCC)”. Tables 18 and 18a (see Annex III) provide the data for Gjirokastra. There were a total of 5,545 voters observed at the eleven polling stations; 2,857 of them, or 51.5 percent, were women. As with other regions, women were less likely to vote in the morning hours (10.0%), increasingly so in the afternoon (13.7%), and most likely to vote in the evening (16.3%).

In Gjirokaster’s voting centers, young people had the lowest representation in the voting process (27.4%), increasing at middle age (35.4%) and reaching the maximum with elderly women (37.2%). For young and middle aged women (until 50 years old), the allocation of voters was lowest in the morning, and increased during the second and third time blocks. As we’ve seen elsewhere, elderly women were more likely to vote early in the morning.

An analysis of the way in which women go to the polls reveals that most of them (32.9%) go in couple, followed by going alone (29.9%), and then those who were accompanied by another woman (21.0%). In Gjirokastra, the percentage of women who went in large groups is low (3.0%).

In terms of voting, 91.7 percent of women voters cast their ballots alone, while 5.1 percent of women voted with the assistance of another adult, and 3.3 percent voted accompanied by a child. The data shows that the assistance according to the sex is the same; male accompaniers and female accompaniers each account for 4.2%.

Kukes

Six voting centers were monitored in Kukes (Tables 19 and 19a – see Annex III) by local NGO “Youth in Free Initiative”, where there were 2,305 voters total, of which 1,162 were female (50.4%). As seen in other regions, the trend in Kukes was for fewer women to vote in the morning (10.1% of voters going on average per hour), with a slight increase in the afternoon (12.5% of voters on average per hour), and a marked increase in the third block of time (17.1% of voters on average per hour).

Unlike in other regions, the largest group of female voters was middle age (42.8%), followed by younger females (33.0%). The smallest group of women voters in Kukes was the elderly (24.3% of female voters). In Kukes, younger women voted frequently in the morning time block, and increasingly in the afternoon. For middle age women, as elsewhere, they were more likely to vote in the evening, presumably after completing family duties. As in other regions, older women voted in the morning.

In Kukes, the greatest percentage of women went to the polls in a couple (36.3%), the next largest group went with another woman (18.5%). And the next most prevalent manner of arriving at the polls was going with a group of people (15.7%), and in a group of several women (11.8%). In Kukes, only 3.8% of women went to the polls alone. Women

accompanied by other women were more likely to vote in the first time block, while women in couples (accompanied by a man) were more likely to go in the last time block.

With regard to how women voted, the monitoring in Kukes revealed significant differences from other regions. As seen in the Table 19, only 83.3% of women voted alone. This is the lowest percentage of all the regions that were monitored. The instances of female voters accompanied into the voting booth by an adult (male or female) were highest in Kukes – 12.3 percent. Most often, it was an adult man who accompanies the woman into the voting booth. Accompaniment by a child occurred in 4.4 percent of cases.

In further analyzing the data, one can see that during the voting process, women were accompanied by a man (children and adults) 11.6 percent of the time, while they were accompanied by other females (children + adult) in only 5.1 percent of cases.

Vlora

Tables 20 and 20a (see Annex III) provide data on the three polling stations that were monitored in Vlora by “Women Incentive in the Integration of the Civil Society” local NGO. There were 2,318 voters total, of which 1,100 were female – 47.5 percent. Table 20a also shows that women voted less frequently during the first and second time blocks (respectively 9.2 percent and 10.4 percent on average per hour) and increased in the third time block, when on average 18.3 percent of female voters went per hour to the voting centers.

The monitoring in Vlora also shows a small variation in the age of women voters, when compared to other regions. The greatest number was middle age with 38.4 percent, and the lowest was young female voters with 32.5 percent. The time when women voted in Vlora did not comply with the general trend, as young people voted in the afternoon and older women voted less in the afternoon, and more in the morning and evening.

While analyzing the data on Table 20, it is clear that most women go to the voting centers in a couple (38.4% of the cases), followed by cases of women going alone (23.3 percent) and two women together (21.5 percent). Of those accompanied to vote, more women in Vlora were accompanied by a child (4.1 percent). Couples were more likely to arrive in the first time block, while other forms of arriving at the polls were more frequent in other time blocks, and happened more frequently after noon.

