



Pacific Institute  
of Public Policy

A study carried out for the United Nations Development  
Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Pacific Regional Office



# Gender Equality in Political Governance Vanuatu Baseline Panel Survey - Phase 1

Research Findings Report

September 2010



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For The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Pacific Regional Office

# Contents

Contents .....	i
Executive summary.....	1
Why did we do it? .....	1
How did we do it? .....	1
What did we find? .....	2
What do we need to do next? .....	5
1. Introduction .....	7
2. Research methodology .....	9
Overview of responsibilities .....	9
Overview of research sites .....	10
Some reflections from the field research .....	11
3. Quantitative findings.....	13
Socio demographic details of respondents .....	13
Participation in formal political activities.....	19
Knowledge and understanding of democracy and citizenship .....	32
Knowledge and understanding of women's political participation .....	39
Perceptions and attitudes towards women's political participation .....	45
4. Qualitative responses .....	51
Election preferences.....	51
Reasons for participation in civic and political activities.....	54
Preferred means for increasing women's political participation .....	56
5. Conclusion and recommendations.....	59
Appendix 1: Research Framework Synopsis.....	A1

# Executive summary

The Pacific Institute of Public Policy was commissioned by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Pacific Regional Office to implement phase one of its Gender Equality and Political Governance (GEPG) baseline community panel survey in Vanuatu in the early part of 2010. The survey investigated the extent and level of participation in formal political activities, knowledge and understanding of democracy and citizenship, and perceptions and attitudes towards women's political participation. The findings demonstrate there is overwhelming support for more women in parliament in Vanuatu. Less clear is how this can be achieved. It is also evident that there is room for more and better targeted civic education.

## Why did we do it?

Even though women constitute about half of the population, globally only about 19 per cent of parliamentarians at national level are women. The situation is particularly dire in the Pacific region where women's representation is just 2.5 per cent - the lowest in the world. For democracy to function meaningfully in any given society, it needs to be a system of political governance where citizens are considered as 'political equals'. When women are better represented in parliament, they represent other women and better address women's issues. They also represent the entire electorate (i.e. men and women) and bear full responsibilities as elected members of parliament, just as their male counterparts do. It is in this context that the principle of equal representation of each gender – male and female – gains significance.

UNIFEM's Gender Equality and Political Governance programme aims to contribute to the advancement of gender quality in political governance in Pacific island countries at both national and local levels by working to increase the demand for equitable and accountable governance, supporting women's capacity and effectiveness to act as leaders. The primary aim of the research project is to investigate the nature of and obstacles to women's participation. It also seeks to inform UNIFEM's interventions (which seek to overcome the barriers to participation) and provide a baseline for monitoring and evaluating the extent that the GEPG programme has increased demand for equitable and accountable governance. A desired outcome of the programme is to witness an increase in the capacity and effectiveness of women in leadership roles.

## How did we do it?

The Gender Equality and Political Governance programme broadly, and this research project in particular, have drawn on the extensive literature base relating to social change. Examples such as the Soul City '*edutainment vehicle*'<sup>1</sup> combine action and research at four levels: the individual, the community, the national and international socio-political context, and includes a

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<sup>1</sup> The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication pioneered its '*edutainment vehicle*' as a means of making social issues part of popular and high-quality entertainment formats. It is widely regarded to be one of the world's top social and behavioural change programmes – see [www.soulcity.org.za](http://www.soulcity.org.za) for more details.

focus on the interactions between and within these levels. The emphasis is on individual behaviour and investigating knowledge, attitude, intention and action to perform behavioural change at various levels.

In order to undertake this baseline study, a total of 320 randomly selected individuals participated in the survey designed by UNIFEM. Research sites were selected in the following locations: Laravat and Aulua on the island of Malekula, Ifira island and Ekiye on the island of Efate. The survey included a total of 53 questions, which were divided along the following inter-related themes: socio-demographic details; extent and level of participation in formal political activities; and knowledge and understanding of democracy, citizenship, and women's political participation. The questions were mainly quantitative, but some qualitative questions were also included to validate and/or further elaborate on the quantitative findings.

## What did we find?

The research findings demonstrate overwhelming support for more women in parliament in Vanuatu. Less clear is how this can be achieved – that is, how to overcome existing perceptions and barriers, and how to encourage more female candidates to contest and win elections. The findings also show there is room for more and better targeted civic education aimed at increasing awareness on the key principles of democracy, functioning of elections and options for affirmative action measures to promote the political participation of women. The following is a snapshot of the key findings arising from the survey.

### ***Extent and level of participation in formal political activities***

- Most people surveyed had voted in the last national election (92 per cent) and expressed an interest in voting in future elections (88 per cent).
- The majority of respondents (84 per cent) had voted in the previous local government level election.
- More people prefer to vote in national elections (53 per cent) than local government elections (19 per cent). While a further 19 per cent were uncertain as to what type of election was more important, approximately 10 per cent of respondents suggested community level leadership elections were most important.
- Women were more likely to consider local elections as more important than national elections (60 per cent of respondents who thought local elections were more important were female).
- Men were more likely to be preferred candidates for both male and female voters (approximately 87 per cent of respondents who had voted stated all three of their preferred candidates at the last election were male).
- The majority of respondents said they were undecided in terms of the gender of the candidate they would next vote for. The exception was in Aulua where 57 per cent of respondents said they were likely to vote for a male candidate.
- Respondents' participation in civic and political activities generally covered working in a political party or action group, giving a presentation or speech at a public forum or working for a political campaign. Participation in the other forms of civic and political activities was negligible, especially amongst women.
- Eleven of the 320 respondents had contested past national and local elections (six of these were from Ifira and only one was a woman) and five had been successful.



- Of those respondents that had previously stood for election, all reported that they had received help with the nomination process, while three of the eleven said they had faced opposition while contesting the election. The male candidates said they faced opposition from their spouses, whereas the female candidate said opposition was from neighbours.
- Most people indicated that they had no intention of contesting future elections (89 per cent). Six respondents were certain of their intention to contest the next election – 3 national and 3 local government. Only one woman confirmed an intention to contest the next national election. A further 29 respondents indicated that they were ‘undecided’ or may ‘possibly contest’ the next election.
- Respondents considered ‘good leadership skills’ to be the most important and ‘strong community support-base’ to be the least important strength of political candidates.
- The responses on weaknesses did not yield as pronounced opinions as those on strengths did. Inability to work long hours was considered a greater weakness in comparison to the others.
- Less than half of the respondents were members of a political party (41 per cent). Ifira had the highest number of party members whereas Laravat had the lowest. Men and women were equally represented as political party members. Some respondents considered themselves to be party ‘members’ where in other jurisdictions their actual affiliation would be described as ‘supporters’.
- Respondents considered both national and local concerns as important motivating factors to stand for election. ‘Serve my country and community’ was considered the most important motivating factor followed closely by ‘improve the lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups’, ‘improve the community where I live’, and ‘improve the lives of women’. Female respondents were more likely to consider ‘improve the lives of women’ to be an important motivating factor.

### ***Knowledge and understanding of democracy and citizenship***

- There were strong views that democracy involved the will of the majority of the people, and that all people should have an equal influence on the decisions that affect their lives.
- Although voting participation rates were high in the surveyed areas, the majority of respondents did not think that they had a good understanding of how elections worked in Vanuatu.
- Female respondents tended to have less understanding or knowledge of how elections and democracy operates in Vanuatu than their male counterparts.
- None of the 320 respondents thought they were ‘very familiar’ with concepts of democracy, the election system in Vanuatu, equal participation of men and women in decision making, women’s equal rights and empowerment or women’s equal participation in politics.
- Very few (14 out of 320) respondents had attended any training on democracy, elections or governance in the last two years.
- Respondents strongly agreed that women should participate equally in local and national level government, but were uncertain whether ‘democracy’ works in traditional and chiefly societies.

### ***Knowledge, understanding and views on women's political participation***

- The majority of respondents thought there should be more representation of women in parliament - 81 per cent of respondents said there should be 'a few more women parliamentarians' or that 'the Pacific countries should meet their international commitments to increase representation of women to 30 per cent of the parliament'. Female respondents were twice as likely than male respondents to think Vanuatu should meet the 30 per cent target of women's representation in parliament.
- Just under half (49 per cent) of respondents were of the view that women should have equal representation in parliament, with a slightly higher number of men than women of this opinion.
- Only 8 per cent of respondents thought there should be the same or fewer female members of parliament than at present<sup>2</sup>.
- Respondents who believed there should be equal representation of women in parliament generally supported affirmative action measures to encourage more women into parliament. Having 'elected reserved seats' was seen as the most popular measure (59 per cent) while less than ten per cent supported the use of 'appointed reserve seats'. Approximately 25 per cent were of the view that there should be no special measures – i.e. supporting 'free elections'.
- Despite the general level of support for affirmative action measures in general, and elected reserved seats in particular, less than ten per cent of respondents indicated a confident knowledge or understanding of the concept.
- Respondents considered 'lack of support from village/community, other women, and other men' to be the most constraining barriers for women to be elected to political office. Cultural identity was also considered an important barrier.
- Male respondents said they speak more frequently about women's issues than female respondents.

### ***Perceptions and attitudes towards women's political participation***

- Most respondents (80 per cent) were of the belief that thinking and acting politically is independent of gender.
- Respondents were generally uncertain about the statement 'politics is a man's game'.
- Most respondents (both men and women) agreed most with the statements 'women should represent both men and women's interests' and that 'women can be leaders'.
- Respondents generally disagreed most with the statements 'women should represent men's interest only' and 'women should represent women's interest only'.
- Female respondents were more likely than male respondents to agree with the statement that 'women should represent women's interest only' and 'women should represent men's interest only'.
- Women were uncertain about the statement 'most people in my community would vote for a woman candidate' whereas men tended to agree that they would.

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<sup>2</sup> There is presently one female member of the Vanuatu Parliament.



### ***Demographic profile of respondents***

- There were nearly equal numbers of men and women who participated in the survey (49 per cent male and 51 per cent female).
- Most respondents were married or in a de-facto relationship (82 per cent) with children - 63 per cent of the total respondents had two to five children.
- Approximately 76 per cent of respondents were between the ages of 25-65. Female respondents were generally slightly younger than male participants.
- The majority of respondents (men and women) had primary level education (67 per cent). Approximately 30 per cent of respondents had attended secondary school or obtained a vocational certificate. Interestingly, a slightly higher percentage of women had a secondary education (29 per cent) compared with male respondents (23 per cent). The level of tertiary education was negligible.
- Employment was mostly in the agriculture sector, except in Ifira where more people were engaged in private business.
- Only 12 per cent of respondents reported being in full-time employment, with 31 percent in part-time employment and 21 per cent working at home, of which the majority (88 per cent) were women.
- Male respondents were three times as likely than females to be employed in private business.

### ***Age and gender of respondents by location***

	18-24	%	25-35	%	36-45	%	44-65	%	66+	%	M	%	F	%
Aulua	13	27.1	25	30.1	22	30.6	18	20.7	2	6.7	39	48.8	41	51.3
Ekipe	13	27.1	18	21.7	13	18.1	24	27.6	12	40.0	44	55.0	36	45.0
Ifira	10	20.8	10	12.0	20	27.8	30	34.5	10	33.3	35	43.8	45	56.3
Laravat	12	25.0	30	36.1	17	23.6	15	17.2	6	20.0	39	48.8	41	51.3
Total	48	15.0	83	25.9	72	22.5	87	27.2	30	9.4	157	49.1	163	50.9

## **What do we need to do next?**

The research activity demonstrates overwhelming support for more women in parliament in Vanuatu. Less clear is how this can be achieved – that is, how to overcome existing perceptions and barriers and how to encourage more female candidates to contest and win elections. The findings also show there is room for more and better targeted civic education aimed at increasing awareness on the key principles of democracy, functioning of elections and options for affirmative action measures to promote the political participation of women.

The following recommendations have been provided to assist with the implementation of UNIFEM's Gender Equality in Political Governance programme, including measures aimed at refining and improving the panel survey for future use.

1. *Undertake further qualitative investigation into the perceived barriers to women's participation in politics, specifically to explore the cultural issues and lack of support offered to potential candidates.*

2. *Engage political parties in the design and delivery of civic engagement programmes – this should include an initial assessment of the views of key party personnel on the issue of promoting greater participation of women in politics.*
3. *Consider testing civic education programmes through focus groups in the survey locations.*
4. *Future use of this survey should make more use of qualitative interviews to get a more nuanced understanding of voting patterns, barriers to women’s political participation, and attitudes and perceptions towards gender equality in political participation, as well as allowing an opportunity to follow up on interesting and relevant research findings.*
5. *Avoid ranking questions where there are very subtle differences in the ranks as they prove difficult to translate into Bislama (or other largely descriptive languages – i.e. Solomon Pidgin or PNG Tok Pisin) and convey to respondents.*
6. *Provide respondents with background information on UNIFEM’s interventions in relation to the research topic and future intention, and include questions to test respondents’ knowledge of the organisation, its intervention activities and expectations and recommendations for future interventions.*

# 1. Introduction

Even though women constitute about half of the population, globally only about 19 per cent of national parliamentarians are women. The situation is particularly dire in the Pacific region where women's representation is just 2.5 per cent - the lowest in the world. This research activity sought to investigate the obstacles to women's political participation and explore the extent to which UNIFEM's Gender Equality and Political Governance programme has increased women's capacity and effectiveness to act as strong citizens and leaders.

The Pacific Institute of Public Policy (PiPP) was commissioned by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Pacific Regional Office to implement phase one of its Gender Equality and Political Governance baseline community panel survey in Vanuatu in the early part of 2010.

The Gender Equality and Political Governance (GEPG) programme is timely in light of the rising political consciousness in the Pacific amidst low levels of participation of women in political systems. The GEPG programme aims to contribute to the advancement of gender equality in political governance in the Pacific region at both national and local levels by working to increase the demand for equitable and accountable governance, and by supporting women's capacity and effectiveness to act as leaders. The principle objectives of the programme are:

- *Increase men and women's understanding of democracy, citizenship and leadership by community participation in community based training delivered and implemented by women through local government and non-governmental structures.*
- *Increase young women's understanding of politics and political systems in the Pacific and improve their leadership capacity by targeting them to participate as trainers and trainees and their organisations to become providers in the training.*
- *Deepen women's commitment to learnt principles of democracy, citizenship and leadership by applying it to the governance within women's organisations.*
- *Enable women and men translate learnt principles of democracy and citizenship to a demand for more accountable leadership and transparent governance in the operation of local government.*
- *Increase local government and civil society initiatives and commitment of own resources for hosting and delivering training and advocacy campaigns for gender equality in government programs.*
- *Increase numbers of women standing for election at all levels of government by providing access to timely training and other demand driven capacity development.*
- *To assist women elected and appointed to fulfil the role of a people's representative by providing relevant, information, training and facilitating South- South exchange.*

- *To change attitudes and societal norms about women's right to vote freely, women's right to run for local government and parliamentary elections and women's right to make decisions and hold leadership positions.*<sup>9</sup> Increase women's political party membership, leadership and endorsement by providing incentives, information, training, and facilitating South-South exchange.
- *Facilitate the introduction of special measures in parliaments and local governments by informing women, men and local and national government officials on their positive results in other countries.*
- *To accelerate the achievement of gender equality in political governance by encouraging and facilitating the participation of influential male advocates.*
- *To develop the capacity of women's organisations to use the media to challenge barriers to women's political participation by highlighting women's active citizenship and leadership.*
- *To build capacity of male and female elected representatives to increase women's political participation by implementing national, regional and global gender equality commitments.*

There are four expected outcomes of the GEPG:

1. *More women understand their rights and responsibilities, and are active as citizens and leaders to promote democratic governance.*
2. *Pacific women are supported to stand for election and to effectively perform the roles and responsibilities of political office.*
3. *Increased support for women's leadership and participation in government by broad and diverse sectors of Pacific society.*
4. *An increase in women-inclusive and gender-sensitive government structures, operations and procedures*<sup>3</sup>.

The GEPG programme is being guided by a research, monitoring and evaluation framework and this baseline community panel survey was designed by UNIFEM as the first step to investigating the obstacles to women's political participation, and measuring the extent to which the GEPG programme has increased women's capacity and effectiveness to act as strong citizens and leaders. In effect, phase one of the research is geared towards delivering the first outcome of the programme (see above). It is intended that the results of this research activity will lead to future phases of study, inform advocacy initiatives, and provide a useful insight for policy makers, parliamentarians, women's groups and organisations and electoral management bodies working towards equal representation of women in politics in Vanuatu, and also other countries in the region.

This report presents the qualitative and quantitative research findings for phase one of the Gender Equality and Political Governance baseline community panel survey carried out in Vanuatu in the early part of 2010.

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<sup>3</sup> From UNIFEM GEPG Research Framework Synopsis – see Appendix 1

## 2. Research methodology

This research was designed by the UNIFEM Pacific Regional Office, and contextualised and implemented by the Pacific Institute of Public Policy. The quantitative and qualitative survey was informed by the existing literature base<sup>4</sup> and sought to investigate people's perception towards women's citizenship, civil and human rights, and women's political participation and leadership. The questionnaire included a total of 53 questions, which were divided along the following inter-related themes: socio-demographic details; extent and level of participation in formal political activities; and knowledge and understanding of democracy, citizenship, and women's political participation.

### Overview of responsibilities

UNIFEM provided the baseline survey questionnaire and selected the research locations and sample size. The overarching research methodology is contained in Appendix 1 - *Gender Equality in Political Governance: Research Framework and Synopsis*. It is understood that UNIFEM also engaged research partners in Papua New Guinea (National Research Institute) and the Solomon Islands (University of the South Pacific) to undertake a similar activity in these countries. Drawing on its substantial local knowledge of the social, institutional and political environment, the Pacific Institute of Public Policy (PiPP) was responsible for contextualising and implementing the survey in Vanuatu, including:

- translating the community panel survey into Bislama
- contextualising the questions to suit the language and cultural environment
- identifying and randomly selecting eligible and willing survey participants based on gender and age in the specified research locations
- training and supervising a team of field researchers to conduct surveys in an ethical manner
- developing a database and supervising enumeration and cross checking of data collected
- providing an analysis of the findings of field research.

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<sup>4</sup>In particular:

Clark, Lesley and Charmine Rodrigues (2008) Utilizing Temporary Special Measures to Promote Gender Balance in Pacific Legislatures: A Guide to Options, Pacific Centre, START, and Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat

Larserud, Stina and Rita Taphorn (2007) Designing for Equality: Best-fit, medium-fit and non-favourable outcomes of electoral systems and gender quotas, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Sweden

Taphorn, Rita (2009) Options for Political Parties to Increase Women's Political Participation and Representation through Applying Temporary Special Measures, UNIFEM Pacific Regional Office, Fiji.

UNIFEM (2009) Gender Equality in Political Governance: Research Framework and Synopsis, United Nations Development Fund for Women Pacific Regional Office, Fiji

## Overview of research sites

A total of 320 randomly selected individuals participated in the survey in the following locations: Laravat and Aulua on the island of Malekula, Ifira island and Ekiye on the island of Efate.

**Table 1: Profile of research sites**

Research site	Area (sq km)	Characteristics of population and research location	Total population	No. of house holds	No. of house holds surveyed
Ifira	0.465	Small island located in front of Port Vila, but regarded as a part of rural SHEFA province. Very good access to telecommunication, transportation and economic opportunities in the city. The Ifira community owns/manages much of the land in Port Vila including the main wharf. A trust fund has been established to consolidate all rents, redistribute the wealth and act as a social safety net to the population. Two cousin brothers contested in Efate rural constituency and have secured seats in the national parliament - Steven Kalsakau (Union of Moderate Parties) and Joshua Kalsakau (Labour Party). Also elected from Ifira in the last election was Pakoa Kaltonga (Vanua 'aku Party). Long time Ifira MP and former prime minister, Barak Tame Sope, failed to secure a seat in the last election.	805 (Census 1999)	149 (research team)	48
Ekiye	0.283	Located north east of Efate. Good access to telecommunication and road infrastructure. Major source of economic livelihood is the regular sale of agricultural produces in the Port Vila market. There was strong voter support for independent candidate, Luna Taso, from an offshore island of Nguna in North Efate, and a female independent candidate, Lilly Hanghangkon Toara.	346 (Census 1999)	69 (research team)	45
Laravat	0.195	Located northeast of Malekula. Major source of economic livelihoods include coca and copra. Biggest cocoa plantation in Vanuatu. The most remote village surveyed. There is no MP representing the village. Voter support was strong for Sato Kilman who is the current Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade, as well as a number of independent candidates. Although Sato Kilman is from the neighbouring village of Lakatoro, his grandmother is said to have been from Laravat.	245 (Census 1999)	65 (research team)	47
Aulua	0.85	Located in southeast of Malekula. Copra and cocoa plantations support economic activity. Good access to transport by land, sea and air. Tony Ata who is originally from Aulua, contested under the Vanua'aku Paty ticket, but was unable to secure a seat by a narrow margin. A sizable portion of voters are said to have supported Eta Roray, the only woman MP in the current parliament, and from northwest of Malekula. Eta Roray contested as an independent candidate but is said to have received support from NTM church.	287 (census 1999)	50 (research team)	45

**Disclaimers:** The calculation of land area for each of the research sites were provided by the National Statistics Office, but is based on GIS mapping of hypothesized estimates of land boundaries. Total number of households is based on the list of households community members at the start of the field research gave us and which we verified (as much as possible) during the course of the survey. At the time of study the NSO was only able to provide us 1999 census data. The political snapshots for each of the villages were provided by our informants and provided to serve as indications of the economic and political characteristics of the village.