While analyzing the voting process of women, it is evident that the trend to vote alone is higher in Vlora than in the other regions; 94.8% of women voted alone in Vlora. Women were accompanied by an adult 5.8 percent of the time, and by a child 4.4 percent of the time. Accompaniment by a male (adult or child) occurred 6.1 percent of the time, while accompaniment by a female (adult or child) occurred 4.1 percent of the time.

6. CONCLUSION

In the results of the 28 June 2009 parliamentary elections in Albania, the winning coalition (DP, SMI, RP and PDI) held a small margin of victory over the opposition coalition (SP and HRUP). Given this, decision-making in the new parliament will be more difficult and will require the professional expertise and presence of all deputies seated in this legislature. Therefore, the role of the female deputies could be more decisive and significant than at other points in Albania's history. However, with the writing of this study, the Socialist Party (opposition party) is boycotting the parliament as they reject the election results in select zones, will likely impeded parties' collaboration on major agenda items.

However, the new Electoral Code was indisputably a step forward for women's participation and gender equality, particularly within the framework of European Integration. There are significant expectations being placed on the shoulders of these new women parliamentarians. It is anticipated that the increased number of women deputies, could have an historically significant impact on gender-sensitive policies and the promotion of gender issues in the parliament. Additionally, because the majority of new female deputies come from the civil society, it is expected that they will play an important role in empowering woman generally to play a larger role in the political life of Albania, at all levels.

The implementation of Albania's quota law provides a challenge to advocates of women's political participation, however. If they hope to achieve a critical mass of 30 percent women in elected office, the Electoral Code will need to be reviewed. While the existence of quotas in the new Electoral Code are significant and notable achievements on the part of the political parties, in 2009, though the law was implemented, women only earned 16.4% percent of seats in the Assembly. This result indicates a need to review the existing quota for national assembly lists.

Women in Albania face a number of challenges, including poverty, lack of access to employment, violence and other forms of discrimination. They are, however, at least half of the electorate. With increased pressure from an organized and collaborative civil society, it is possible that women's issues will take up a more prominent place on political party platforms and ultimately the national agenda. Women are poised to be an influential sector of the electorate in this burgeoning democracy, and the 2009 parliamentary elections are only one step in that process. Thus, women's increased access to the political process, as voters, party members, candidates and officials, is of central importance to their advancement overall.

ANNEX I: Template for the Election Day

(The information from point A to point D should be compiled by the local NGOS. They will be trained by 2A consortium till June 21, 2009. The voting centers to be monitored will be agreed on the end of training session)

A. GENERAL INFORMATION FOR THE SELECTED VOTING CENTER

1. Total number of voters registered in the local elections 2007: _____
2. Total number of the female voters registered in the local election 2007: _____
3. Total number of voters, voted in the local election 2007: _____
4. Total number of female voters in the local election 2007: _____
5. The percentage to the total number of the registered female voters (4/2 in %):

B. THE DYNAMIC OF VOTING, JUNE 28 ON THE SELECTED VOTING CENTERS

- a. Total number of voters registered in the political elections June 28, 2009
- b. Total number of female voters registered in the political elections June 28, 2009
- c. Percentage of participating in the voting process, Total up to 12.00 a.m.
- d. From them, female _____
- e. Percentage of participating in the voting process, Total up to 4.00 p.m.
- f. From them, female _____
- g. Percentage of participating in the voting process, total up to the end of voting day
- h. From them, female _____

C. SOME CALCULATIONS REGARDING THE PARTICIPATION AT THE VOTING DAY, JUNE 28 FOR THE SELECTED VOTING CENTERS

1. Change (plus/minus) of total number of participations in the voting day
2. Change (plus/minus) of female number of participations in the voting day

D. SOME COMPARISONS OF THE VOTING CENTER MONITORED

- | | QARKU | | Voting center (monitoring) | |
|------------------------|-------|---|----------------------------|---|
| | No | % | No | % |
| 1. Total participation | | | | |
| 2. From them, female | | | | |

Alternative reporting regarding the voting center

3. Total participation
4. From them, female

Source: _____

E. DETAILED INFORMATION REGARDING THE VOTING, JUNE 28

(This information should be compiled by 2a consortium after receiving the whole data from the NGOs. Depending on the capacities of the NGOs they might provide the information on women participation in the election process only for their region. If not 2A Consortium should take over the data they collected).

F. SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON THE SELECTED VOTING CENTER COMMISSIONERS

a. For commission,

- a. How many commissioners were at the voting center, how many of them were female?
- b. Did the commissioners change during the day?
- c. If so was the commissioners that change during the day a woman or a man?

b. DETAILED INFORMATION ON WOMEN VOTERS

WE ARE INTERESTING IN MONITORING WOMEN VOTERS IN THE THREE MAIN TOPICS:

1. What TIME do they come to the voting station

- i. Until 12.00. a.m.
- ii. 12.00- 4.00 p.m.
- iii. After 4.00 p.m.

2. How do they COME? Alone or accompanied

- A) alone
- B) accompanied by family members
- C) accompanied by friends

3. What is their AGE group: to make this easy for the monitors we can gather data for three big age groups:

- a. GROUP 1 - YOUNG VOTERS AGE 18 – 30 _____ people
- b. GROUP 2 - MIDDLE AGE VOTERS: 31 – 50 _____ people
- c. GROUP 3 OLD AGE – 51 + _____ people

• The next question based on local NGOs monitoring results will be counted considering the a-m data!

1. What % of voters from the list was female?
2. What % of the persons, which vote, was female?
3. What % of the female from the list voted?
4. In how many cases the female voters came alone?
5. In how many cases the female voters came accompanied by another female voter?
6. In how many cases the female voters came accompanied in a bigger group, composed by more female than male voters?
7. In how many cases, the old female voters voted accompanied by a child or a young person? In how many cases the accompanier was female?
8. In how many cases, the old female voters voted accompanied by a adult person? In how many cases the accompanier was female?
9. In how many cases, the old male voters voted accompanied by a child or a young person? In how many cases the accompanier was female?
10. In how many cases, the old male voters voted accompanied by a adult person? In how many cases the accompanier was female?
11. Describe the cases where, according to your judge, the female voters have been influenced to vote by other family members. The distribution according to age.

ANNEX II: Voting Stations Monitored

No.	Region	Monitoring Organization	No. of Monitoring Centers	Monitoring Centers
1	Elbasan	“In Family for the Family”	24	Center 2307, Center 2307/1, Center 2315, Center 2316, Center 2316/1, Center 2317, Center 2330, Center 2330/1, Center 2342, Center 2342/1, Center 2343, Center 2348, Center 2358, Center 2359, Center 2366, Center 2366/1, Center 2367, Center 2367/1, Center 2372, Center 2374, Center 2375, Center 2376, Center 2377 and Center 2378
2	Gjirokastra	Gjirokaster Community Center	11	Center 4304, Center 4305, Center 4240, Center 4235, Center 4235/1, Center 4254, Center 4254/1, Center 4246, Center 4251, Center 4239 and Center 4238
3	Kukes	Youth in Free Initiative	6	Center 651, Center 607, Center 622, Center 634, Center 638 and Center 648
4	Vlora	Women Incentive in the Integration of the Civil Society	3	Center 4463, Center 4510 and Center 4496
TOTAL			44 monitored centers	

Source: ACER and ASET; Local NGOs: “In Family for the Family”, “Gjirokaster Community Center”, “Youth in Free Initiative”, “Women Incentive in the Integration of the Civil Society”

ANNEX III – Detailed tables on monitoring of women voters on day of elections in four regions

Table 16: Summary of monitoring results for all voting centers in 4 monitored regions

Time	Age		How did they go to the monitoring centers										How did they vote				
	18 until 30	31 until 50	Alone		Accompanied with					Some children			Accompanied by				
		51 +		1 female	1 male	some females	some males	with more females	with more males	1 child	Some children	Alone	1 child male	1 child female	1 adult male	1 adult female	
7-12h	1121	1465	1781	933	979	1526	306	70	315	140	89	9	3907	84	52	206	118
	25.7%	33.5%	40.8%	21.4%	22.4%	34.9%	7.0%	1.6%	7.2%	3.2%	2.0%	0.2%	89.5%	1.9%	1.2%	4.7%	2.7%
12-16h	912	1233	1055	774	688	1089	216	55	159	153	53	13	2935	22	38	112	93
	28.5%	38.5%	33.0%	24.2%	21.5%	34.0%	6.8%	1.7%	5.0%	4.8%	1.7%	0.4%	91.7%	0.7%	1.2%	3.5%	2.9%
16-19h	704	1068	827	625	533	902	165	62	109	130	44	29	2394	34	30	73	68
	27.2%	41.2%	31.9%	24.1%	20.6%	34.8%	6.4%	2.4%	4.2%	5.0%	1.7%	1.1%	92.4%	1.3%	1.2%	2.8%	2.6%
Total	2737	3766	3663	2332	2200	3517	687	187	583	423	186	51	9236	140	120	391	279
	26.9%	37.0%	36.0%	22.9%	21.6%	34.6%	6.8%	1.8%	5.7%	4.2%	1.8%	0.5%	90.9%	1.4%	1.2%	3.8%	2.7%

Table 16a -

Time	Voted		% of female voters on average in 1 hour of time –table	
	Total	Female	% females	% of female voters on average in 1 hour of time –table
7-12h	8784	4367	49.7%	9.9%
12-16h	6824	3200	46.9%	11.7%
16-19h	5151	2599	50.5%	16.8%
Total	20759	10166	49.0%	

Source: ACER and ASET; Local NGOs: “In Family for the Family”, “Gjirokastr Community Center”, “Youth in Free Initiative”, “Women Incentive in the Integration of the Civil Society”

Table 17: Summary of Monitoring Results in Elbasan

Time	Age		How did they go to the monitoring centers										How did they vote					
	18 until 30	31 until 50	Alone		Accompanied with						with more males	with more females	with more males	with more females	Alone		Accompanied by	
			1 female	1 male	some females	some females	some males	with more females	with more males	1 child					1 male	1 child male	1 child female	1 male
7-12h	498	713	1022	474	563	752	111	29	186	78	32	8	2018	7	35	121	52	
	22.3%	31.9%	45.8%	21.2%	25.2%	33.7%	5.0%	1.3%	8.3%	3.5%	1.4%	0.4%	90.4%	0.3%	1.6%	5.4%	2.3%	
12-16h	440	609	546	386	349	548	85	17	70	117	19	4	1471	6	12	64	42	
	27.6%	38.2%	34.2%	24.2%	21.9%	34.4%	5.3%	1.1%	4.4%	7.3%	1.2%	0.3%	92.2%	0.4%	0.8%	4.0%	2.6%	
16-19h	358	580	454	332	300	505	48	32	36	98	18	23	1312	11	11	28	30	
	25.7%	41.7%	32.6%	23.9%	21.6%	36.3%	3.4%	2.3%	2.6%	7.0%	1.3%	1.7%	94.3%	0.8%	0.8%	2.0%	2.2%	
Total	1296	1902	2022	1192	1212	1805	244	78	292	293	69	35	4801	24	58	213	124	
	24.8%	36.4%	38.7%	22.8%	23.2%	34.6%	4.7%	1.5%	5.6%	5.6%	1.3%	0.7%	92.0%	0.5%	1.1%	4.1%	2.4%	

Table 17a - Elbasan

Time	Voted		% of female voters on average in 1 hour of time-table	
	Total	Female	% females	of time-table
7-12h	4444	2233	50.2%	10.0%
12-16h	3349	1595	47.6%	11.9%
16-19h	2798	1392	49.7%	16.6%
Total	10591	5220	49.3%	

Source: Data collected by ACER and ASET, Local NGO "In Family for the Family"

Table 18: Summary of Monitoring Results in Gjirokastra

Time	Age		How did they go to the monitoring centers										How did they vote				
	until 30	until 30 +	Accompanied with					Accompanied by					Alone		Accompanied by		
			female	male	some females	some males	female	female	some females	some males	female	male	female	male	female	male	
7-12h	294	368	505	360	222	383	102	17	40	3	39	1	1037	40	14	37	39
	25.2%	31.5%	43.3%	30.8%	19.0%	32.8%	8.7%	1.5%	3.4%	0.3%	3.3%	0.1%	88.9%	3.4%	1.2%	3.2%	3.3%
12-16h	319	412	373	303	258	377	100	16	29	3	15	3	1026	8	20	20	30
	28.9%	37.3%	33.8%	27.4%	23.4%	34.1%	9.1%	1.4%	2.6%	0.3%	1.4%	0.3%	92.9%	0.7%	1.8%	1.8%	2.7%
16-19h	170	232	184	192	119	179	71	7	10	1	7	0	556	8	3	6	13
	29.0%	39.6%	31.4%	32.8%	20.3%	30.5%	12.1%	1.2%	1.7%	0.2%	1.2%	0.0%	94.9%	1.4%	0.5%	1.0%	2.2%
Total	783	1012	1062	855	599	939	273	40	79	7	61	4	2619	56	37	63	82
	27.4%	35.4%	37.2%	29.9%	21.0%	32.9%	9.6%	1.4%	2.8%	0.2%	2.1%	0.1%	91.7%	2.0%	1.3%	2.2%	2.9%