**Table 2: Total number of households and distribution of households by research locations**

No.	Location	Total number of HHs	Distribution of HHs by location (with a total sample size of 360)
1	Ekiye	69	20.7
2	Ifira	149	44.7
3	Laravat	65	19.5
4	Aulua	50	15
	TOTAL	333	100

(Source: Derived and calculated from the 1999 Census, the Government of Vanuatu)

**Table 3: Sample Size Distribution**

No.	Location	Total number of HHs	Paired numbers	Sample size
1	Ekiye	69	138	80
2	Ifira	149	298	80
3	Laravat	65	130	80
4	Aulua	50	100	80
	TOTAL	333	666	320

(Source: Pacific Institute of Public Policy)

## Some reflections from the field research

Gender and class played a critical role in defining the research process in number of ways. It was made clear to each respondent from the outset (including asking participants to sign an informed consent form) that this research project was on women's political participation. This resulted in many respondents being either openly hostile to the study and/or 'managing' their responses. In the former instances, the hostile reaction to the study seemed to stem from a belief that politics was 'no place for a woman' and/or that women's political participation was at odds with religious and traditional beliefs. In the latter case, respondents sought to conceal what they truly believed (hidden transcript, as the prominent political scientist James C. Scott would define it) and tended to articulate responses in ways that they considered would be seen as 'progressive' in the eyes of the field researchers and/or UNIFEM. Such gendered impression management of responses were particularly evident when we interviewed prominent politicians and community leaders.

Furthermore, the ability of respondents to engage critically with the questionnaire (and the gender specific responses in particular) was determined by their education background and exposure and understanding of political systems and processes. For example, respondents who were exposed to and/or had previously voted for female candidates, such as those in Ekiye and Aulua, were especially receptive towards increasing women's voice and representation in parliament. Even amongst women, those who were educated and were involved in campaigning for their husbands and/or relatives had a much easier time understanding and responding to questions which asked them to rank strengths and weaknesses of candidates (question 27); identify factors that have and/or will motivate them in the future to stand for elections (question 30); what is required for democracy to work best (question 32). In general, asking respondents the ranking questions was particularly difficult in situations where there were subtle differences in the ranks – such as question 42, where options included 'somewhat' and 'very little'; and question 33 where options included 'somewhat interested' and 'not very interested'.

These issues are endemic to quantitative surveys where the emphasis is on capturing responses in pre-determined categories, and not on unravelling the responses in relation to the gendered context in which the respondents are situated and in the interactions between field researchers and the respondents. There were a number of ways in which the research team addressed the effects of these pre-existing factors on the research outcomes. It was made clear to each respondent that the survey was on respondents' knowledge and understanding

of not only women's political participation but also democracy, citizenship and election systems. Similarly, it was pointed out from the beginning, and repeatedly if and when necessary, that the role of the research team was just to capture respondents' assumptions and outlook on these issues. There was no 'right answer' to the questions. A significant component of the research activity included training fieldworkers including simulation exercises. Field researchers were encouraged to explain questions to respondents who seemed to have a particularly difficult time understanding the questions and possible responses. Although a certain degree of interest and openness to women's political participation was a pre-condition in selecting field researchers, the research supervisors were careful in ensuring that the field workers were explaining the potentially difficult questions to each or selective respondents in a way they could relate to and did not impose his/her own beliefs and values.

The questionnaire was peppered with a few qualitative questions (17, 18a and 46) and where these occurred proved to be an effective way of probing deeper into the quantitative responses. However, the limited use of qualitative questioning did not allow sufficient understanding of the major research issues not to mention the opportunity to follow up on interesting and relevant findings. For example, why do respondents in Aulua intend on voting for male candidates in the next elections whereas those in the other research areas are still undecided? Why do men who have stood for election think that 'opposition from spouse' was the major barrier they confronted, while female candidates felt 'opposition from neighbours' as a more significant barrier to participation? Further investigation into the perceived barriers to women's participation (i.e. cultural identity and lack of support from others – men and women – in the community) in politics can only be revealed through further qualitative investigation, and will be the key to ensuring future interventions and civic awareness programmes are effective.

Many respondents wanted to know about UNIFEM and the kind of programmes that it was seeking to implement. People wanted to know if the findings of the questionnaire would have an impact on whether UNIFEM intervened in the village, and sought information on how they may be able to gain individually or as a part of a community. The research team were instructed not to speculate or speak on behalf of UNIFEM. It may have been appropriate to supply participants with background information, and perhaps to include a series of questions probing respondents' understanding of the organisation and its interventions. Including such questions may also assist UNIFEM to better tailor its interventions and offer respondents an opportunity to participate directly in programme planning and evaluation.

### 3. Quantitative findings

The quantitative findings are based on a baseline community panel survey undertaken to investigate people's perception towards women's citizenship, and political participation. The survey of 320 people included a total of 53 questions, including: socio-demographic details; extent and level of participation in formal political activities; and knowledge and understanding of democracy, citizenship, and women's political participation. The findings demonstrate there is overwhelming support for more women in parliament in Vanuatu. Less clear is how this can be achieved. It is also evident that there is room for more and better targeted civic education.

#### Demographic profile

##### **Overview**

This section of the questionnaire included nine questions exploring the following socio-demographic characteristics: gender, marital status, age, number of children, highest level of education, employment, and sectors of employment. The key findings include:

- There were nearly equal numbers of men and women who participated in the survey (49 per cent male and 51 per cent female).
- Most respondents were married or in a de-facto relationship (82 per cent) with children - 63 per cent of the total respondents had two to five children.
- Approximately 76 per cent of respondents were between the ages of 25-65. Female respondents were generally slightly younger than male participants.
- The majority of respondents (men and women) had primary level education (67 per cent). Approximately 30 per cent of respondents had attended secondary school or obtained a vocational certificate. Interestingly, a slightly higher percentage of women had a secondary education (29 per cent) compared with male respondents (23 per cent). The level of tertiary education was negligible.
- Employment was mostly in the agriculture sector, except in Ifira where more people were engaged in private business.
- Only 12 per cent of respondents reported being in full-time employment, with 31 percent in part-time employment and 21 per cent working at home, of which the majority (88 per cent) were women.
- Male respondents were three times as likely than females to be employed in private business.

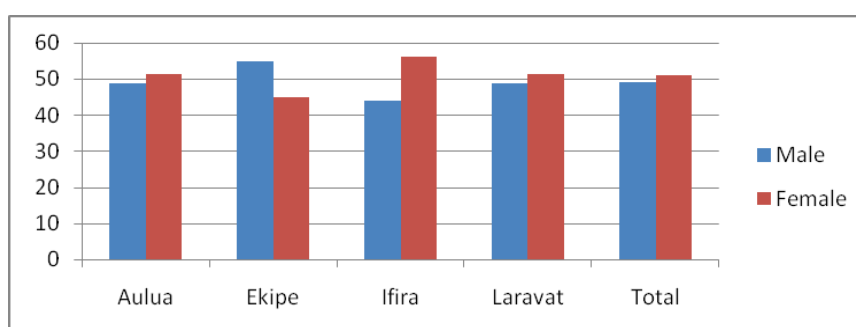
### Gender of respondents

An equal number of men and women participated in the survey. This was because paired interviews of both male and female adult household members were carried out in each of the randomly selected households.

**Table 4: Gender of respondents by location**

	Male	%	Female	%
Aulua	39	48.8	41	51.3
Ekipe	44	55.0	36	45.0
Ifira	35	43.8	45	56.3
Laravat	39	48.8	41	51.3
Total	157	49.1	163	50.9

**Figure 1: Gender of respondents**



### Marital status

The majority of respondents were married or in a de-facto relationship. There may have been confusion about the terms 'married' and 'de-facto' - many people living with their partners considered themselves 'married' even if they had not had a formal wedding.

**Table 5: Marital status by location**

	Single	%	Married	%	Divorced	%	De-facto	%	Widow	%
Aulua	7	8.8	67	83.8	0	0	6	7.5	0	0
Ekipe	13	16.3	63	78.8	0	0	3	3.6	1	1.3
Ifira	20	25.0	56	70.0	1	1.3	1	1.3	2	2.5
Laravat	12	15.0	64	80.0	1	1.3	3	3.5	0	0
Total	52	16.3	250	78.1	2	0.6	13	4.1	3	0.9

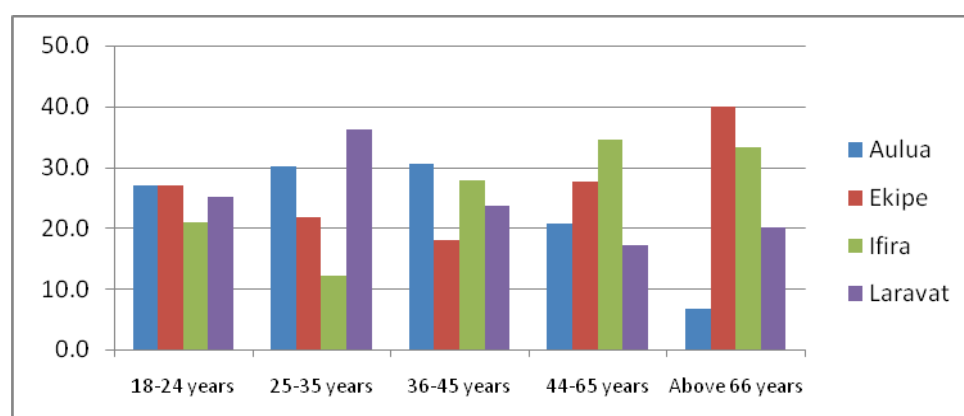
### Age of respondents

Respondents covered a wide range of age groups, with approximately 76 per cent of between the ages of 25 and 65. When disaggregated along gender lines, on average, both men and women were between the ages of 44-65, but, there were more female than male respondents between the ages of 36-45, and more males over the age of 66. This suggests that women respondents were slightly younger than their male counterparts.

**Table 6: Age groups by location**

	18-24 years	%	25-35 years	%	36-45 years	%	44-65 years	%	66+ years	%
Aulua	13	27.1	25	30.1	22	30.6	18	20.7	2	6.7
Ekiye	13	27.1	18	21.7	13	18.1	24	27.6	12	40.0
Ifira	10	20.8	10	12.0	20	27.8	30	34.5	10	33.3
Laravat	12	25.0	30	36.1	17	23.6	15	17.2	6	20.0
Total	48	15.0	83	25.9	72	22.5	87	27.2	30	9.4

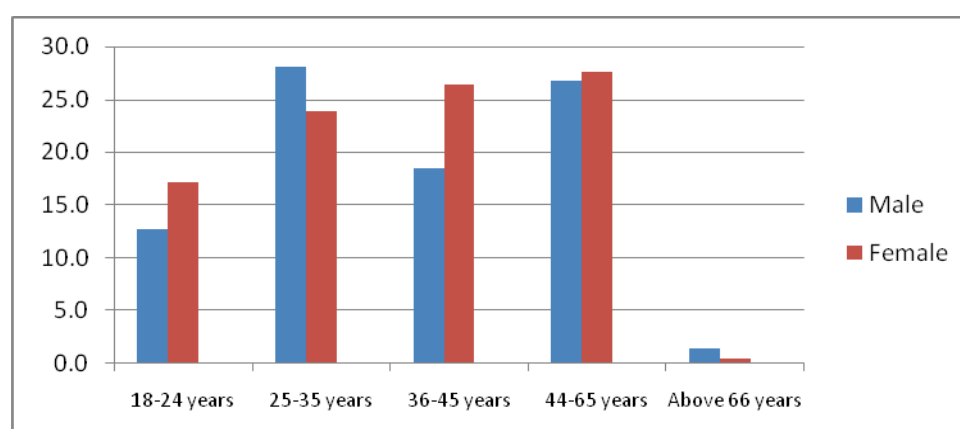
**Figure 2: Age groups by location**



**Table: 7 Age groups by gender**

	18-24 years	%	25-35 years	%	36-45 years	%	44-65 years	%	Above 66 years	%
Male	20	12.7	44	28.0	29	18.5	42	26.8	22	1.4
Female	28	17.2	39	23.9	43	26.4	45	27.6	8	0.5
Total	48	15.0	83	25.9	72	22.5	87	27.2	30	9.4

**Figure: 3 Age groups by gender**



### **Number of children**

The majority of respondents (63 per cent) had 2-5 children. Respondents in Aulua generally had the most number of children.

**Table 8: No of children by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Nil	9	11.3	6	7.5	12	15.0	4	5.0
One	4	5.0	8	10	9	11.3	12	15.0
Two	11	13.8	18	22.5	8	10.0	22	27.5
Three	13	16.3	5	6.25	16	20.0	11	13.8
Four	15	18.8	8	10	7	8.8	16	20.0
Five	15	18.8	14	17.5	14	17.5	8	10.0
Six	8	10.0	16	20	7	8.8	4	5.0
More than Six	5	6.3	5	6.25	7	8.8	3	3.8

### **Highest level of education**

Primary level education was the most prevalent qualification amongst respondents (67 per cent). Approximately 30 per cent had attended secondary school or obtained a vocational certificate. Interestingly, a slightly higher percentage of women had a secondary education (28.8 per cent) compared with male respondents (22.9 per cent). The level of tertiary education was negligible.

**Table 9: Educational levels by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Never been to school	0	0.0	5	6.3	2	2.5	3	3.8
Primary School	67	83.8	58	72.5	35	43.8	53	66.3
High School	12	15.0	13	16.3	36	45.0	22	27.5
Vocational Certificate	1	1.3	4	5.0	6	7.5	2	2.5
Technical Certificate	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0

**Table 10: Highest level of education by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Never been to school	6	3.8	4	2.5	10	3.1
Primary School	105	66.9	108	66.3	213	66.6
High School	36	22.9	47	28.8	83	25.9
Vocational Certificate	10	6.4	3	1.8	13	4.1
Technical Certificate	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.3



## Employment status

Only 12 per cent of respondents reported being in full-time employment, with the highest number located in Ifira. Approximately 31 percent of respondents considered themselves to be employed part-time and a further 21 per cent working at-home. There was considerable discussion about what constituted 'part-time' and 'at-home' employment and unemployment. It was clear that respondents in Laravat and Aulua, who were likely to be employed in the agricultural sector, considered themselves to be employed part-time, whereas those in Ekiye thought they were unemployed. Interestingly, 88 per cent of respondents who worked at-home were female, suggesting a gender division of labour between men and women at the household level.

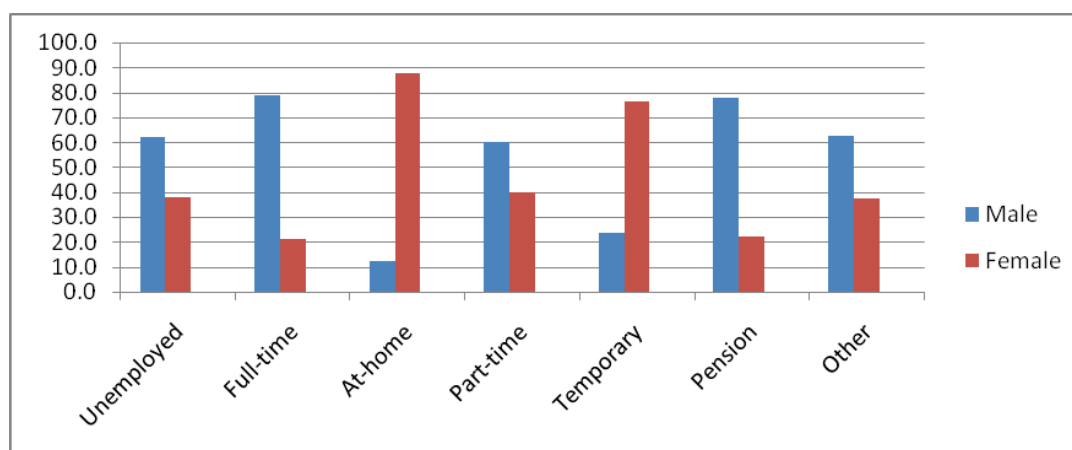
**Table 11: Employment status by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekiye	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Unemployed	9	11.3	35	43.8	15	18.8	4	5.0
Full-time	7	8.8	12	15.0	14	17.5	5	6.3
At-home	18	22.5	17	21.3	21	26.3	10	12.5
Part-time	35	43.8	2	2.5	13	16.3	48	60.0
Temporary	11	13.8	8	10.0	7	8.8	12	15.0
Pension	0	0.0	3	3.8	6	7.5	0	0.0
Others	0	0.0	3	3.8	4	5.0	1	1.3

**Table 12: Employment status by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Unemployed	39	61.9	24	38.1	63	19.7
Full-time	30	78.9	8	21.1	38	11.9
At-home	8	12.1	58	87.9	66	20.6
Part-time	59	60.2	39	39.8	98	30.6
Temporary	9	23.7	29	76.3	38	11.9
Pension	7	77.8	2	22.2	9	2.8
Others	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	2.5

**Figure 4: Employment status by gender**



## Sectors of employment

Employment was mostly in the agriculture sector, except in Ifira where more people were engaged in private business. Male respondents were three times as likely than females to be employed in private business.

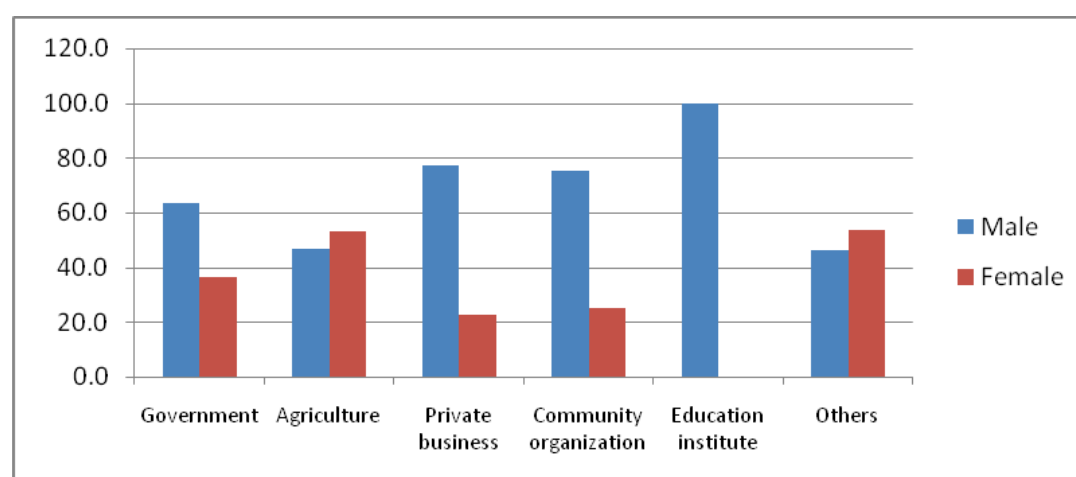
**Table 13: Sectors of employment by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Government	1	1.9	1	4.2	7	18.4	2	2.9
Agriculture	43	81.1	12	50.0	5	13.2	51	75.0
Private business	5	9.4	3	12.5	16	42.1	11	16.2
Community service organization	4	7.5	3	12.5	2	5.3	3	4.4
Education institute	0	0.0	1	4.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Others	0	0.0	4	16.7	8	21.1	1	1.5

**Table 14: Sectors of employment by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Government	7	63.6	4	36.4	11	3.4
Agriculture	52	46.8	59	53.2	111	34.7
Private business	27	77.1	8	22.9	35	10.9
Community service organization	9	75.0	3	25.0	12	3.8
Education institute	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	0.3
Others	6	46.2	7	53.8	13	4.1

**Figure 5: Sectors of employment by gender**



## Participation in formal political activities

### Overview

This section of the survey consisted of 19 questions related to patterns of voting in local and national elections, gender of preferred candidates, nature of engagement in civic and political activities, experiences in contesting for elections, nature of support and opposition faced by candidates contesting in elections, individual attitudes towards strengths and weaknesses of candidates being voted into parliament, and factors motivating individuals to contest in elections. The results suggest:

- Most people surveyed had voted in the last national election (92 per cent) and expressed an interest in voting in future elections (88 per cent).
- The majority of respondents (84 per cent) had voted in the previous local government level election.
- More people prefer to vote in national elections (53 per cent) than local government elections (19 per cent). While a further 19 per cent were uncertain as to what type of election was more important, approximately 10 per cent of respondents suggested community level leadership elections were most important.
- Women were more likely to consider local elections as more important than national elections (60 per cent of respondents who thought local elections were more important were female).
- Men were more likely to be preferred candidates for both male and female voters (approximately 87 percent of respondents who had voted stated all three of their preferred candidates at the last election were male).
- The majority of respondents said they were undecided in terms of the gender of the candidate they would next vote for. The exception was in Aulua where 57 percent of respondents said they were likely to vote for a male candidate.
- Respondents' participation in civic and political activities generally covered working in a political party or action group, giving a presentation or speech at a public forum or working for a political campaign.
- Participation in the other forms of civic and political activities was negligible, especially amongst women.
- Eleven of the 320 respondents had contested past national and local elections (six of these were from Ifira and only one was a woman) and five had been successful.
- Of those respondents that had previously stood for election, all reported that they had received help with the nomination process, while three of the eleven said they had faced opposition while contesting the election. The male candidates said they faced opposition from their spouses, whereas the female candidate said opposition was from neighbours.
- Most people indicated that they had no intention of contesting future elections (89 per cent). Six respondents were certain of their intention to contest the next election – 3 national and 3 local government. Only one woman confirmed an intention to contest the next national election. A further 29 respondents indicated that they were 'undecided' or may 'possibly contest' the next election.

- Respondents considered ‘good leadership skills’ to be the most important and ‘strong community support-base’ to be the least important strength of political candidates.
- The responses on weaknesses did not yield as pronounced opinions as those on strengths did. Inability to work long hours was considered a greater weakness in comparison to the others.
- Less than half of the respondents were members of a political party (41 per cent). Ifira had the highest number of party members whereas Laravat had the lowest. Men and women were equally represented as political party members. Some respondents considered themselves to be party ‘members’ where in other jurisdictions their actual affiliation would be described as ‘supporters’.
- Respondents considered both national and local concerns as important motivating factors to stand for election. ‘Serve my country and community’ was considered the most important motivating factor followed closely by ‘improve the lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups’, ‘improve the community where I live’, and ‘improve the lives of women’. Female respondents were more likely to consider ‘improve the lives of women’ to be an important motivating factor to contest an election.

### ***Patterns of voting***

Most survey participants had voted in the last national election (92 per cent) with slightly more females than males having voted.

***Table 15: Number of respondents who voted in last national election by location***

	Yes	%	No	%
Aulua	71	88.8	9	11.3
Ekiye	78	97.5	2	2.5
Ifira	72	90.0	8	10.0
Laravat	73	91.3	7	8.8

***Table 16: Number of respondents who voted in last national election by gender***

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Male	143	91.1	14	8.9	157	49.1
Female	151	92.6	12	7.4	163	50.9

Approximately 87 per cent of respondents who had voted in the last national election reported that all three of their preferred candidates in that election had been male. Laravat was the only surveyed area where a significant number of respondents (24 per cent) reported the gender of their preferred candidates in the previous election were both male and female.

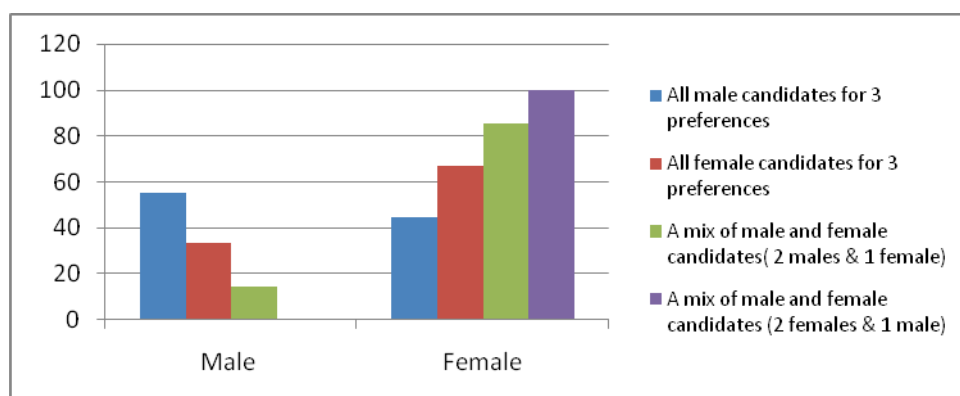
***Table 17: Gender of preferred candidates in last national election by location***

	Aulua	%	Ekiye	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
All male candidates for 3 preferences	61	76.3	61	76.3	68	85.0	53	66.3
All female candidates for 3 preferences	1	1.3	10	12.5	0	0.0	1	1.3
A mix of male and female candidates (2 males & 1 female)	4	5.0	7	8.8	4	5.0	19	23.8
A mix of male and female candidates (2 females & 1 male)	5	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

**Table 18: Gender of preferred candidates in the last national election by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
All male candidates for 3 preferences	134	55.1	109	44.9	243	82.7
All female candidates for 3 preferences	4	33.3	8	66.7	12	4.1
A mix of male and female candidates( 2 males & 1 female)	5	14.7	29	85.3	34	11.6
A mix of male and female candidates (2 females & 1 male)	0	0.0	5	100.0	5	1.7

**Figure 6: Gender of preferred candidates in last national election**



Participation in national and local elections was roughly comparable, with approximately 84 per cent of respondents having voted in the previous local level election.

**Table 19: Voting in last local election by location**

	Yes	%	No	%
Aulua	69	86.3	11	13.8
Ekipe	66	82.5	14	17.5
Ifira	69	86.3	11	13.8
Laravat	64	80.0	16	20.0

**Table 20: Voting in last local election by gender**

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Male	131	83.4	26	16.6	157	49.1
Female	137	84.0	26	16.0	163	50.9

Ninety five per cent of respondents who had voted in the last local election had voted for a male candidate. A slightly higher percentage of women respondents said they voted for a female candidate, but overall the difference in voting patterns by gender was negligible.

**Table 21: Gender of candidate voted for in local election by location**

	Male Candidate	%	Female Candidate	%
Aulua	64	80.0	5	6.3
Ekipe	65	81.3	1	1.3
Ifira	69	86.3	0	0.0
Laravat	58	72.5	6	7.5

**Table 22: Gender of candidate voted for in local election by gender**

	Male candidates	%	Female candidates	%	Total	%
Male	129	98.5	2	1.53	131	48.9
Female	127	96.9	10	7.63	137	51.1

Eighty-eight per cent of respondents expressed intention to vote in the next national election, with people in Aulua followed closely by Laravat the most certain that they would vote. No female respondents indicated an unwillingness to participate in the next national election.

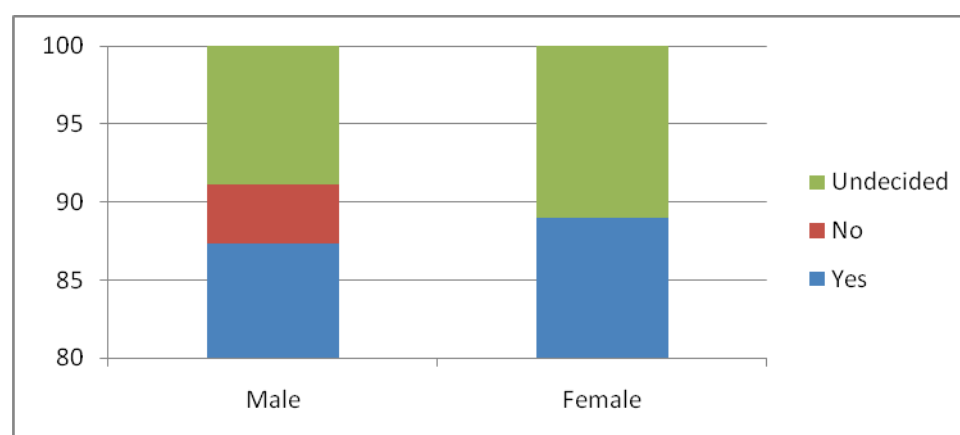
**Table 23: Intention to vote in the next national election by location**

	Yes	%	No	%	Undecided	%
Aulua	79	98.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Ekipe	60	75.0	1	1.3	19	23.8
Ifira	66	82.5	5	6.3	9	11.3
Laravat	77	96.3	0	0.0	3	3.8

**Table 24: Intention to vote in the next national election by gender**

	Yes	%	No	%	Undecided	%	Total	%
Male	137	87.3	6	3.8	14	8.9	157	49.1
Female	145	89.0	0	0.0	18	11.0	163	50.9

**Figure 7: Intention to vote in the next national election by gender**



Only a small percentage of respondents said they would vote for a female candidate in the next national election. However, the majority of respondents (with the exception of those in Aulua) said they were undecided of the gender of the candidate they would next vote for (approximately 57 per cent of the respondents in Aulua expected to vote for a male candidate).

These results suggest the difference in voting patterns by gender is marginal, although a slightly higher number of women respondents have stated that they have voted in national elections, local elections and intend and vote in the upcoming national election. Furthermore, a slightly higher number of women have stated that they have voted and/are willing to vote for a female candidate in the future than male respondents have.



It is difficult to infer how willing and open respondents are to vote for women candidates through responses they give of the gender of the person they have previously and/or expect to vote for in the future. It could very well have been that there were no female candidates (i.e. that respondents did not have a choice but to vote for a male candidate) and/or respondents could not foresee a suitable female candidate running for future elections. Nevertheless, these results do reveal that the majority of respondents have little or no experience voting for women. The finding that the majority of respondents remain undecided about the gender of the candidate they will vote for in the next election suggests a degree of openness to voting for female candidates – but factors other than gender could play a decisive role in choosing who to vote for.

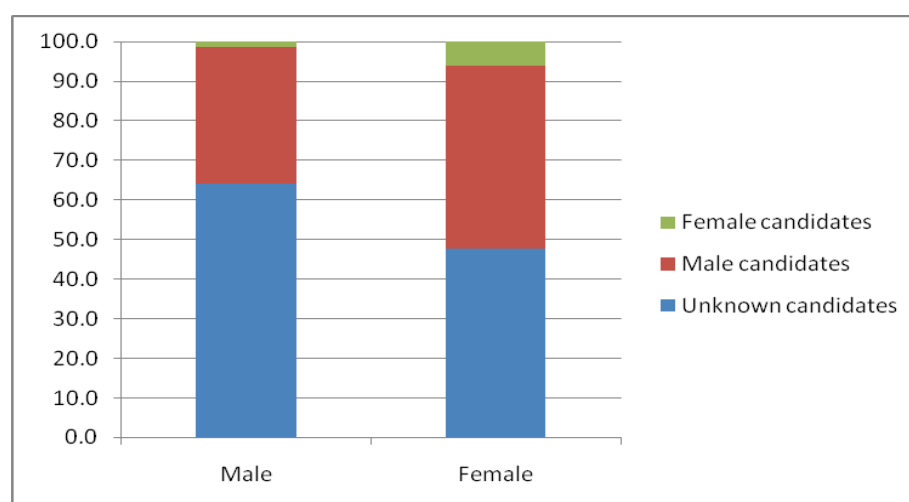
**Table 25: Gender of national candidate intending to next vote for by location**

	Unknown candidates	%	Male candidates	%	Female candidates	%
Aulua	30	38.0	45	57.0	4	5.1
Ekiye	51	85.0	8	13.3	1	1.7
Ifira	34	51.5	30	45.5	2	3.0
Laravat	42	54.5	31	40.3	4	5.2
Total	157	55.7	114	40.4	11	3.9

**Table 26: Gender of national candidate intending to next vote for by gender**

	Unknown candidates	%	Male candidates	%	Female candidates	%	Total	%
Male	88	64.2	47	34.3	2	1.5	137	48.6
Female	69	47.6	67	46.2	9	6.2	145	51.4

**Figure 8: Gender of national candidate by male and female respondents**



Most respondents expressed a preference to vote in national elections (53 per cent) compared to local government or community leadership elections, although a significant proportion of respondents in Ekiye (45 per cent) said they were not sure which election was more important. Interestingly, a slightly higher percentage of female respondents considered local level government elections to be more important. In the qualitative responses, respondents said that community level leadership elections were not as important as national and provincial level elections because much of the chiefly systems were hereditary where conventional understanding of elections would not apply.

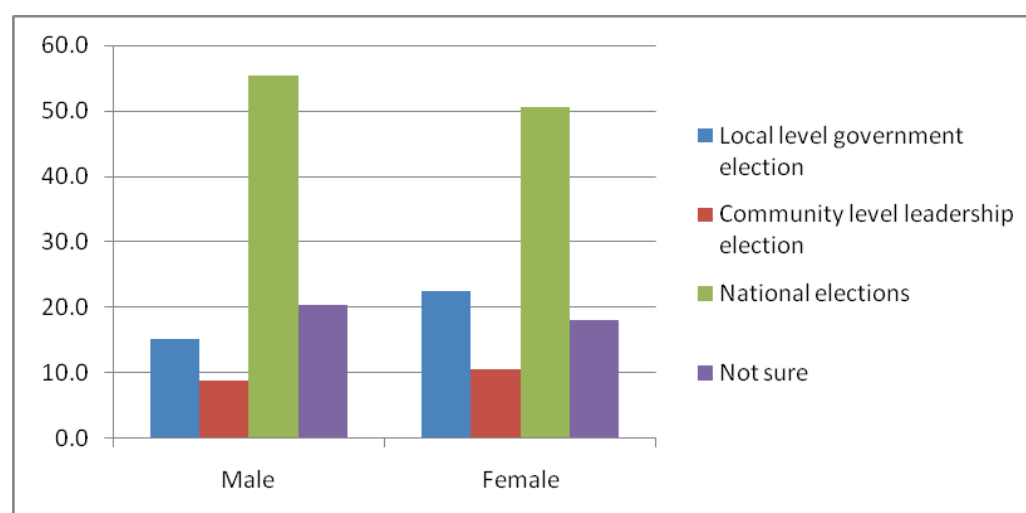
**Table 27: Preference for different types of elections by location**

	Local level government election	%	Community level leadership election	%	National elections	%	Not sure	%
Aulua	16	20.0	3	3.8	56	70.0	5	6.3
Ekiye	8	10.0	14	17.5	22	27.5	36	45.0
Ifira	17	21.3	11	13.8	39	48.8	13	16.3
Laravat	19	23.8	3	3.8	51	63.8	7	8.8

**Table 28: Preference for different types of elections by gender**

	Local level government election	%	Community level leadership election	%	National elections	%	Not sure	%	Total	%
Male	24	15.3	14	8.9	87	55.4	32	20.4	157	49.1
Female	36	22.5	17	10.6	81	50.6	29	18.1	163	50.9

**Figure 9: Preference for different types of elections by gender**



### **Participation in civic and political activities**

Participation in political activities apart from voting is relatively low. The highest percentage of respondents that had engaged in civic and political activities tended to have worked in a political party or action group, given a presentation or speech at a public forum or worked for a political campaign. Participation in other forms of civic and political activities was negligible. Respondents in Aulua were the most active whereas respondents in Ekiye were the least likely to partake in civic and political activities. Men tended to be more politically active than women and involved in a wider range of activities. Women's involvement was largely limited to working in a political party or action group (15 per cent).

**Table 29: Civic and /or political activities by location**

	Aulua		Ekiye		Ifira		Laravat	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Contacted a politician or a local government official through phone or letter	8.8	91.3	5.0	93.8	15.0	85.0	5.0	95.0
Written a letter about an issue in the newspaper	1.3	98.8	0.0	100.0	5.0	95.0	1.3	98.8
Given a presentation or speech at a public forum	27.5	72.5	5.0	95.0	13.8	86.3	13.8	86.3
Worked in a political party or action group	38.8	61.3	1.3	98.8	20.0	80.0	20.0	80.0
Worked for the campaign of a candidate	1.3	98.8	8.8	91.3	21.3	78.8	11.3	88.8
Signed a petition	5.0	95.0	1.3	98.8	6.3	93.8	3.8	96.3
Taken part in a lawful public demonstration	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	3.8	96.3	3.8	96.3
Public strike through a boycott	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	1.3	98.8	3.8	96.3
Donated money to a political organization or group	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	6.3	93.8	8.8	91.3
Participated in illegal protest activities	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	1.3	98.8	5.0	95.0
Participated in political activities over the internet	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	1.3	98.8	3.8	96.3
Voiced concern over the radio, e.g. talk back show	0.0	100.0	1.3	98.8	3.8	96.3	3.8	96.3
None of the above	57.5	26.3	87.5	3.8	60.0	25.0	67.5	16.3

**Table 30: Civic and /or political activities by gender**

	Male		Female		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Contacted a politician or a local government official through phone or letter	13.4	86.0	3.7	96.3	8.4	91.3
Written a letter about an issue in the newspaper	2.5	97.5	1.2	98.8	1.9	98.1
Given a presentation or speech at a public forum	24.2	75.8	6.1	93.9	15.0	85.0
Worked in a political party or action group	25.5	74.5	14.7	85.3	20.0	80.0
Worked for the campaign of a candidate	13.4	86.6	8.0	92.0	10.6	89.4
Signed a petition	5.1	94.9	3.1	96.9	4.1	95.9
Taken part in a lawful public demonstration	1.3	98.7	2.5	97.5	1.9	98.1
Public strike through a boycott	0.6	99.4	1.8	98.2	1.3	98.8
Donated money to a political organization or group	3.8	96.2	3.7	96.3	3.8	96.3
Participated in illegal protest activities	0.6	99.4	2.5	97.5	1.6	98.4
Participated in political activities over the internet	0.6	99.4	1.8	98.2	1.3	98.8
Voiced concern over the radio, e.g. talk back show	1.3	98.7	3.1	96.9	2.2	97.8
None of the above	59.2	22.3	76.7	13.5	68.1	17.8

### **Experience contesting elections**

Only 11 respondents had previously contested past national and local elections - six of these were from Ifira and only one was a woman. Five had been successful.

**Table 31: Contested past elections by location**

Locations	Yes	%	No	%
Aulua	2	2.5	78	97.5
Ekipe	2	2.5	78	97.5
Ifira	6	7.5	74	92.5
Laravat	1	1.25	79	98.75

**Table 32: Contested past elections by gender**

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Male	10	6.4	147	93.6	157	49.1
Female	1	0.6	162	99.4	163	50.9

Only ten respondents provided details of when and where they contested. Out of the ten, five reported that they were successful.

**Table 33: Details of candidates that had contested previous elections**

Year	Province	Council Ward	Electorate	Successful
1988	Shefa	Ifira	Ifira	Yes
1991	Malampa	South East eria kaonsil	Aulua	No
1996	Malampa	Central West	Laravat	No
2000	Shefa	Ifira	Ifira	Yes
2001	Malampa	Ambrym	Wuro	No
2004	Shefa	Nort Efate	Ekipe	No
2004	Shefa	Ifira	Ifira	Yes
2008	Shefa	Ifira	Ifira	Yes
2008	Malampa	Laravat	A.school	No
2009	Shefa	Ifira	Ifira	Yes

All of the eleven respondents who had contested previous elections had received support from friends and family, principally with the nomination process.

**Table 34: Support received in contesting previous elections**

	Yes	%	No	%
Aulua	2	100.0	0	0.0
Ekipe	2	100.0	0	0.0
Ifira	6	100.0	0	0.0
Laravat	1	100.0	0	0.0

**Table 35: Details of support received by candidates by location (multiple responses)**

	Help with the nomination process	Campaigning	Moral and emotional support	Financial support
Aulua	2	0	1	0
Ekipe	1	0	0	0
Ifira	6	0	0	0
Laravat	1	2	1	1

Three of the eleven respondents had faced opposition while contesting in the last election. The male candidates had faced opposition from their spouses whereas the sole female candidate had faced opposition from neighbours.

**Table 36: Opposition while contesting the last election by location**

	Yes	%	No	%
Aulua	0	0.0	2	100.0
Ekipe	0	0.0	2	100.0
Ifira	2	33.3	4	66.7
Laravat	1	100.0	0	0.0

**Table 37: Opposition while contesting the last election by gender**

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Male	2	20.0	8	80.0	10	90.9
Female	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	9.1

**Table 38: Source of opposition**

	Spouse	Neighbours	Total
Male	2	0	2
Female	0	1	1

The majority of respondents (89 per cent) had no intention to contest the next national or local elections. Respondents from Ifira were more likely to consider contesting the next election.