Table 18a - Gjirokastrer

Time	Votuan		% of female voters on average in 1 hour of time –table	
	Total	Female	% females	% of female voters on average in 1 hour of time –table
7-12h	2336	1167	50.0%	10.0%
12-16h	2014	1104	54.8%	13.7%
16-19h	1195	586	49.0%	16.3%
Total	5545	2857	51.5%	

Source: Data collected by ACER and ASET. Local NGO “Gjirokastrer Community Center”

Table 19: Summary of Monitoring Results in Kukës

Time	Age			How did they go to the monitoring centers																					
	Accompanied with			Accompanied with						Accompanied by															
	18 until 30	31 until 50	51 +	Alone	1 female	1 male	some females	some females	some males	with more females	with more males	1 child	Alone	1 male	1 child	1 male	1 child	1 female	1 adult	1 male	1 adult	1 female	1 adult		
7-12h	187 34.8%	216 40.2%	134 25.0%	17 3.2%	126 23.5%	185 34.5%	76 14.2%	15 2.8%	54 10.1%	57 10.6%	7 1.3%	0 0.0%	441 82.1%	34 6.3%	3 0.6%	39 7.3%	20 3.7%								
12-16h	131 32.8%	164 41.1%	104 26.1%	15 3.8%	70 17.5%	144 36.1%	46 11.5%	22 5.5%	81 20.3%	15 3.8%	6 1.5%	0 0.0%	336 84.2%	10 2.5%	3 0.8%	33 8.3%	17 4.3%								
16-19h	65 28.8%	117 51.8%	44 19.5%	12 5.3%	19 8.4%	93 41.2%	15 6.6%	13 5.8%	48 21.2%	23 10.2%	3 1.3%	0 0.0%	191 84.5%	1 0.4%	0 0.0%	18 8.0%	16 7.1%								
Total	383 33.0%	497 42.8%	282 24.3%	44 3.8%	215 18.5%	422 36.3%	137 11.8%	50 4.3%	183 15.7%	95 8.2%	16 1.4%	0 0.0%	968 83.3%	45 3.9%	6 0.5%	90 7.7%	53 4.6%								

Table 19a - Kukës

Time	Voted		% of female voters on average in 1 hour of time –table	
	Total	Female	% females	% of female voters on average in 1 hour of time –table
7-12h	1065	537	50.4%	10.1%
12-16h	800	399	49.9%	12.5%
16-19h	440	226	51.4%	17.1%
Total	2305	1162	50.4%	

Source: Data collected by ACER and ASET, Local NGO “Youth in Free Initiative”

Table 20: Summary of Monitoring Results in Vlora

Time	Age		How did they go to the monitoring centers										How did they vote				
	18 until 30	31 until 50	Alone					Accompanied with					Accompanied by				
		51 +	1 female	1 male	some females	some females	some males	Group with more females	Group with more males	1 child	1 child male	1 child female	1 adult male	1 adult female			
7-12h	142	168	120	82	68	206	17	9	35	2	11	0	411	3	0	9	7
	33.0%	39.1%	27.9%	19.1%	15.8%	47.9%	4.0%	2.1%	8.1%	0.5%	2.6%	0.0%	95.6%	0.7%	0.0%	2.1%	1.6%
12-16h	88	95	92	73	62	71	16	9	12	10	16	6	247	7	6	10	5
	32.0%	34.5%	33.5%	26.5%	22.5%	25.8%	5.8%	3.3%	4.4%	3.6%	5.8%	2.2%	89.8%	2.5%	2.2%	3.6%	1.8%
16-19h	111	139	145	89	95	125	31	10	15	8	16	6	335	14	16	21	9
	28.1%	35.2%	36.7%	22.5%	24.1%	31.6%	7.8%	2.5%	3.8%	2.0%	4.1%	1.5%	84.8%	3.5%	4.1%	5.3%	2.3%
Total	341	402	357	244	225	402	64	28	62	20	43	12	993	24	22	40	21
	32.5%	38.4%	34.1%	23.3%	21.5%	38.4%	6.1%	2.7%	5.9%	1.9%	4.1%	1.1%	94.8%	2.3%	2.1%	3.8%	2.0%