**Table 39: Intention to contest next election by location**

	Yes- National Elections	Yes- Local Level elections	Possibly contesting	Undecided	No
Aulua	1	1	0	3	75
Ekipe	1	1	1	6	71
Ifira	1	0	6	4	69
Laravat	0	1	1	8	70

**Table 40: Possibilities of contesting in upcoming elections, by gender**

	Yes- National Elections	Yes- Local Level elections	Possibly contesting	Undecided	No	Total
Male	2	3	5	14	133	157
Female	1	0	3	7	152	163

Only two of the 14 potential candidates said they would contest as an independent while the remaining 12 intended to join a political party campaign. All of the respondents intending to contest from Ifira intend to contest as a candidate of a political party. Of the 11 respondents who had previously contested national or local elections, only one intends to contest again, while two said they would possibly contest. All three were male – one from Ekipe and two from Ifira. The sample size of potential candidates in future elections is too small to derive any meaningful conclusions. Nevertheless, the gender-disaggregated data reveals that there are potentially four women interested in contesting the next election and that they wish to contest as a member of a political party.

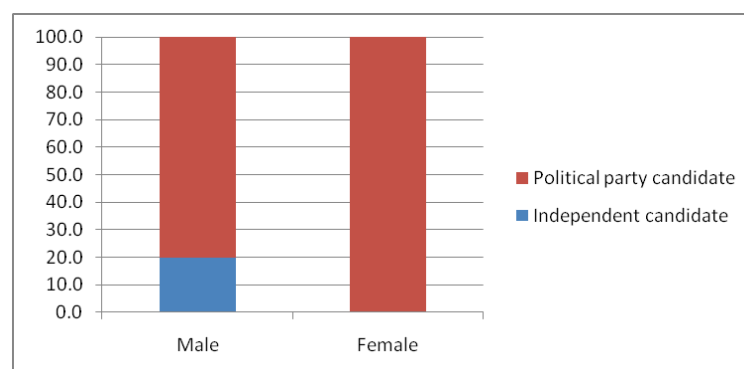
**Table 41: Independent or political party candidate by location**

	Independent candidate	%	Political party candidate	%
Aulua	0	0.0	2	100.0
Ekipe	1	33.3	2	66.7
Ifira	1	14.3	6	85.7
Laravat	0	0.0	2	100.0

**Table 42: Independent or political party candidate by gender**

	Independent candidate	%	Political party candidate	%	Total	%
Male	2	20.0	8	80.0	10	71.4
Female	0	0.0	4	100.0	4	28.6

**Figure 10: Independent or political party candidate by gender**



Respondents generally considered 'good leadership skills' to be the most important strength for people to be elected into parliament. Having a 'strong community support-base' was perceived to be the least important strength.

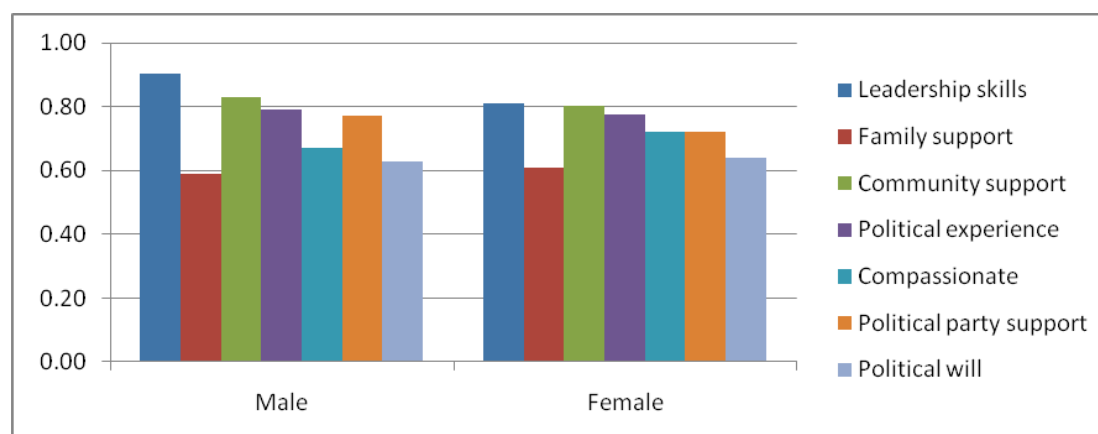
**Table 43: Perceptions of strengths of individuals voted into parliament by location**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Good leadership skills (charismatic)	0.85	0.84	0.86	0.86	0.90	0.81
Support of my family	0.63	0.43	0.66	0.68	0.59	0.61
Strong community support-base	0.21	0.50	0.34	0.16	0.83	0.80
Experience in politics (local and/or national)	0.88	0.69	0.76	0.78	0.79	0.78
Compassionate to those around me	0.79	0.61	0.73	0.64	0.67	0.72
Political will	0.21	0.57	0.36	0.38	0.77	0.72
Support from a political party	0.75	0.55	0.62	0.63	0.63	0.64

(0=not important, 0.5=important, and 1=very important)



**Figure 11: Perceptions of strengths of individuals voted into parliament by gender**



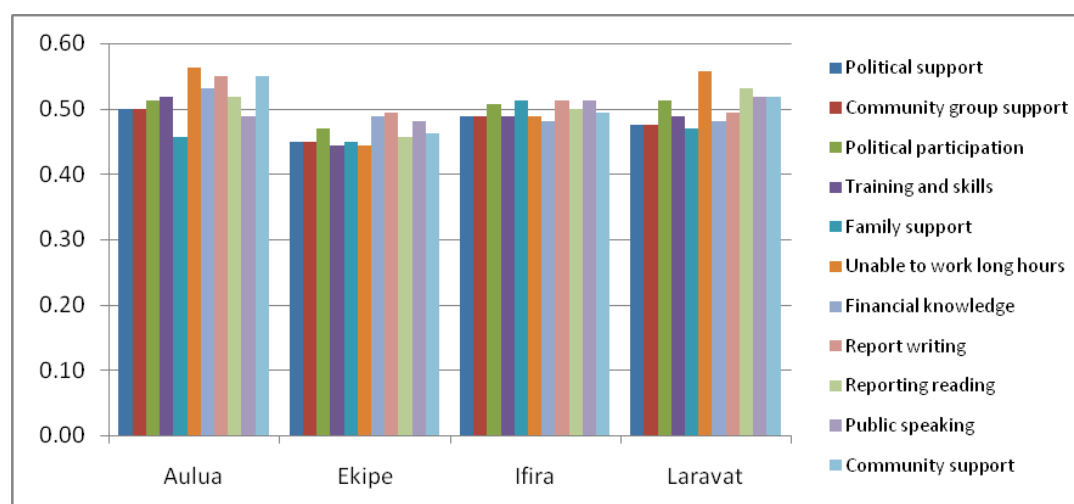
The responses on perceived weaknesses of people voted into parliament did not yield as pronounced opinions as those on strengths did. Generally, respondents did not agree that any of the factors listed were weaknesses with little differences in responses by gender or location.

**Table 44: Perceptions of weaknesses of individuals voted into parliament**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Lack of political support	0.50	0.45	0.49	0.48	0.51	0.45
Lack of support from a community group	0.50	0.45	0.49	0.48	0.51	0.45
Lack of experience in political participation	0.51	0.47	0.51	0.51	0.50	0.50
Lack of training and skills in politics	0.52	0.44	0.49	0.49	0.50	0.47
Lack of family support	0.46	0.45	0.51	0.47	0.47	0.47
Unable to work long hours	0.56	0.44	0.49	0.56	0.51	0.52
Lack of financial knowledge	0.53	0.49	0.48	0.48	0.51	0.48
Weak in report writing	0.55	0.49	0.51	0.49	0.50	0.52
Weak in reading long reports	0.52	0.46	0.50	0.53	0.50	0.51
Not a good speaker	0.49	0.48	0.51	0.52	0.50	0.50
Lack of community support	0.55	0.46	0.49	0.52	0.49	0.52

(0=not sure, 0.5=disagree, and 1=agree)

**Figure 12: Perceptions of weaknesses of individuals voted into parliament by location**



### Membership of political parties

Forty-one per cent of respondents said they were members of a political party, with the highest number of party members in Ifira and the lowest party membership in Laravat. It is noted that there were no questions asking respondents if they were registered and/or unregistered (formal or informal) members of a political party. Some respondents considered themselves a party 'member' without having any legal/recognised proof of membership. It may be that despite the line of questioning, the interpretation of political party membership was somewhat general. Many political parties do not have formal membership mechanisms, but people can still consider themselves as party 'members' where in other locations this may be referred to as party 'supporters'. Notwithstanding this, there was roughly equal numbers of men and women who considered themselves to be members of political party.

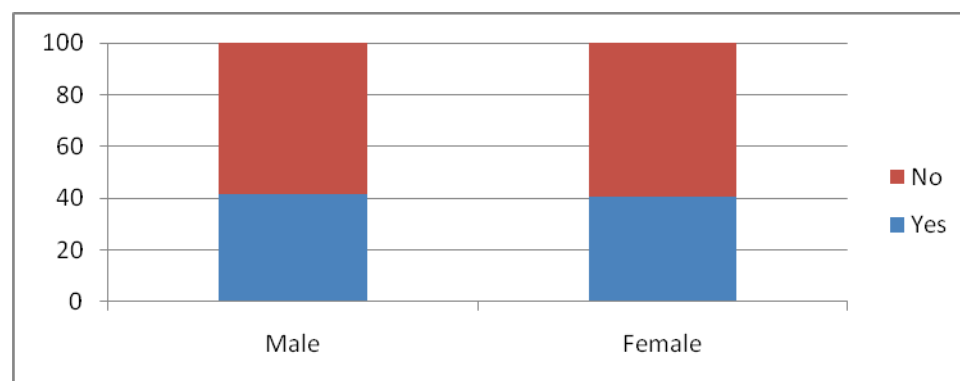
**Table 45: Political party membership by location**

	Yes	%	No	%
Aulua	19	23.8	61	76.2
Ekiye	40	50.0	40	50.0
Ifira	62	77.5	18	22.5
Laravat	10	12.5	70	87.5

**Table 46: Political party membership by gender**

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Male	65	41.4	92	58.6	157	49.1
Female	66	40.5	97	59.5	163	50.9

**Figure 13: Political party membership by gender**

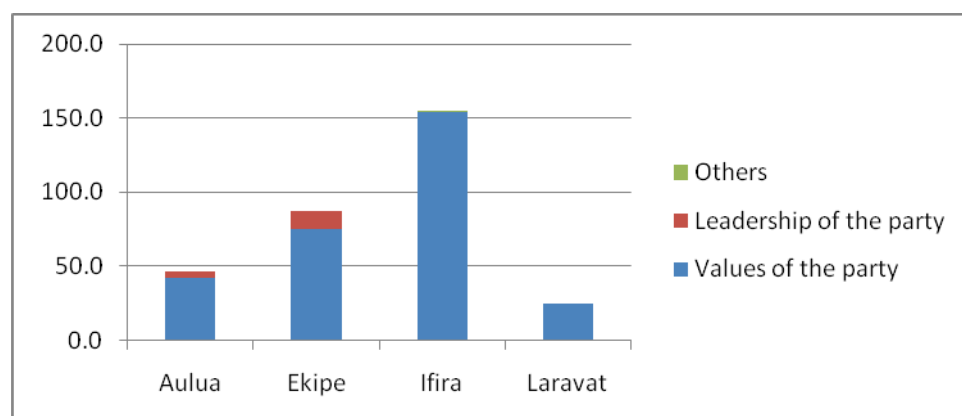


The 131 respondents who considered themselves to be members of a political party generally did so because of the values of the party.

**Table 47: Rationale behind joining a political party by location (multiple answers)**

	Values of the party	%	Leadership of the party	%	Others	%
Aulua	34	42.5	3	3.8	0	0.0
Ekiye	60	75.0	10	12.5	0	0.0
Ifira	123	153.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Laravat	20	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

**Figure 14: Rationale behind joining a political party by location**



**Table 48: Rationale behind joining a political party by gender**

	Values of the party	%	Leadership of the party	%	Others	%
Male	114	72.6	9	5.7	0	0.0
Female	123	75.5	4	2.5	1	0.6

### **Underlying motivations behind contesting elections**

Respondents were asked what their underlying motivations were/would be when and if they decide to contest an election in the near future. This was posed to respondents who had and/or were intending to contest an election, and as a hypothetical question to the other respondents. Overall, respondents considered ‘serve my country and community’ to be the most important motivating factor followed closely by ‘improve the lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups’, ‘improve the community where I live’, and ‘improve the lives of women’. Female respondents were more likely to consider ‘improve the lives of women’ to be an important motivating factor. Motivating factors such as ‘political party encouraged my candidature’ and ‘encouraged by my family, friends, and members of the community’ were not generally considered important.

When the responses are disaggregated along field research locations, the statement ‘improve the lives of women’ proved to be the most divisive. Respondents in Laravat and Aulua considered it be of ‘great deal’ of importance, respondents in Ifira ranked it ‘fair amount’, and those in Ekipe were in between ‘not very much’ to ‘fair amount’. Respondents in Ekipe did not think any of the statements were particularly important motivating factors, and ranked them between ‘fair amount’ to ‘not very much’.

**Table 49: Motivations behind contesting elections**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Serve my country and community	0.89	0.70	0.83	0.95	0.86	0.86
Involved in the decisions that affect my life	0.73	0.54	0.61	0.65	0.64	0.55
Political party encouraged my candidature	0.61	0.55	0.53	0.54	0.52	0.51
Encouraged by my family, friends and members of the community	0.68	0.52	0.55	0.54	0.58	0.54
Improve the community where I live	0.92	0.69	0.78	0.88	0.81	0.82
Improve the lives of women	0.93	0.66	0.74	0.90	0.77	0.85
Improve the lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups	0.93	0.71	0.81	0.89	0.82	0.85

(0=don't know, 0.25=none, 0.50=not very much, 0.75=fair amount, and 1=great deal)

Figure 15: Motivations behind contesting elections by location

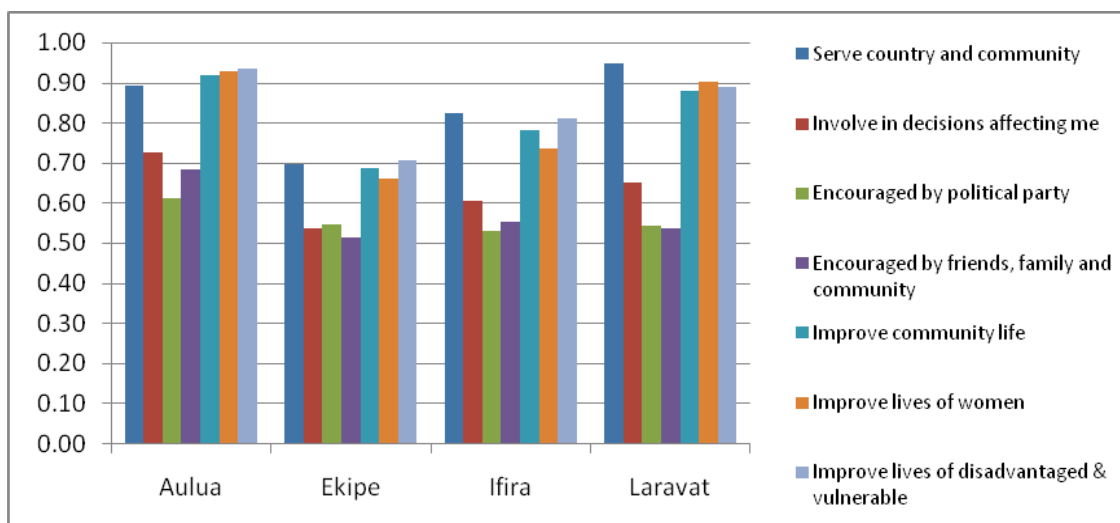
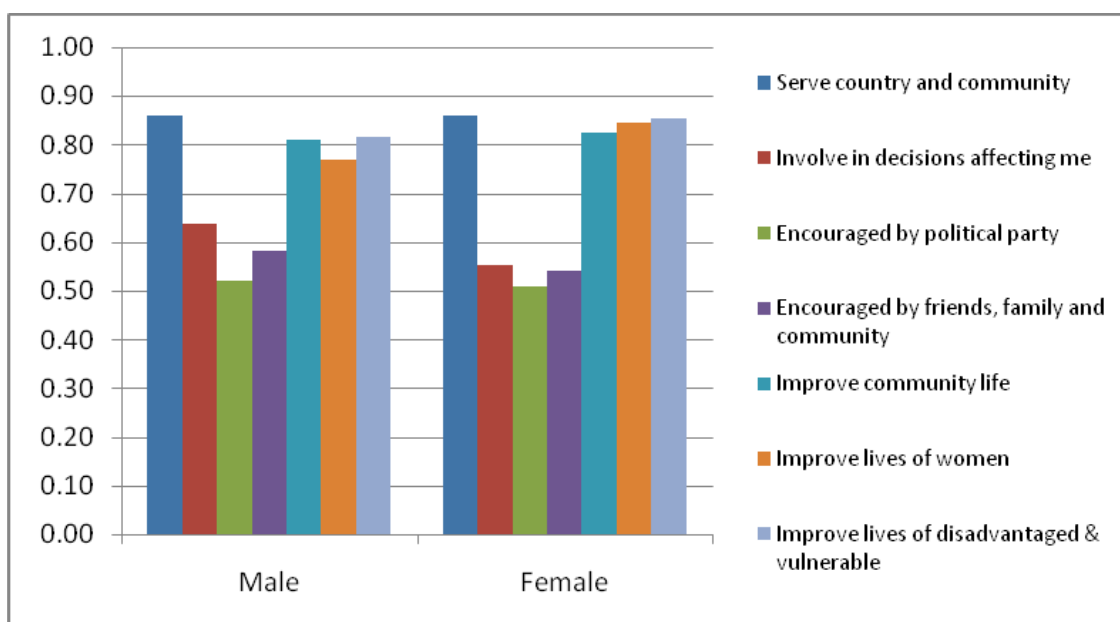


Figure 16: Motivations behind contesting in election by gender



## Knowledge and understanding of democracy and citizenship

This section consisted of twelve questions related to knowledge, understanding of, and interest in: democracy, elections, citizenship and women's political participation. The major findings were:

- There were strong views that democracy involved the will of the majority of the people, and all people should have an equal influence on the decisions that affect their lives.
- Although voting participation rates were high in the surveyed areas, the majority of respondents did not think that they had a good understanding of how elections worked in Vanuatu.

- Female respondents tended to have less understanding or knowledge of how elections and democracy operates in Vanuatu than their male counterparts.
- None of the 320 respondents thought they were ‘very familiar’ with concepts of democracy, the election system in Vanuatu, equal participation of men and women in decision making, women’s equal rights and empowerment or women’s equal participation in politics.
- Very few (14 out of 320) respondents had attended any training on democracy, elections or governance in the last two years.
- Respondents strongly agreed that women should participate equally in local and national level government, but were uncertain whether ‘democracy’ works in traditional and chiefly societies.

### ***Democracy, elections and citizenship***

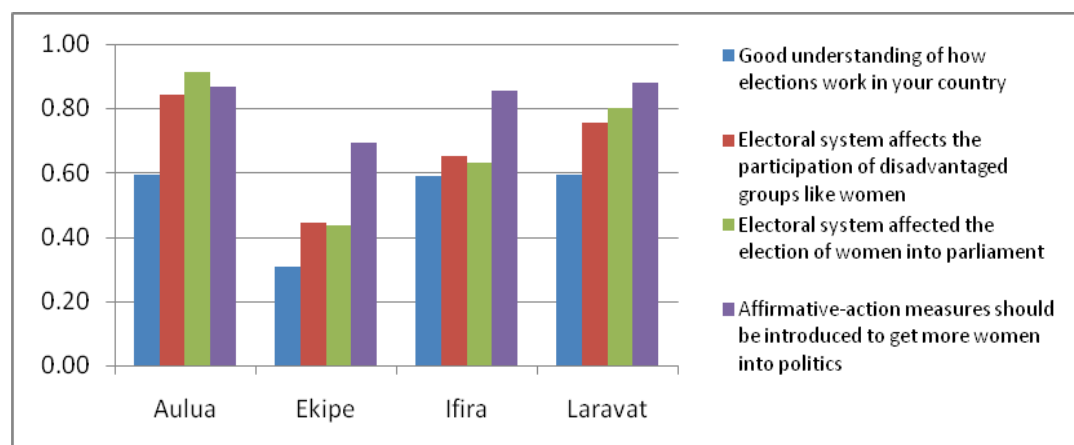
Overall, respondents indicated that affirmative action measures should be introduced to get more women into politics. Paradoxically, although respondents had an opinion about and thought they had a good knowledge and understanding of the effects of the electoral system on the participation of women and disadvantaged groups, they did not think that they had a good grasp of how elections work in the country. Women respondents tended to have a slightly lower understanding of how elections and democracy operates in the country. Men were more likely to answer that affirmative action measures should be introduced to get more women into politics.