Table 20a - Vlore

Time	Voted			of females	% of female voters on average per 1 hour of the time-table
	Total	Female	%		
7-12h	939	430	45.8%	9.2%	
12-16h	661	275	41.6%	10.4%	
16-19h	718	395	55.0%	18.3%	
Total	2318	1100	47.5%		

Source: Data collected by ACER and ASET, Local NGO "Women Incentive in the Integration of the Civil Society"

ANNEX IV. Women Candidate Ranking as per the mandates in 12 Regions

Region	Total Nr. of Mandates	Women Ranking
PD		
BERAT	8	6, 7, 8
DIBER	6	5, 6
DURRES	13	2, 10, 11, 13
ELBASAN	14	3, 10
FIER	16	3, 12, 13, 15, 16
GJIROKASTER	5	4, 5
KORCE	12	3, 7, 8, 12
KUKES	4	4, 5
LEZHE	7	3, 7
SHKODER	11	1, 3, 10
TIRANE	32	3, 5, 15, 17, 18, 29, 30
VLORE	12	6, 9, 11, 12
Region	Total Nr. of Mandates	Women Ranking
PS		
BERAT	8	3, 7, 8
DIBER	6	5, 6t
DURRES	13	2, 5,
ELBASAN	14	1, 3, 14
FIER	16	2, 13
GJIROKASTER	5	1, 4
KORCE	12	3, 6, 7, 11
KUKES	4	4, 5
LEZHE	7	5, 6, 8
SHKODER	11	5t, 6, 8, 11
TIRANE	32	1, 8, 10, 17, 22, 25t, 28, 32
VLORE	12	2, 8, 10, 12

Region	Total Nr. of Mandates	Women Ranking
LSI		
BERAT	8	3
DIBER	6	1, 6
DURRES	13	5, 6, 9, 10
ELBASAN	14	6, 10, 12, 13, 14
FIER	16	4, 5, 10, 11, 13
GJIROKASTER	5	3
KORCE	12	6, 7, 10, 12

KUKES	4	3
LEZHE	7	3, 5, 6, 7
SHKODER	11	3, 4, 6
TIRANE	32	3, 9, 17, 19, 21, 26, 29, 30, 32
VLORE	12	6, 7, 10, 12

Region	Total Nr. of Mandates	Women Ranking
PR		
BERAT	8	3, 5, 7
DIBER	6	4, 6, 8
DURRES	13	3, 13
ELBASAN	14	6, 8, 10, 13, 14
FIER	16	3, 6, 12
GJIROKASTER	5	3
KORCE	12	2, 5, 8, 10
KUKES	4	3
LEZHE	7	2, 6
SHKODER	11	4, 8, 9
TIRANE	32	4, 10, 11, 13, 17, 20, 24, 26, 31, 32
VLORE	12	4, 9, 11, 12

Region	Total Nr. of Mandates	Women Ranking
PDK		
BERAT	8	3, 6
DIBER	6	3, 5
DURRES	13	3, 4, 10, 11, 12
ELBASAN	14	3, 7, 10, 11
FIER	16	3, 7, 9, 11
GJIROKASTER	5	1
KORCE	12	3, 7, 11
KUKES	4	3
LEZHE	7	3, 6
SHKODER	11	3, 10, 11
TIRANE	32	2, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 27, 28, 30
VLORE	12	3, 7, 8, 11