***Table 50: Understanding and awareness of elections and democracy***

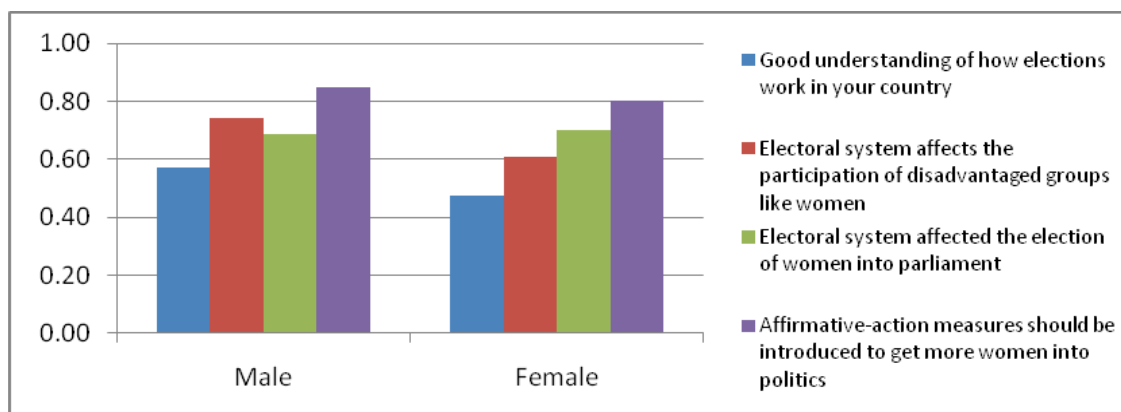
	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Good understanding of how elections work in your country	0.59	0.31	0.59	0.59	0.57	0.47
Electoral system affects the participation of disadvantaged groups like women	0.84	0.44	0.65	0.76	0.74	0.61
Electoral system affected the election of women into parliament in the last election	0.91	0.44	0.63	0.80	0.69	0.70
Affirmative-action measures should be introduced to get more women into politics	0.87	0.69	0.86	0.88	0.85	0.80

(0=don’t know, 0.25=none, 0.50=not very much, 0.75=fair amount, and 1=great deal)

***Figure 17: Understanding and awareness of elections and democracy by location***



**Figure 18: Understanding and awareness of elections and democracy by gender**



(0=don't know, 0.25=none, 0.50=not very much, 0.75=fair amount, and 1=great deal)

Respondents generally most agreed with the statement 'everybody should have an equal influence on the decisions that affect their lives' followed closely by 'women should have equal participation in local and national level government', 'for democracy to work, the will of the majority has to be followed', 'we are all better off when everyone has equal political rights'. Respondents seemed to be between being uncertain and agreeing with 'democracy does not work in traditional and chiefly societies'.

Respondents tended to similarly agree with the statement 'we are all better off when everyone has equal rights', but the statement 'democracy does not work in traditional and chiefly societies' yielded the most divisive responses.

Men and women provided similar responses to all of the statements apart from 'democracy does not work in traditional and chiefly societies'. Women were slightly more 'uncertain' about the statement compared to their male counterparts.

**Table 51: Views on democracy and citizenship**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
The will of the majority must be followed	0.90	0.80	0.86	0.88	0.85	0.87
Everybody should have an equal influence on the decisions that affect their lives.	0.88	0.83	0.88	0.89	0.88	0.87
Democracy should be about finding a compromise between people with different views.	0.80	0.76	0.85	0.88	0.84	0.81
Democracy does not work in traditional and chiefly societies.	0.74	0.50	0.59	0.73	0.68	0.60
We are all better off when everyone has equal political rights.	0.88	0.82	0.83	0.85	0.85	0.85
There should be equal participation of women in local and national level government	0.85	0.81	0.85	0.93	0.86	0.86

(0=don't know, 0.25=none, 0.50=not very much, 0.75=fair amount, and 1=great deal)

### ***Women's political participation***

The majority of respondents said they were either 'very interested' (44 per cent) or 'somewhat interested' (27 per cent) in discussions on women's political participation.

***Table 52: Discussion on women's political participation by location***

	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Very interested	32	40.0	31	38.8	37	46.3	42	52.5
Somewhat interested	27	33.8	21	26.3	17	21.3	20	25.0
Not very interested	6	7.5	8	10.0	10	12.5	7	8.8
Not interested at all	10	12.5	2	2.5	7	8.8	4	5.0
Don't know	5	6.3	18	22.5	9	11.3	7	8.8

A higher percentage of women said they were 'very interested' whereas men tended to be divided between being 'very interested' and 'somewhat interested'.

***Table 53: Interested in discussion on women's political participation by gender***

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Very interested	60	38.2	82	50.3	142	44.4
Somewhat interested	55	35.0	30	18.4	85	26.6
Not very interested	17	10.8	14	8.6	31	9.7
Not interested at all	14	8.9	9	5.5	23	7.2
Don't know	11	7.0	28	17.2	39	12.2

In terms of how often respondents discuss current affairs relating to women's empowerment and advancing gender equality, responses generally ranged between 'once a month or less' and 'never'. It was noted that many respondents said in qualitative discussions that they speak about these issues more frequently (i.e. more than once a month) when elections are approaching.

***Table 54: Frequency of discussion on women's participation by location***

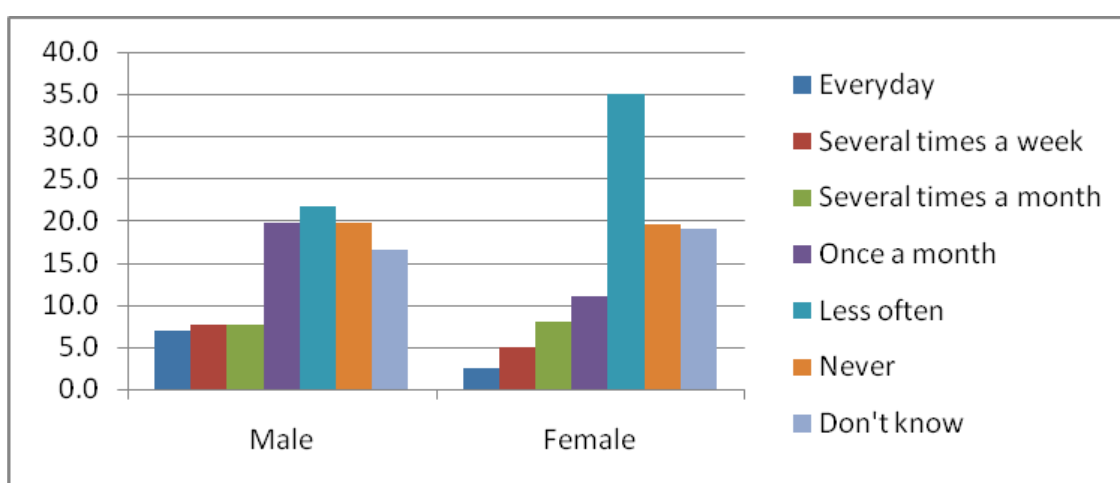
	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Everyday	5	6.3	0	0.0	6	7.5	4	5.0
Several times a week	5	6.3	2	2.5	6	7.5	7	8.8
Several times a month	2	2.5	15	18.8	5	6.3	3	3.8
Once a month	18	22.5	2	2.5	13	16.3	16	20.0
Less often	33	41.3	16	20.0	10	12.5	32	40.0
Never	10	12.5	16	20.0	22	27.5	15	18.8
Don't know	7	8.8	29	36.3	18	22.5	3	3.8

The results suggest that men tend to speak more frequently about women's issues than women. The majority of male respondents said they speak about women's issues once a month or less often (45 per cent of the total male respondents) whereas women respondents said less often or never (55 per cent of the total female respondents).

**Table 55: Frequency of discussion on women's political participation by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Everyday	11	7.0	4	2.5	15	4.7
Several times a week	12	7.6	8	4.9	20	6.3
Several times a month	12	7.6	13	8.0	25	7.8
Once a month	31	19.7	18	11.0	49	15.3
Less often	34	21.7	57	35.0	91	28.4
Never	31	19.7	32	19.6	63	19.7
Don't know	26	16.6	31	19.0	57	17.8

**Figure 19: Frequency of discussion on women's political participation by gender**



Respondents who speak about women's political participation do so with their friends (39 per cent), in women's groups (28 per cent) or with their close family members (22 per cent). As expected, more women said they speak about women's issues within women's groups (49 per cent of female respondents) whereas men were more likely to discuss with friends (60 per cent of male respondents).

**Table 56: Discussions on women's political participation with whom by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Colleagues	3	4.8	1	2.9	1	2.5	3	4.8
Friends	19	30.2	22	62.9	15	37.5	21	33.9
Close family members	18	28.6	1	2.9	10	25.0	14	22.6
Extended family members	7	11.1	2	5.7	4	10.0	4	6.5
Women's groups	16	25.4	9	25.7	10	25.0	20	32.3

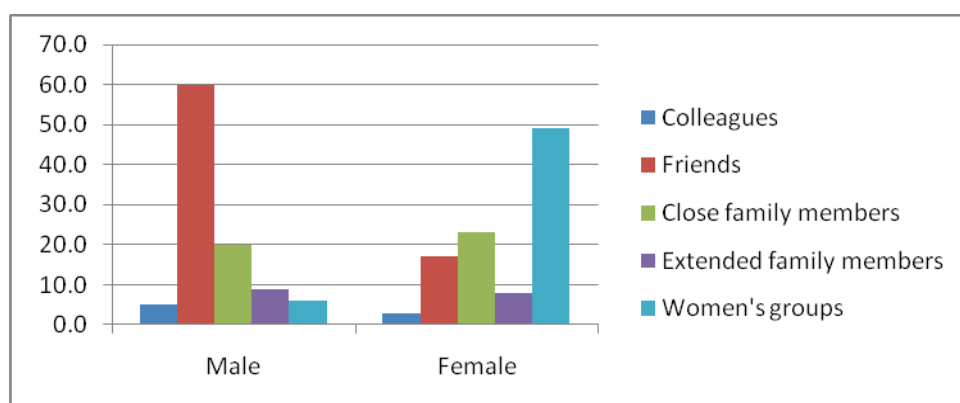
(Results excludes those that responded they never discuss women's political participation or do not know how often)



**Table 57: Discussions on women's political participation with whom by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Colleagues	5	5.0	3	3.0	8	4.0
Friends	60	60.0	17	17.0	77	38.5
Close family members	20	20.0	23	23.0	43	21.5
Extended family members	9	9.0	8	8.0	17	8.5
Women's groups	6	6.0	49	49.0	55	27.5

**Figure 20: Discussion on women's political participation with whom by gender**



### **Formal training on democracy, elections and governance**

Only 14 out of a total of 320 respondents had attended training on democracy, elections, and governance in the last 24 months. Of these eight were male and six female.

**Table 58: Training by location**

	Yes	%	No	%
Aulua	2	2.5	78	97.5
Ekipe	4	5.0	76	95.0
Ifira	3	3.8	77	96.3
Laravat	5	6.3	75	93.8

**Table 59: Training by gender**

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Male	6	3.8	151	96.2	157	49.1
Female	8	4.9	155	95.1	163	50.9

**Table 60: Details of training in the last two years**

Year	Name	Location
Not specified	Democracy	Shefa province
2002	Raet blong ol woman (Women's rights)	Port Vila
2002	RRRT Human Rights	Vila
2003	Democracy	Vinmas (Malekula)
2003	Decision making	Port Vila
2004	RRRT Human Rights	Vila
2004	Political Rights	Port Vila
2004	Gud gavanans (Good governance)	Laravat
2006	Island court judge	Lakatoro
2006	Gud gavanans (Good governance)	Laravat
2007	Transparency	Epau
2007	Gender and political governance	Fiji
2007	Electrol prosses mo system blong ofis (electoral processes and systems of office)	Fresh water
2008	Good Governance	Nilpu Baur
2008	Gud Gavanans (Good governance)	Shefa Province
2008	Election Procedure	Shefa province
2008	Gud gavanans (Good governance)	Vinmavis
2008	Gud gavanans (Good governance)	Laravat
2009	Election observation	U.S.P
2009	Woman in politics	Dept. Women's Affairs
2009	Governance	Anamburu

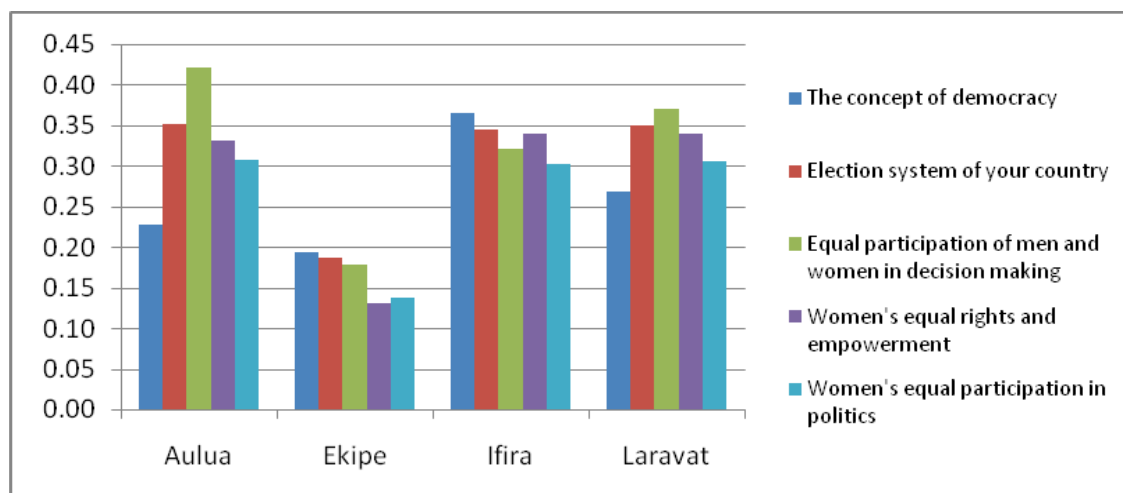
On average, respondents said they did not know anything about the 'concept of democracy', 'women's equal participation in politics' and 'women's rights and empowerment'. Respondents seemed to know relatively more about (although responses were between 'not at all' and 'very little') 'equal participation of men and women in decision making'. The responses given by male and female respondents were fairly comparable. Women said they knew slightly less in comparison to men about 'the concept of democracy'. Men said they were less familiar with 'women's equal rights and empowerment' and 'women's equal participation in politics' compared to their female counterparts.

**Table 61: Familiarity with key concepts**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
The concept of democracy	0.23	0.19	0.37	0.27	0.32	0.21
Election system of your country	0.35	0.19	0.34	0.35	0.31	0.31
Equal participation of men and women in decision making	0.42	0.18	0.32	0.37	0.32	0.33
Women's equal rights and empowerment	0.33	0.13	0.34	0.34	0.26	0.31
Women's equal participation in politics	0.31	0.14	0.30	0.31	0.23	0.30

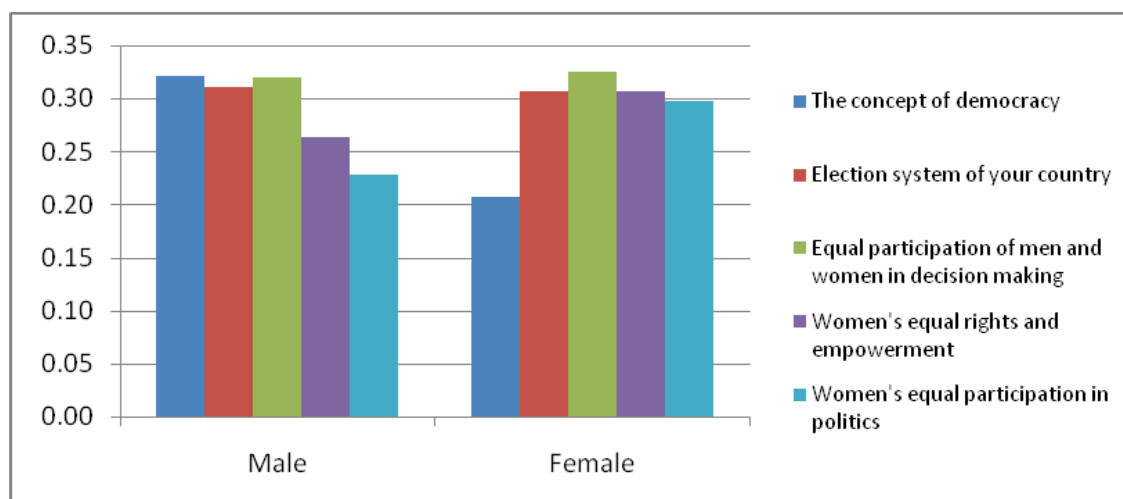
(0=don't know, 0.2=not at all, 0.4=very little, 0.6=somewhat, 0.8=to a good extent, 1=fully)

**Figure 21: Familiarity with the concepts by location**



(0=don't know, 0.2=not at all, 0.4=very little, 0.6=somewhat, 0.8=to a good extent, 1=fully)

**Figure 22: Familiarity with the concepts by gender**



(0=don't know, 0.2=not at all, 0.4=very little, 0.6=somewhat, 0.8=to a good extent, 1=fully)

## Knowledge and understanding of women's political participation

This section consisted of six questions seeking respondents' views on women's representation in parliament, knowledge and understanding of affirmative action provisions, preferred means of increasing women's political participation, and views on the major obstacles constraining women candidates from being elected into parliament. The major findings were:

- The majority of respondents thought there should be more representation of women in parliament - 81 per cent of respondents said there should be 'a few more women parliamentarians' or that 'the Pacific countries should meet their international commitments to increase representation of women to 30 per cent of the parliament'. Female respondents were twice as likely than male respondents to think Vanuatu should meet the 30 per cent target of women's representation in parliament.

- Just under half (49 per cent) of respondents were of the view that women should have equal representation in parliament, with a slightly higher number of men than women of this opinion.
- Only 8 per cent of respondents thought there should be the same or fewer female members of parliament than at present<sup>5</sup>.
- Respondents who believed there should be equal representation of women in parliament generally supported affirmative action measures to encourage more women into parliament. Having 'elected reserved seats' was seen as the most popular measure (59 per cent) while less than ten per cent supported the use of 'appointed reserve seats'. Approximately 25 per cent were of the view that there should be no special measures – i.e. supporting 'free elections'.
- Despite the general level of support for affirmative action measures in general, and elected reserved seats in particular, less than ten per cent of respondents indicated a confident knowledge or understanding of the concept.
- Respondents considered 'lack of support from village/community, other women, and other men' to be the most constraining barriers for women to be elected to political office. Cultural identity was also considered an important barrier.
- Male respondents said they speak more frequently about women's issues than female respondents.

Participants were informed that the Pacific has the lowest percentage of women parliamentarians in the world, and that the international minimum target is 30 per cent women's representation in parliament. That would require at least 15 female members of parliament in Vanuatu (where currently there is just one female member).

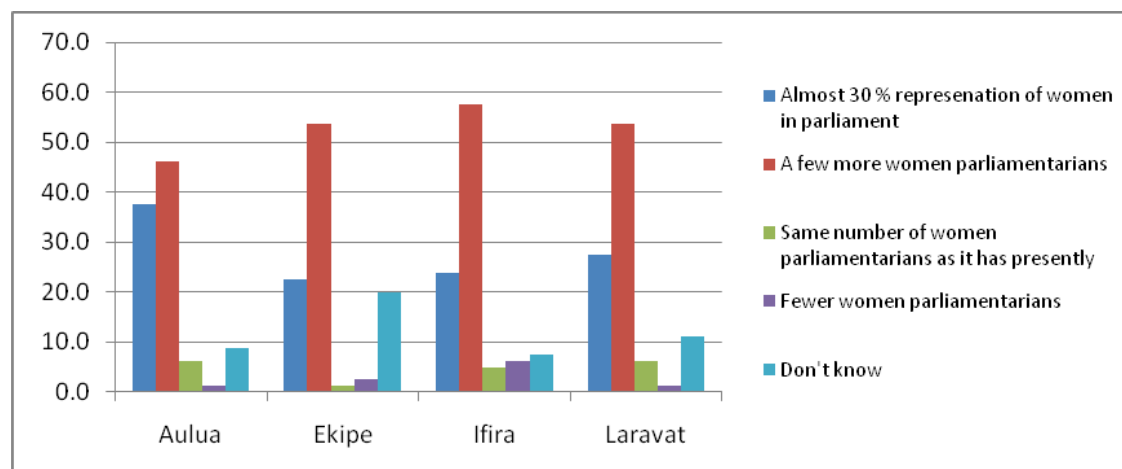
The majority of respondents thought there should be a higher representation of women in parliament, with 53 per cent suggesting there should be a 'few more' women in parliament and 28 per cent saying there should be 'almost 30 per cent' representation of women in parliament. Only 8 per cent of respondents said there should be the same or fewer than the current number of women in parliament (i.e. one). Almost twice as many women than men thought that Vanuatu should meet the international minimum target for women's representation.

**Table 62: Representation of women in the parliament by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Almost 30 % representation of women in parliament	30	37.5	18	22.5	19	23.8	22	27.5
A few more women parliamentarians	37	46.3	43	53.8	46	57.5	43	53.8
Same number of women parliamentarians as it has presently	5	6.3	1	1.3	4	5.0	5	6.3
Fewer women parliamentarians	1	1.3	2	2.5	5	6.3	1	1.3
Don't know	7	8.8	16	20.0	6	7.5	9	11.3

<sup>5</sup> There is presently one female member of the Vanuatu Parliament.

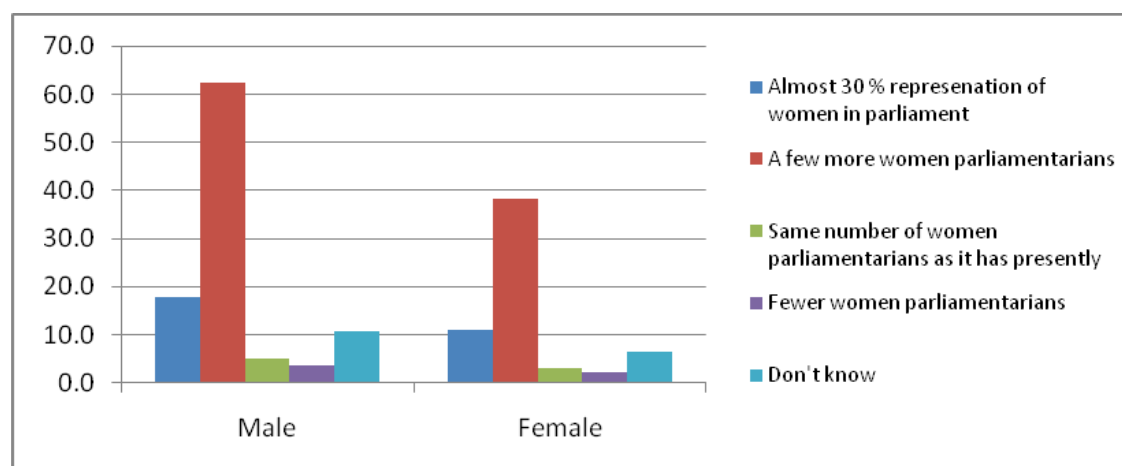
**Figure 23: Representation of women in the parliament by location**



**Table 63: Representation of women in the parliament by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Almost 30 % representation of women in parliament	28	17.8	61	10.9	89	27.8
A few more women parliamentarians	98	62.4	71	38.3	169	52.8
Same number of women parliamentarians as it has presently	8	5.1	7	3.1	15	4.7
Fewer women parliamentarians	6	3.8	3	2.3	9	2.8
Don't know	17	10.8	21	6.6	38	11.9

**Figure 24: Representation of women in parliament by gender**



Most respondents (70 per cent) said they had no general knowledge or understanding of affirmative action measures, such as quotas and reserved seats for women in parliament. There were little or no gender differences in responses.

**Table 64: Knowledge of affirmative action measures by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekipe	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
I am familiar with the concept	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	11.3	1	1.3
I know a bit	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	8.8	1	1.3
I understand the process	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.5	0	0.0
I have some knowledge about the current discussions in the parliament	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	5.0
I wish I knew	38	47.5	3	3.8	10	12.5	20	25.0
Don't know	41	51.3	77	96.3	52	65.0	54	67.5

**Table 65: Knowledge of affirmative action measures by gender**

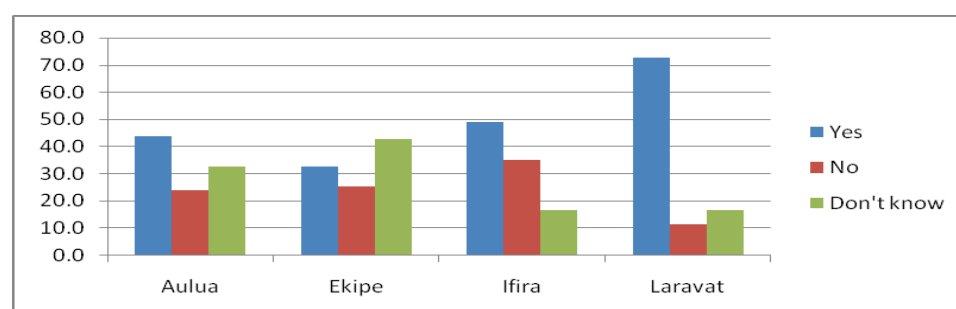
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
I am familiar with the concept	5	3.2	5	3.1	10	3.1
I know a bit	2	1.3	6	3.7	8	2.5
I understand the process	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	0.6
I have some knowledge about the current discussions in the parliament	2	1.3	3	1.8	5	1.6
I wish I knew	32	20.4	39	23.9	71	22.2
Don't know	114	72.6	110	67.5	224	70.0

Just under half (49 per cent) of respondents were of the view that women should have equal representation in parliament. 'Equal representation' was interpreted as 50 per cent of the total number of seats in parliament when posing the question to respondents.

**Table 66: Views on equal representation of women in parliament by location**

	Yes	%	No	%	Don't know	%
Aulua	35	43.8	19	23.8	26	32.5
Ekipe	26	32.5	20	25.0	34	42.5
Ifira	39	48.8	28	35.0	13	16.3
Laravat	58	72.5	9	11.3	13	16.3

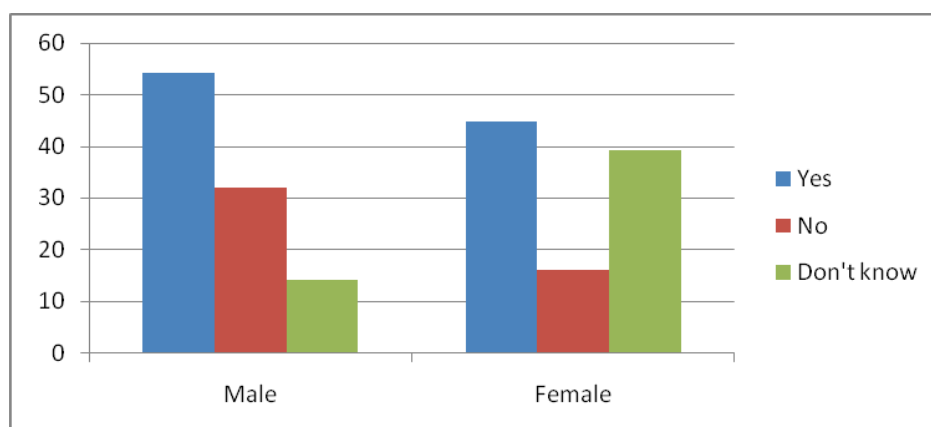
**Figure 25: Views on equal representation of women in parliament by location**



**Table 67: Views on equal representation of women in parliament by gender**

	Yes	%	No	%	Don't know	%	Total	%
Male	85	54.1	50	31.8	22	14.0	157	49.1
Female	73	44.8	26	16.0	64	39.3	163	50.9

**Figure 26: Views on equal representation of women in parliament by gender**

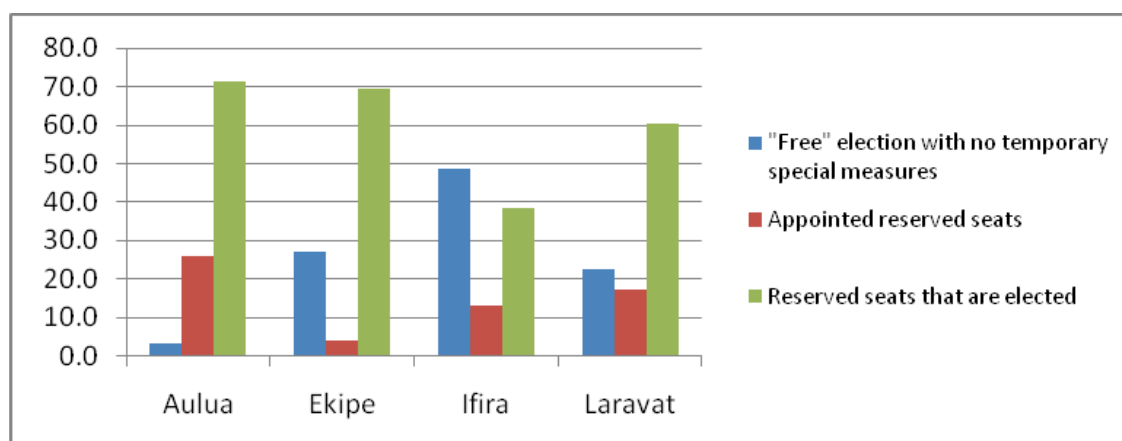


Respondents who believed there should be equal representation of women in parliament generally supported affirmative action measures to encourage more women into parliament. Having 'elected reserved seats' was seen as the most popular measure (59 per cent) while less than ten per cent supported the use of 'appointed reserve seats'. Approximately 25 per cent were of the view that there should be no special measures – i.e. supporting 'free elections'.

**Table 68: Preferred means increasing women's representation by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekiye	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
"Free" election with no temporary special measures (TSM)	1	2.9	7	26.9	19	48.7	13	22.4
Appointed reserved seats	9	25.7	1	3.8	5	12.8	10	17.2
Reserved seats that are elected	25	71.4	18	69.2	15	38.5	35	60.3

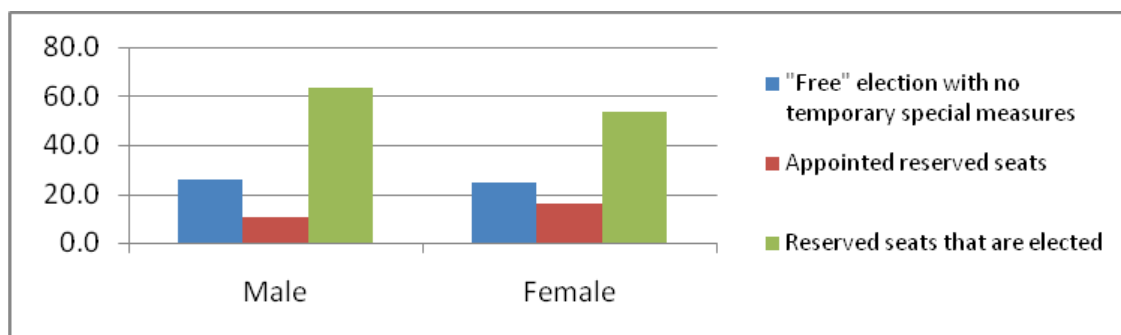
**Figure 27: Preferred means of increasing women's representation by location**



**Table 69: Preferred means of increasing women's representation by gender**

	"Free" election with no temporary special measures	%	Appointed reserved seats	%	Reserved seats that are elected	%	Total	%
Male	22	25.9	9	10.6	54	63.5	85	53.8
Female	18	24.7	16	16	39	53.4	73	46.2

**Figure 28: Preferred means of increasing women's representation by gender**



In general, respondents considered 'traditional religious values' to be least important and 'lack of support from village/community, other women, and other men' to be the most important barriers to women's participation in politics.

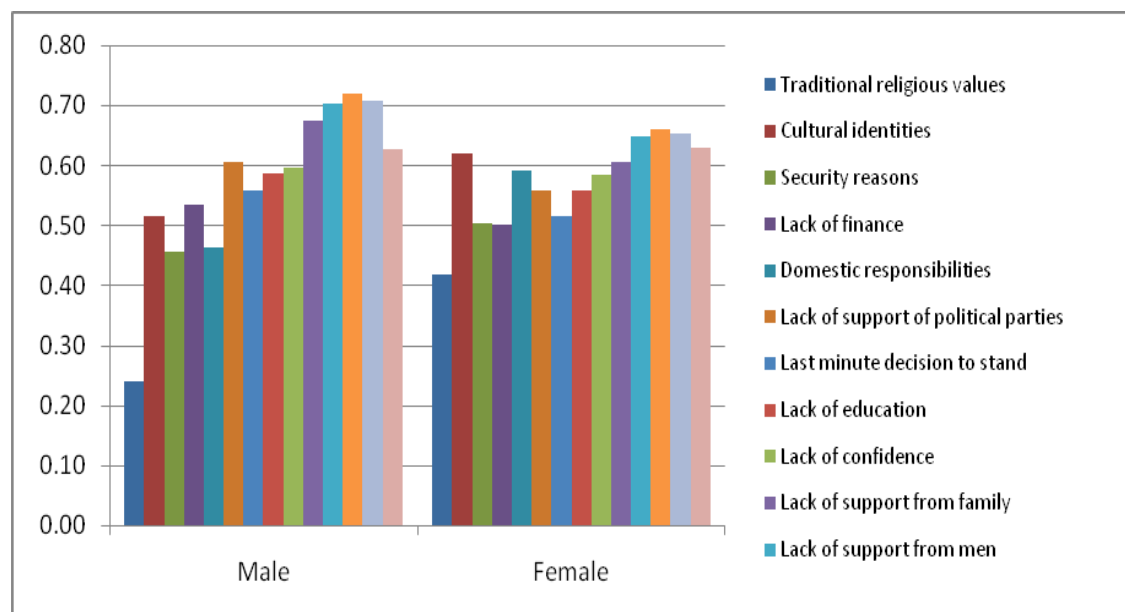
**Table 70: Perception of main obstacles for women's election to political office**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Traditional religious values	0.48	0.21	0.36	0.28	0.24	0.42
Cultural identities	0.68	0.43	0.56	0.61	0.52	0.62
Security reasons	0.73	0.31	0.38	0.50	0.46	0.50
Lack of finance	0.58	0.54	0.50	0.45	0.54	0.50
Domestic responsibilities	0.67	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.46	0.59
Lack of support of political parties	0.67	0.43	0.60	0.63	0.61	0.56
Last minute decision to stand	0.59	0.48	0.52	0.56	0.56	0.52
Lack of education	0.60	0.53	0.56	0.61	0.59	0.56
Lack of confidence	0.69	0.50	0.57	0.59	0.60	0.58
Lack of support from family	0.76	0.54	0.57	0.68	0.68	0.60
Lack of support from men	0.76	0.57	0.63	0.74	0.70	0.65
Lack of support from village/community	0.77	0.60	0.66	0.73	0.72	0.66
Lack of support from other women	0.76	0.59	0.62	0.76	0.71	0.65
Lack of understanding of political ideas	0.81	0.46	0.63	0.61	0.63	0.63

(0 = not important, 0.5 = important, and 1 = very important)



Figure 29: Perceptions of main obstacles for women's election to political office by gender



(0 = not important, 0.5 = important, and 1 = very important)

## Perceptions and attitudes towards women's political participation

This part of the questionnaire consisted of five questions on attitudes and perceptions towards women's political participation and sought respondents to distinguish their personal attitudes towards women's political participation with subjective social norms and peer pressure influencing subjective social norms. The major findings were:

- Most respondents (80 per cent) were of the belief that thinking and acting politically is independent of gender.
- Respondents were generally uncertain about the statement 'politics is a man's game'.
- Most respondents (both men and women) agreed most with the statements 'women should represent both men and women's interests' and that 'women can be leaders'.
- Respondents generally disagreed most with the statements 'women should represent men's interest only' and 'women should represent women's interest only'.
- Female respondents were more likely than male respondents to agree with the statement that 'women should represent women's interest only' and 'women should represent men's interest only'.
- Women were uncertain about the statement 'most people in my community would vote for a woman candidate' whereas men tended to agree that they would.

Most respondents (80 per cent) thought acting politically was independent of gender. There were little differences in male and female responses.

**Table 71: Role of gender in thinking and acting politically by location**

	Aulua	%	Ekiye	%	Ifira	%	Laravat	%
Identified with the male gender	4	5.0	8	10.0	9	11.3	3	3.8
Identified with female gender	1	1.3	19	23.8	13	16.3	3	3.8
Independent of the male/female gender	75	93.8	51	63.8	55	68.8	74	92.5
Don't know	0	0.0	2	2.5	3	3.8	0	0.0

**Table 72: Role of gender in thinking and acting politically by gender**

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Identified with the male gender	10	6.4	14	8.9	24	7.5
Identified with female gender	17	10.8	19	12.1	36	11.3
Independent of the male/female gender	127	80.9	128	81.5	255	79.7
Don't know	3	1.9	2	1.3	5	1.6

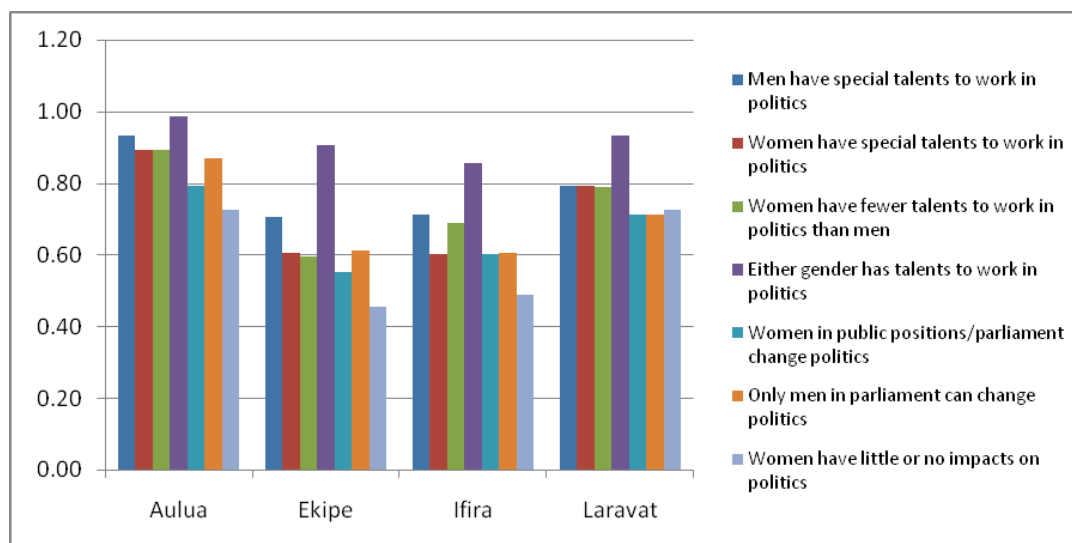
Overall, respondents agreed the most with the statement 'either gender has talents to work in politics', and were least likely to support the statement 'women have little or no impacts on politics'. Interestingly, the results suggest that support for the statement 'either gender has talents to work in politics' was not mutually exclusive of a degree of support for the statement 'women have fewer talents to work in politics'. This was particularly the case for respondents in Aulua. There were little substantive differences of opinion by gender.