Source: Data Collection made by ACER & ASET based on CEC data

ANNEX V: List of UNIFEM NGO Local Partners⁴⁹

No.	NGO Name	Location	Representative	Position	E-mail Contact
1	Woman to Woman	Shkoder	Majlinda Angoni	Director	gruajatekgruaja@gmail.com
2	Intellectual Women of Shkodra	Shkoder	Zenepe Dibra	Director	zdibra@yahoo.it
3	Human Dimension	Shkoder	Donika Selimi	Director	dimensionhuman@hotmail.com
4	Millennium Women's Network	Tirane	Jeta Katro	President	JKATRO@albmail.com
5	Millennium Women's Network	Tirane	Rajmonda Prifti	Vice-President	rajmondaprifti@albanianonline.com
6	Millennium Women's Network	Tirane	Ahmedie Daci	Koordinator	ahmediedaci@yahoo.com
7	Albanian Coalition for Promotion of Women	Tirane	Elona Gjebrea	Director	egjebrea@acpd-al.org
8	Albanian Journalist Group	Tirane	Briseida Mema	Director	briseida.mema@afp.com
9	Institute of Gender Studies and Research,	Tirane	DRITA Teta	Director	dritateta@hotmail.com
10	Independent Forum of Albanian Women	Tirane	Dalina Jashari	Coordinator	dalina_jashari@yahoo.com
11	Centre for protection of Children Rights in A	Tirane	Altin Hazizaj	Director	ahazizaj@crca.org.al
12	Centre for protection of Children Rights in A	Tirane	Blerina Metaj	Coordinator	bmetaj@crca.org.al
13	Women Forum	Elbasan	Shpresa Banja	Director	forumi_gruaselbasan@yahoo.com
14	Women Forum	Elbasan	Vilma Tafani	Coordinator	tafanivilma@yahoo.com
15	In the family for the family	Elbasan	Rezarta Sheshaj	Director	nfpf_org@yahoo.com
16	In the family for the family	Elbasan	Zamira Cabiri	Project Manager	zamira_66@yahoo.com
17	In the family for the family	Elbasan	Elona Mustafaraj	Member	l_mustafaraj@yahoo.com
18	Gjirokastra Multifunctional Community Cent	Gjirokaster	Idrizi Bardha	Director	idrizi_bardha@yahoo.com
19	Gjirokastra Multifunctional Community Cent	Gjirokaster	Lindita Luzo	Coordinator	luzolindita@yahoo.com
20	Gjirokastra Multifunctional Community Cent	Gjirokaster	Kristina Fidhi	Assistant	kristinafidhi@yahoo.co.uk
21	Gjirokastra Municipality	Gjirokaster	Odise Kote	Specialist	okote2003@yahoo.com
22	Social Worker	Gjirokaster	Valentina Lena	Social Worker	lena.vali@yahoo.com
23	Psychologist at High Schools	Gjirokaster	Daniela Culli	Psychologist at	daniela_culli@yahoo.com
24	Center for Students Information	Gjirokaster	Suzana Zisi	Coordinator	gruaja_me_flatra@hotmail.com
25	Gjirokastra University	Gjirokaster	Loreta Mamani	Professeur	loretamamani@hotmail.com
26	Youth in Free Initiative	Kukes	Rifat Demaliaj	Director	rslog@yahoo.com
27	Youth in Free Initiative	Kukes	Lavdrim Shehu	Coordinator	lavdrimshehu@yahoo.co.uk
28	Youth in Free Initiative	Kukes	Elda Sopaj	Member	elda.sopi@hotmail.com
29	Youth in Free Initiative	Kukes	Lume Baja	Member	davi_alb@hotmail.com
30	Women Counseling and Social Services C	Kukes	Vera Istrefi	Director	veraistrefi@yahoo.com
31	Women Counseling and Social Services C	Kukes	Flutura Tota	Coordinator	flutura_tota@yahoo.com
32	Women Counseling and Social Services C	Kukes	Mirela Sula	Member	sulamirela@yahoo.com
33	CHANGE – Centre	Vlora	Robert Murataj	Director	changealbania@gmail.com
34	Women Incentive in the Integration of the C	Vlora	Elisabeta Nasi	Director	elisabetanasi@yahoo.com
35	Women in Development	Korca	Entela Macka	Head	widkentela@yahoo.it
36	Women in Development	Korca	Mimoza Bicolli	Secretary	Shkolla_thimimarko@yahoo.com
37	Women in Development	Korca	Djana Andoni	Member	djana.andoni@yahoo.com
38	Korça Women Association	Korca	Klara Cela	Director	mxcxone@yahoo.co.uk

⁴⁹ Selected NGOs monitored on Election Day.

ANNEX VI: Bibliography

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