**Table 73: Views on role of gender in political processes and outcomes**

	Aulua	Ekiye	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Men have special talents to work in politics	0.93	0.71	0.71	0.79	0.72	0.85
Women have special talents to work in politics	0.89	0.61	0.60	0.79	0.68	0.77
Women have fewer talents to work in politics than men	0.89	0.59	0.69	0.79	0.72	0.76
Either gender has talents to work in politics	0.99	0.91	0.86	0.93	0.93	0.91
Women in public positions/parliament change politics	0.79	0.55	0.60	0.71	0.70	0.63
Only men in parliament can change politics	0.87	0.61	0.61	0.71	0.71	0.69
Women have little or no impacts on politics	0.73	0.46	0.49	0.73	0.62	0.58

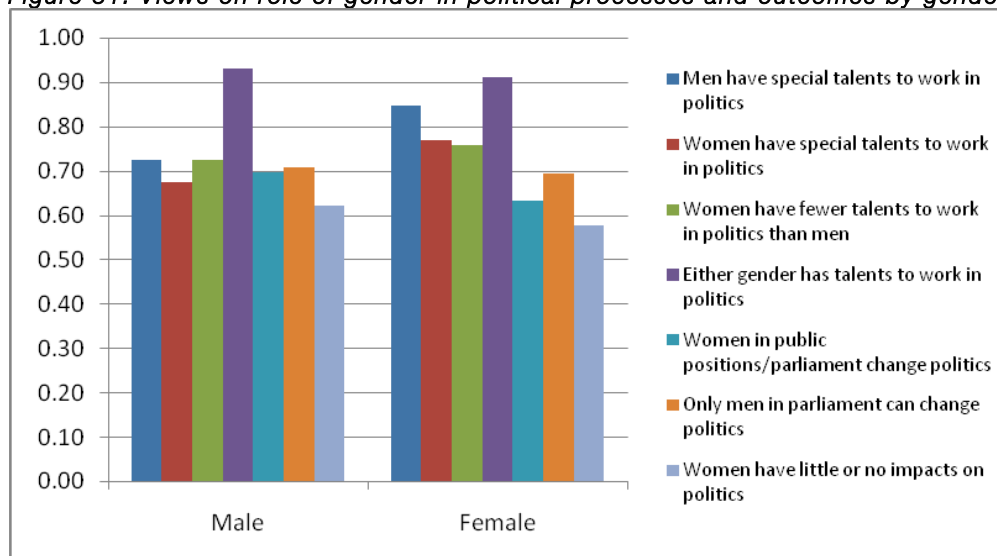
(0=don't know, 0.5=no, and 1=yes)

**Figure 30: Views on role of gender in political processes and outcomes by location**



(0=don't know, 0.5=no, and 1=yes)

**Figure 31: Views on role of gender in political processes and outcomes by gender**



(0=don't know, 0.5=no, and 1=yes)

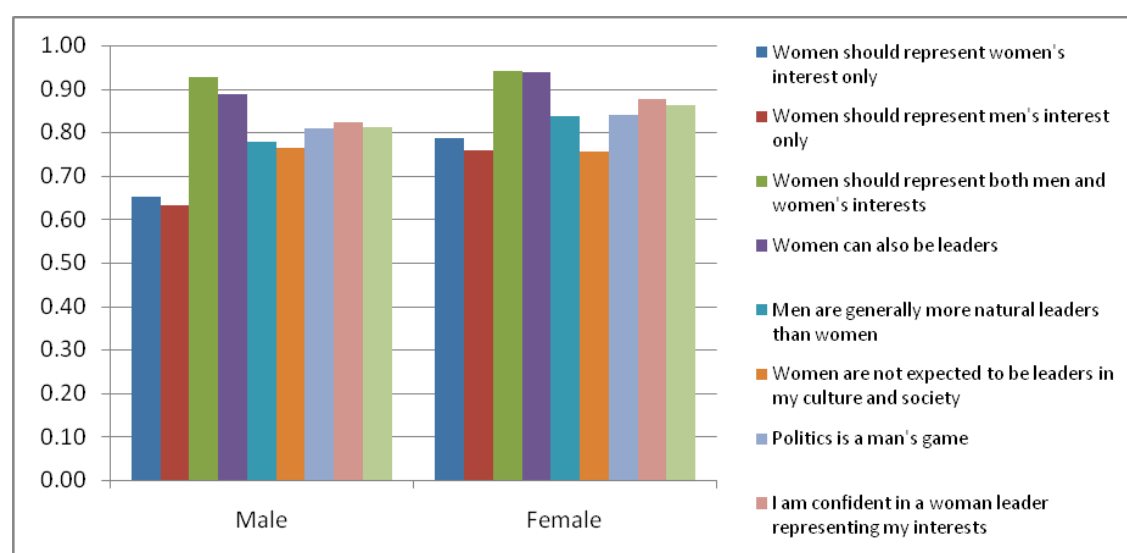
Overall, respondents disagreed the most with the statements 'women should represent men's interest only' and 'women should represent women's interest only'. Respondents were uncertain about 'politics is a man's game'. They generally agreed the most with 'women should represent both men and women's interests' and 'women can also be leaders'. There were little differences in male and female responses, but women tended to agree that 'women should represent women's interest only' and 'women should represent men's interest only' whereas men generally remained uncertain. This suggests that for women, in particular, statements such as 'women should represent women's interest only' or 'women should represent men's interest only' were not only mutually exclusive of the statement 'women should represent men and women's interests'.

**Table 74: Personal attitudes towards women's political participation**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Women should represent women's interest only	0.26	0.30	0.31	0.36	0.65	0.79
Women should represent men's interest only	0.24	0.21	0.20	0.28	0.63	0.76
Women should represent both men and women's interests	0.98	0.86	0.87	0.97	0.93	0.94
Women can also be leaders	0.95	0.85	0.86	0.96	0.89	0.94
Men are generally more natural leaders than women	0.72	0.51	0.53	0.66	0.78	0.84
Women are not expected to be leaders in my culture and society	0.63	0.62	0.57	0.68	0.76	0.75
Politics is a man's game	0.45	0.45	0.43	0.38	0.81	0.84
I am confident in a woman leader representing my interests	0.82	0.76	0.72	0.91	0.82	0.88
I would vote for a woman candidate	0.71	0.76	0.74	0.87	0.81	0.86

(0=strongly disagree, 0.25=disagree, 0.5=uncertain, 0.75=agree, and 1=strongly agree)

**Figure 32: Personal attitudes towards women's political participation by gender**



(0=strongly disagree, 0.25=disagree, 0.5=uncertain, 0.75=agree, and 1=strongly agree)

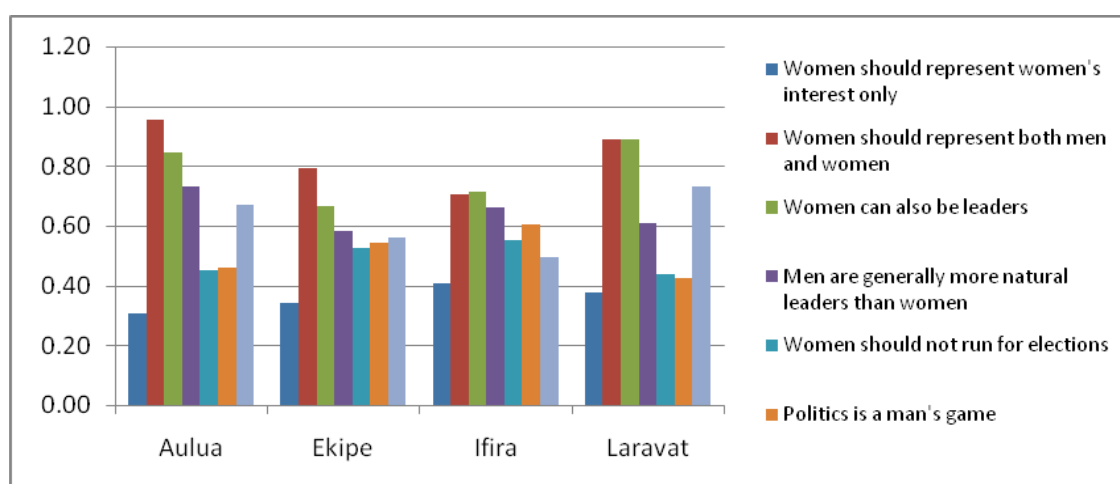
Overall, respondents agree the most with the statement 'most people in my community think women should represent both men and women'; were uncertain about 'most people in my community think women should not run for elections' followed closely by 'most people in my community think politics is a man's game'; and disagree the most with 'most people in my community think women should represent women's interests only'. There were little differences in responses when disaggregated by research locations. There were a number of similarities and differences in responses along gender lines. Men and women generally agreed with the statement 'most people in my community would think women should represent both men and women's interests' and 'most people in my community think women can also be leaders'. Both were uncertain about 'women should represent women's interests only'. Women tended to agree with the statement 'most people in my community think politics is a man's game' whereas men were more uncertain. Women were uncertain about the statement 'most people in my community would vote for a woman candidate' whereas men tended to agree that they would.

**Table 75: Statements on subjective social norms towards women's political participation**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Most people in my community think that women should represent women's interest only	0.31	0.34	0.41	0.38	0.33	0.40
Most people in my community think that women should represent both men and women	0.95	0.79	0.71	0.89	0.83	0.87
Most people in my community think that women can also be leaders	0.84	0.67	0.72	0.89	0.78	0.81
Most people in my community think that men are generally more natural leaders than women	0.73	0.58	0.66	0.61	0.61	0.71
Most people in my community think that women should not run for elections	0.45	0.53	0.55	0.44	0.44	0.56
Most people in my community think that politics is a man's game	0.46	0.54	0.60	0.43	0.43	0.61
Most people in my community that would vote for a woman candidate	0.67	0.56	0.50	0.73	0.72	0.54

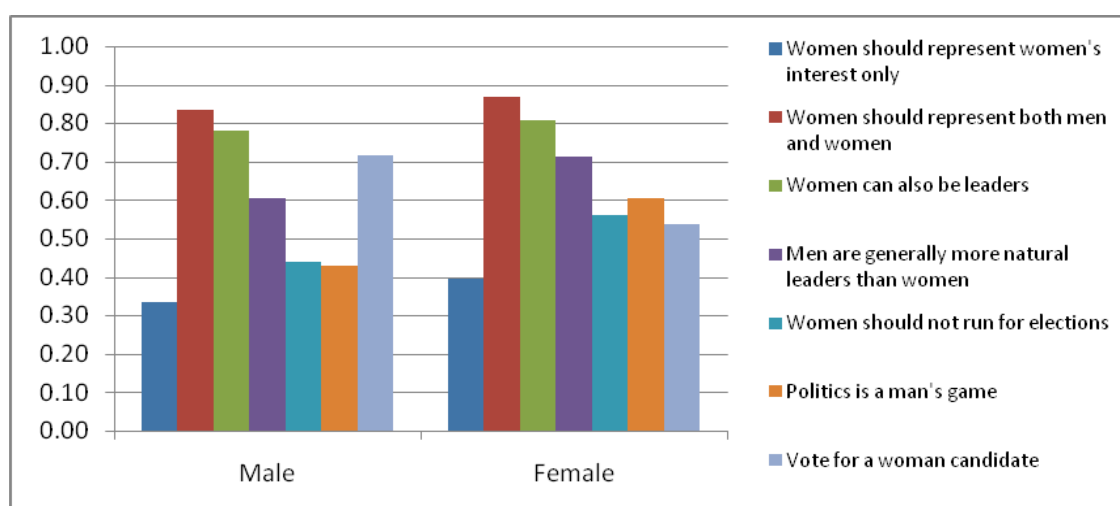
(0=strongly disagree, 0.25=disagree, 0.5=uncertain, 0.75=agree, and 1=strongly agree)

**Figure 33: Social norms towards women's political participation by location**



(0=strongly disagree, 0.25=disagree, 0.5=uncertain, 0.75=agree, and 1=strongly agree)

**Figure 34: Social norms towards women's political participation by gender**



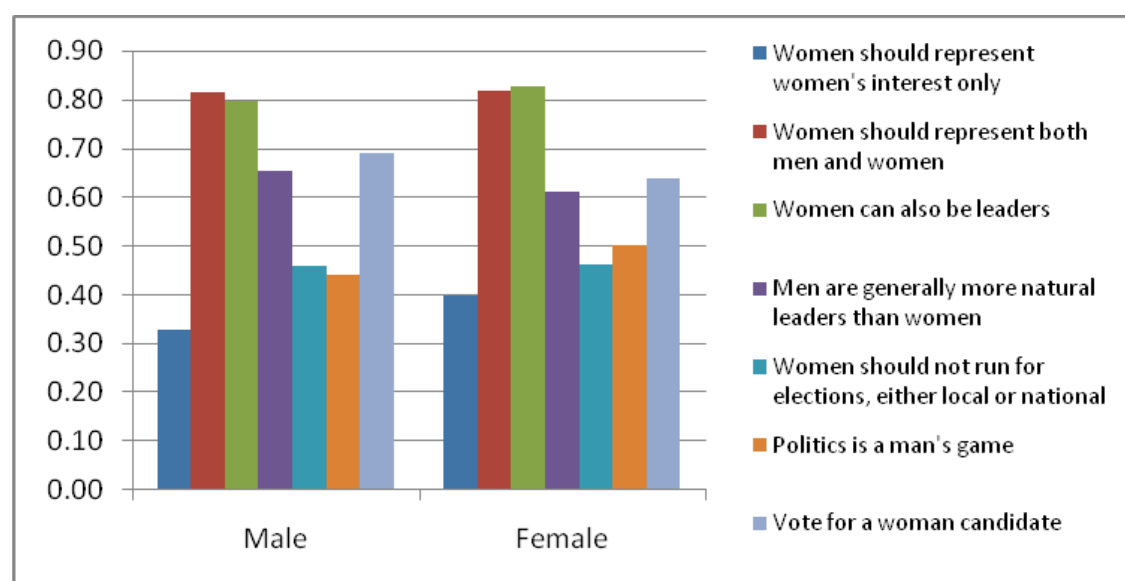
Overall, respondents agreed the least with the statement ‘most of my friends think women should represent women’s interest only’; were uncertain about ‘most of my friends think men are generally more natural leaders than women’ and ‘most of my friends think women should not run for elections’; and agreed the most with ‘women should represent both men and women’. The findings were very similar with those above, which could be because many respondents could not distinguish between ‘community’ and ‘friends’.

**Table 76: Influence of peer pressure on subjective social norms**

	Aulua	Ekipe	Ifira	Laravat	Male	Female
Most of my friends that women should represent women's interest only	0.31	0.38	0.39	0.38	0.33	0.40
Most of my friends that women should represent both men and women	0.97	0.75	0.68	0.88	0.81	0.82
Most of my friends that women can also be leaders	0.90	0.75	0.70	0.90	0.80	0.83
Most of my friends that men are generally more natural leaders than women	0.73	0.54	0.63	0.62	0.65	0.61
Most of my friends that women should not run for elections, either local or national	0.37	0.52	0.52	0.44	0.46	0.46
Most of my friends that politics is a man's game	0.42	0.50	0.56	0.41	0.44	0.50
Most of my friends that would vote for a woman candidate	0.68	0.69	0.55	0.73	0.69	0.64

(0=strongly disagree, 0.25=disagree, 0.5=uncertain, 0.75=agree, and 1=strongly agree)

**Figure 35: Influence of peer pressure on subjective social norms by gender**



(0=strongly disagree, 0.25=disagree, 0.5=uncertain, 0.75=agree, and 1=strongly agree)

## 4. Qualitative responses

The following includes quotations that illustrate common and/or a range of answers provided by respondents. Respondents' location, gender and the identification number used to record their responses have been included in order to identify who said what; trace the socio-economic background of respondents; and patterns of responses given to other questions in the questionnaire. However, in the interests of protecting privacy, names have not been attributed to comments in this section.

### Election preferences

The most common reasons why the majority of respondents said they preferred to vote for national elections over provincial and community level ones were because national elections are viewed as being concerned with the nation as a whole whereas provincial and community elections are restricted to certain geographic areas and populations, on the one hand. On the other hand, national level elections are considered to be the most effective means for deriving local level benefits. In spite of these underlying commonalities, however, there were considerable and nuanced variations in responses across research locations and gender.

Male and female respondents in Ifira gave a wider range of and more elaborate reasons for why they preferred one election over another and/or remained undecided over which one was more important. There were notable gender differences in responses in Ekiye, Aulua, and Laravat. The majority of women respondents in Ekiye said they preferred 'community level elections' and/or were 'uncertain' about which elections they favoured whereas men said they would rather vote in national level elections. In Aulua, fourteen out of a total of sixteen respondents who said they would vote for provincial elections were women. Men and women in Laravat provided distinct reasons for preferring to vote in national and/or provincial elections.

#### **Ifira**

The majority of respondents in Ifira preferred to vote in national elections. But Ifira had relatively more respondents who thought provincial and community elections were also important and/or remained undecided in comparison to respondents in the other three research locations.

The following quotations from a male and a female respondent are typical of why respondents thought national level elections were the most important.

"Me wantem vote blong national elekson. Reason from se hemi wan bigfala elekson mo from se bae hem nao i helpmen everi island blong yumi" (F, 7).

*I want to vote for national election because it is a big election and it will help all our islands.*

"Blong jusum wan stret leader blong runem countri mo blong lukluk long ol nids blong everiwan" (8).

*To choose the right leader who will govern the country well and look out for the needs of everyone.*

As the quotations suggest utilitarian discourses over citizenship was very prominent in many of the explanations provided for why respondents preferred national elections. For others, however, the 'greater good' aspect of national elections was precisely why they would rather vote for provincial or community level elections as is illustrated through the quotation below:

"Me wantem luk ol samting insaed nomo long province rather than vote long national we I tekem plante needs blong everiman ol different island which take time to fulfil the needs of my province" (M, 70).

Most of the thirteen respondents who were undecided about which elections they would prefer to vote in felt all three were equally important.

"Mi stap long ol association blong ol woman long tourist. Mifala I em license I go long province I luk save needs blong mifala. Mi man ples long village so mi mas vote long village level mo long nib long mi as a mama blong oli save helpem mi. National election mas jusum ol lida blong country we ogled now bae oli rumen kantar" (F,27).

*I am member of a member of a tourist association which pays license to the province so that they can look after all our needs. I live in the village and must vote at the village level too so that the needs of women like myself can be addressed. I must vote at the national election so I can have a say in choosing the leaders who will govern the country.*

### **Ekiye**

Men and women viewed elections as an important means of addressing individual and communal interests. However, men and women had different understandings of the types of elections that would yield the greatest benefits. All of the fourteen respondents who said they would vote for community level elections were women. As is reflected in the quotation below, the majority of male respondents compared national or provincial elections but not community level elections in arguing for their case.

"Mi jusum community level election from se team wan help I cam mifala everi wan long community I save penehide long hem, be sapos national or provinson olgeta nomo we oli vote long kandidet we I stap I win olgeta nomo bae oli penehide long hem" (F, 102).

*I have chosen community level election because every time help comes, everyone in the community benefits. But in national and provincial elections, only those who voted for the candidates benefit.*

"Taem mifala vote long provincial election mifala no luk suppot blong olketa taem mifala vote long national election oli stap kam wanwan taem and helpem komuniti" (135).

*When we vote for provincial elections, we do not see any support. But when we vote for national elections, we see support comes occasionally and helps the community.*

An equal number of men and women respondents were 'undecided' about which elections they would prefer to vote in. As the quotations below reflect, while men tended to think all three elections were equally important, women had less experience making independent decisions and/or had lost faith in elections all together.

"Mi no save from everiwan nomo hemi impoten, mo tu oli stap jenis mekem se hemi hard blong identifiaem" (M, 38).



*I cannot say because all the elections are important. All of them can lead to changes. This makes it difficult to identify.*

“Mi no rili save from wanem I stap vote, from mi no luk eny jenis yet long komuniti, provins mo kantri blong yumi” (F, 151).

*I really do not know. I do not see any change in the community, province or country, (151, F).*

“Mi no save. From mifala taem jif I talem se vot long election be mifala follem decision blong jif nomo” (F, 177).

*I do not know. When the chief tells us to vote for an election, we just follow his decision.*

### **Aulua**

Although the majority of male and female respondents agreed national elections was the most important, 14 out of the 16 respondents who said provincial elections were women. The contentions over preferences were generally related to differing perceptions of the outcomes of elections, as is reflected in the quotations below.

“Mi jus national eleksen from hemi gud long ol komuniti from hemi helpem mifala plante ways long laef blong mifala” (F, 278).

*I choose national election because it is good for the community. It helps our lives the most.*

Male respondents were better able to articulate the rationale behind their positions as is reflected in the quotations below.

“National eleksen from taem yumi tokabout development bae development i no save go quick be sapos yumi gat wan voice long paleman bae emi save karem out tingting blong yumi long paleman” (M, 308).

*National election because when we talk about development it does not happen right away. But if we have representation in parliament our voice will get heard in parliament.*

“From national eleksen hemi save help yumi long side olsem ol man MP I leftemap price blong copra” (M, 321).

*National elections has helped us more, for instance, MPs have increased the price of copra.*

### **Laravat**

Both men and women said they preferred national elections the most followed by provincial elections. As the quotations below reflect, concerns over service delivery and accountability figured prominently in men and women’s rationales for election preferences. Respondents who preferred provincial elections suggested that due to the geographic proximity of the provincial headquarters to the village, provincial representatives were better able to address their individual and community needs. Others, in comparison, argued decisions were made at the national and not the provincial level. Voting for national elections was an important way of securing voice and representation at the decision-making arena.

“”From ol kancelor oli stap wetem mi nomo long island mo any time oli save elem mi lelepet” (M, 207).

*The [provincial] counsellors live in the same island as I, and they are better able to help me.*

“Mi ting se from hemi province blong mi mo mi mas jusum one man hemi stap klosap long me. From hem bae luksave nid blong mifala insaed long hom mo community” (F, 261).

*I think it is my province and I must choose someone who is close to me and will better address our needs inside the home and the community.*

“Reason from nasonal elekson I kat more impact mo ol MP oli save luk luk ol needs blong community” (F, 226).

*Because national election has more impact and MPs are better able to address the needs of the community.*

“National level emi gat mo pawa blong lukaotem everi province mo community” (M, 240).

*National level has more power to govern all the provinces and community.*

Women tended to highlight outcomes of elections that were directly relevant to their household and community than men did, as are illustrated by the quotations below.

“Mi ting se national level from mi trustem ol MPs blong voicem concern blong mi. Olsem, praes blong kopra I go antap blong pem school fees blong ol pikinnin blong mi” (f, 236).

*I think national level because I have more trust in the MPs to voice my concerns. For instance, the price of copra has increased and [this has helped] me to pay my children's school fees.*

“Mi wantem vot long national elekson from se ol MP ia oli stap helpem long ol samting we I nidim long haos” (F, 265).

*I want to vote for national elections because the MPs will help me meet my household level needs.*

“From mi save vot long wan right man blong bae ranem kantri gud” (M, 203).

*I must vote for someone who will govern the country well.*

“Mi laekem long vote long national elekson from wanem samting mi askem long MP, hemi givim long me” (M, 206).

*I prefer to vote in national elections because the MP gives me whatever I ask for.*

## Reasons for participation in civic and political activities

### **Laravat:**

The understanding of ‘political or action group’ was generally understood to be a member of VANWOODS, a microfinance association for women. An a typical quotation by women for why they were active in VANWOODS was the following:

“Mi wan memba blong VANWOODS we mi ting se hemi wan active grup” (F, 221).

*I am a member of VANWOODS which I think is an active group.*

“Mi wan VANWOODS memba frum me wantem save blong sef mo mone mo loan” F, 221).

*I am a member of VANWOODS because I wanted to know abot saving, and have access to loan and finance.*

These quotations can be interpreted as women lacking an understanding of what constitutes a political or action group. It could also be the case that VANWOODS is considered an important

avenue for women's economic and political empowerment. The extent of convergence between microfinance and political participation, however, requires further research.

### **Aulua**

The most common responses were the following: "given a presentation or speech at a public forum" followed closely by "worked in a political party or action group". As the quotations below suggest, many of the respondents gave public presentation or speech were chiefs, school teachers, and community leaders.

"Mi toktok long nakamal long level blong ol jifs blong helpem ol pipol olsem wan jif long community" (M, 311).

*I spoke to all the villagers in the Nakamal to help them as a chief.*

"From mi wan community blong VP mekem se mi stap toktok blong help ol pipol" (M, 319).

*I am a member of the VP and I often give public speeches to help all the people.*

There were 9 women who responded to this question. Most of them were members of VANWOODS which they considered to be an action group. One of the women said that she works for a political party because she acts a representative for women in the village. Another said she had contacted a MP with regards to selling her agricultural products.

### **Ifira**

The majority of respondents who answered this question said they: worked for the campaign of a candidate, worked in a political party or action group, given a presentation or speech at a political forum, and contacted a politician or a local government official through phone or letter.

Respondents in Ifira gave a wider variety of and more elaborate reasons for why they participated in the political activities listed in question 18 than those in the other three field research areas. There were a number of respondents who said they participated in the political activities in the capacity of MPs and community leaders. For instance, one of the respondents said he contacted the provincial government to raise a community-wide concern; he is a member of the parliament and speaks regularly in favour and/or opposition to legislations and policies being tabled in the parliament; he has campaigned to contest in elections and supported a political party because he believe in the motto of the party.

There were only six women who responded to this question. Two of the six said they were very active. Four said they worked for the campaign for a candidate because the candidate was a close relative and/or neighbour. For instance, one of the respondents said she is a spouse of a renowned politician and has been assisting him since prior to independence; organized a meeting for a political party; spoke out about reserve seats for women; gave a speech to parents and wider community education on the importance of education; signed a "Free Papua" independence petition; attended a lawful demonstration on West Papua; and voiced concern over radio about a candidate who was contesting for elections.

### **Ekipe**

Ekipe had the lowest number of respondents who said they have participated in these political activities.

There was only one woman who said she has participated by working for the campaign of a political party. Her response suggests that this was a one-off involvement:

"Mifala stap nomo long hoas be oli kam singaotem mifala blong go kampen long Epoule" (104).

*I was at home when they asked me to help campaign in Epoule.*

The majority of respondents (male) had participated in multiple activities as is illustrated by the quotation below of a respondent who had contacted a politician/local government; worked for the campaign of a candidate; and voiced concern over the radio:

“Mifala i bin kasem wan leta blong go givim long MP we mifala i vote...mifala i kampen long two vilij. Mi follem grup blong campaign nomo be mi no givim wan toktok...blong ol mama how blong wan mama i lukaotem wan pikinini” (171).

*We wrote a letter addressed to the MP we voted for. We campaigned for a candidate in two villages. I followed the group which was campaigning, I did not speak out and/or give presentation...for the women, how women should take care of their children.*

## Preferred means for increasing women’s political participation

### **Ekipe**

The majority of respondents said ‘reserved seats that are elected’ (70 per cent), and ‘appointed reserved seats’ (27 per cent). But 27 women (more than 50 per cent of total female respondents) said ‘free election’.

The following serves as examples of the major rationales given by men and women for choosing ‘free election’. As the quotations below suggest certain respondents considered affirmative action as an impingement on their freedom; some thought that they did not have a voice over who they were voting for; and others had difficulties in understanding the differences between the ‘affirmative action’ and ‘free election’.

“Fri eleksen frum i semak nomo taem u born ikam long world ia, yu fri blong mekem eni activity we istap happen long world ia, so i minse yu fri blong jusum raet candidate yu wantem” (F, 97).

*Free election is the same as when you are born and you are free to do whatever you want. This means you are also free to choose the right candidate that you want.*

“Mi jusum fri elekson from se mi fri blong vote, mo mi gat raet blong jusum stret man blong we bae mi vot from. Be wan samting naoia we mi stap luk man blong mi nomo nao is tap talem se mifala i vote from be mas folem man blong mi nomo nao” (F, 103).

*I choose free election because it allows me the freedom to vote and the right to choose whoever I want to vote for. But increasingly my husband decides who I should vote for and I must follow what he says.*

Men, in comparison, generally chose ‘elected reserved seats’. Those who chose ‘free election’ thought affirmative action measures would restrict their rights to choose who to vote for while others thought affirmative action would allow women to exercise their freedom.

“Everi wan oli gat right long vot” (M, 130).

*Everyone has the right to vote.*

“Mi ting se i gud blong gat ol seats we i woman nomo i ran frum...mama i gat fridom blong contest wan wan community i save nominate mo vote from wan kandidet blong olketa we bae i contest wetem ol narafala mama ol woman be i no ol man, mekem ol woman ia oli gat mo fridom blong ran long politic blong save securem position blong olketa long national paleman” (M, 126).

*I think that it is good for women to have seats for which only women are allowed to contest in. Women have freedom to contest and community members can vote for female and not male candidates. This will allow women more freedom.*

### **Laravat**

Sixty per cent of respondents said 'reserved seats that are elected' and 22 per cent said 'free election'. Laravat had the highest percentage of respondents (17 per cent) who said 'appointed reserved seats' compared respondents in the other three field research locations.

Male respondents who preferred appointed reserved seats either thought the MPs have more authority and legitimacy to allocate seats for women and/or that this was a more cost effective way of increasing the number of women in parliament. One way of interpreting the latter could be that instead of having separate elections for women candidates only, the elected representatives can choose which woman would occupy what positions.

"From ol MP oli olsem kavman finis oli gat powa blong apointem woman blong ko inside long kavman" (M, 202).

*The governing MPs have more power to appoint women to the parliament.*

"MP nomo emi apointem [ol woman i go insaed long paleman] blong sevem cost" (M, 206).

*The MPs appoint the women into parliament to save costs.*

Women respondents thought that appointed reserved seats was an effective means of increasing women candidates in the parliament who would not otherwise be elected through free elections. But women candidates tended to be more confused about elected and appointed seats than their male counterparts. In other words, as the quotation below suggest, while female respondents seemed to be clear that they preferred 'affirmative action' over free elections, they had a difficult time distinguishing between 'elected' and 'appointed' seats.

"From mi luk olsem bae plante man oli no save vot long ol woman so i gud blong ol MP nomo oli chosem" (F, 231).

*I have seen that most voters do not vote for women so it is good for MPs to choose them.*

"Kavman emi jusumaot amass jea blong ol mama...sapos emi 30 per cent hemi blong ol woman nomo" (F, 200).

*Government should decide how many seats would be reserved for women. If it is 30 per cent, these seats must be reserved for women only.*

### **Aulua:**

Approximately 72 per cent of the total respondents preferred 'elected reserved seats' while 26 per cent said 'appointed reserved seats'. Aulua had the highest percentage of respondents who said 'elected reserved seats' than respondents in other three research locations. Many of the respondents did not specify why they preferred the 'elected' over 'reserved' seats. Those who did said they wanted to exercise more voice and choice in determining which woman would be elected into parliament as is illustrated by the quotations below.

"Mi ting se elektem ol risef seats from mi mas save gud laef blong wan woman bifo mi votem hem" (F).

*I think elected reserved seats because I want to know the life of the woman I am voting for.*

“From ol man oli save mo long laef blong ol woman long community mekem se bae oli save vot long wan raet lida” (M).

*Men will have to know more about women’s lives in the community, and will be able to vote for the right leader.*

### **Ifira**

Respondents in Ifira were split between ‘elected reserved seats’ and ‘free election’. Notwithstanding the differences, a common theme was that voters must have a direct voice in who was being elected into parliament, as is illustrated by the quotations below.

“Yumi nomo i mas jusum ol memba blong paleman, i minim freedom blong vot” (F).

*We must be able to choose the members of parliament, which means freedom to vote.*

“Reason from yumi nomo mas jusum ol woman kandidet blong go long paleman frum se sapos gavman i jusum bae i no save follem interes blong ol man. Be i stret blong ol man nomo oli vot from ol woman kandidet” (M).

*Because we must be able to choose the women candidates elected to the parliament. If government chooses, they may not consider the interest of men. So men should be able to vote for the women candidates.*

“From constitution i providem freedom of choice. Man i mas mekem own choice blong hem blong jusum wan kandidet blong go long paleman” (M).

*The constitution allows for freedom of choice. Men must make their own decision about the candidates who are elected into parliament.*

“Government of the day has to elect someone based on a criteria, if this is a democratic country then the woman should go through the election, so they are selected on the basis of a criteria”.

Respondents in Ifira were particularly against the participation of women in parliament. As the quotations below suggest, women’s presence in the parliament was seen as a challenge to culturally and religiously appropriate roles and responsibilities of men and women in society.

“From mi no sapotem woman i kam staon long paleman, mi bilif se bibol i talem se man nao hemi hed” (F, 20).

*I do not support women’s participation in parliament. I believe that the bible says that only men can be the head.*

## 5. Conclusion and recommendations

The research findings demonstrate overwhelming support for more women in parliament in Vanuatu. Less clear is how this can be achieved – that is, how to overcome existing perceptions and barriers, and how to encourage more female candidates to contest and win elections. The findings also show there is room for more and better targeted civic education aimed at increasing awareness on the key principles of democracy, functioning of elections and options for affirmative action measures to promote the political participation of women.

Just under half of people surveyed were of the view that there should be equal participation of women and men in parliament, which would equate to 26 male and 26 female members. Presently, Vanuatu has a sole female member of parliament. There was also general support for the introduction of affirmative action measures to assist with the election of more women, with the most popular measure being elected reserved seats – that is a quota of seats that only female candidates could contest. However, it must be noted that approximately a quarter of people surveyed believed increasing female political representation should be effected only through ‘free elections’ – that is they did not support any special measures. It is not clear if this sentiment generally reflected a concern that such measures would be ‘undemocratic’ – but it is worth noting that only a few people supported appointed reserved seats for women (i.e. a system of direct appointment by the government of the day) and qualitative responses suggested voters expected a direct voice in who would represent them in parliament.

Moreover, there was a general lack of understanding or knowledge of affirmative action measures, or indeed the democratic process and electoral system. It may be necessary to further explore these findings especially in light of the observations of the research team that some respondents were evidently managing their answers – that is attempting to articulate responses that would be deemed ‘progressive’ or ‘correct’ in the eyes of the interviewer or the sponsoring agency (UNIFEM).

The history of voting behaviour implies a propensity for people in Vanuatu to vote for men. The majority of respondents had little or no experience voting for women, most likely due in part to the lack of female candidates contesting past elections. It is difficult to infer how willing and open respondents are to vote for women candidates in future elections, with most people indicating that they are undecided on the subject. Again, this is likely due in part to the likelihood that there will be fewer female than male candidates, as well as the fact that the next national election is to be held in 2012. Candidates are usually not finalised until the weeks ahead of the election date. It would be interesting to conduct a poll of intending voters in the immediate lead up to the next election to enable some correlation with the gender split of registered candidates.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned caveats of interpreting the data, there appears to be a general confidence that women were capable of representing the interests of both men and women, and an expectation that female members of parliament should equally represent the interests of both women and men. While most people were uncertain that ‘politics is a man’s game’, they did not necessarily disagree with this statement. Similarly, the findings point to a firm conviction that thinking and acting politically is independent of gender, and that either gender has talents to work in politics.



Affiliation with political parties was relatively high, although it is evident that there was some confusion between formal 'membership' and informal 'support'. Political affiliation was strongly linked with support for party values. These results point to an opportunity to work with political parties to design and deliver effective civic education campaigns. At the same time, further understanding of the views of individuals within the political party machinery would greatly assist targeting awareness programmes for political parties (i.e. 'train the trainer') to effectively partake in the design and delivery of civic education initiatives.

Finally, it was apparent that most people agree there are barriers to women's participation in political life, and that these generally stem from the lack of support from others (men, women and the community) as well as cultural identity. Further investigation of the cultural barriers in particular will be the key to ensuring any future interventions are effective in addressing the perennially low involvement of women in politics and leadership roles.

The following recommendations have been provided to assist with the implementation of UNIFEM's Gender Equality in Political Governance programme, including measures aimed at refining and improving the panel survey for future use.

1. *Undertake further qualitative investigation into the perceived barriers to women's participation in politics, specifically to explore the cultural issues and lack of support offered to potential candidates.*
2. *Engage political parties in the design and delivery of civic engagement programmes – this should include an initial assessment of the views of key party personnel on the issue of promoting greater participation of women in politics.*
3. *Consider testing civic education programmes through focus groups in the survey locations.*
4. *Future use of this survey should make more use of qualitative interviews to get a more nuanced understanding of voting patterns, barriers to women's political participation, and attitudes and perceptions towards gender equality in political participation, as well as allowing an opportunity to follow up on interesting and relevant research findings.*
5. *Avoid ranking questions where there are very subtle differences in the ranks as they prove difficult to translate into Bislama (or other largely descriptive languages – i.e. Solomon Pidgin or PNG Tok Pisin) and convey to respondents.*
6. *Provide respondents with background information on UNIFEM's interventions in relation to the research topic and future intention, and include questions to test respondents' knowledge of the organisation, its intervention activities and expectations and recommendations for future interventions.*



**Appendix 1:**  
**Research Framework Synopsis**



## GENDER EQUALITY IN POLITICAL GOVERNANCE PROGRAM (GEPG)\_UNIFEM

### Research Framework Synopsis

#### 1.0 PROGRAM GOAL & OBJECTIVES

**Goal:** To advance gender equality in political governance in the Pacific.

**Purpose:** the GEPG aims to contribute to the advancement of gender quality in political governance in the Pacific region at both national and local levels by working to increase the demand for equitable and accountable governance and by supporting women's capacity and effectiveness to act as leaders.

There are **four outcomes** to achieve the purpose and goal (see also programme design diagram in Annex 1):

1. More women understand their rights and responsibilities, and are active as citizens and leaders to promote democratic governance.
2. Pacific women are supported to stand for election and to effectively perform the roles and responsibilities of political office.
3. Increased support for women's leadership and participation in government by broad and diverse sectors of Pacific society.
4. An increase in women-inclusive and gender-sensitive government structures, operations and procedures.

#### Outcome 1

Whilst the GEPG program will cover 15 countries being currently served by UNIFEM, outcome 1 will be implemented in Papua New Guinea (PNG), Solomon Islands (SI) and Vanuatu, and Fiji through a National Program Coordination Unit (NPCU) in cooperation with the National Women's Machinery (NWM) in each country. PNG, SI, Vanuatu and Fiji are three of the four largest countries in the Pacific Islands region. Based on their size in population and many socio-political problems, these Melanesian countries will be targeted with a civic education component in order to support women's engagement as citizens and leaders. A greater investment in community-based education and action is required in these 3 countries, due to lower levels of formal education, poor information and education outreach and limited government infrastructure, large and isolated populations in remote areas, culturally reinforced dominance of men in community affairs and government, and high levels of gender inequality in public and political life. Activities will be implemented through partnerships with civil society organisations (CSOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), and local governments. The core activity in outcome 1 will be the design and delivery of community-based, engendered civics education (women citizens and leaders education - WCLE) and the mobilization of rural women in practical follow-up actions with local governments.

All 15 countries served by UNIFEM, including PNG, SI and Vanuatu will be invited to participate in activities to achieve **Outcomes 2, 3 and 4**. Implementation will be through partnerships between UNIFEM Pacific and 'lead' mandated national organizations selected in-country by participating organizations. The full and active engagement of particular countries in GEPG activities will be phased, depending on the interest, readiness and the levels of support demonstrated by each country. Criteria for the phased selection of participating countries will be applied and are intended to promote local ownership and long-term sustainability of the programme, and to capture opportunities to test new strategies as local and national elections take place in different countries.

Taking into consideration the four main outcomes, the principle **objectives** of GEPG are:

- 1) Increase men and women's understanding of democracy, citizenship and leadership by community participation in community based WCLE training delivered and implemented by women through local government and NGO structures.
- 2) Increase young women's understanding of politics and political systems in the Pacific and improve their leadership capacity by targeting them to participate as trainers and trainees in the WCLE process and their organisations to become providers in the training.
- 3) Deepen women's commitment to learnt principles of democracy, citizenship and leadership by applying it to the governance within women's organisations.
- 4) Enable women and men translate learnt principles of democracy and citizenship to a demand for more accountable leadership and transparent governance in the operation of local government.
- 5) Increase local government and CSO initiatives and commitment of own resources for hosting and delivering WCLE and advocacy campaigns for gender equality in government programs.
- 6) Increase numbers of women standing for election at all levels of government by providing access to timely training and other demand driven capacity development delivered through MNOs.
- 7) To assist women elected and appointed to fulfil the role of a people's representative by providing relevant, information, training and facilitating South-South exchange.
- 8) To change attitudes and societal norms about women's right to vote freely, women's right to run for local government and parliamentary elections and women's right to make decisions and hold leadership positions.

- 9) Increase women's political party membership, leadership and endorsement by providing incentives, information, training, and facilitating South-South exchange.
- 10) Facilitate the introduction of special measures in parliaments and local governments by informing women, men and local and national government officials on their positive results in other countries.
- 11) To accelerate the achievement of gender equality in political governance by encouraging and facilitating the participation of influential male advocates.
- 12) To develop the capacity of women's organisations to use the media to challenge barriers to women's political participation by highlighting women's active citizenship and leadership.
- 13) To build capacity of male and female elected representatives to increase women's political participation by implementing national, regional and global gender equality commitments.

As seen in programme design diagram (see Annex 1) each outcome is underpinned by an output that focuses on **research, monitoring and evaluation**. These outputs describe the knowledge-management activities that need to be undertaken to inform and monitor the programme, including baseline research, ongoing monitoring and periodic data collection activities that will feed into GEPG reviews.

A research component to the GEPG has been integrated in its design to provide useful baseline and formative information and to evaluate the ongoing impact of the program, providing important lessons into what interventions may best support gender equality in political leadership in what contexts and settings within differing Pacific Island Countries. The research design clearly aligns to the aim and objectives of the GEPG.

## **2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Social Change Theoretical Perspective:**

The gender equality in political government (GEPG) program aims to create social change around the role of women as leaders generally and specifically in local and national government. The theoretical framework adopted for the underpinning of GEPG interventions and research has been adapted from a conglomeration of theories of social change used in other successful social change programs, particularly the Soul City edutainment vehicle in Southern Africa (Goldstein et al, 2004).<sup>1</sup> It combines action and

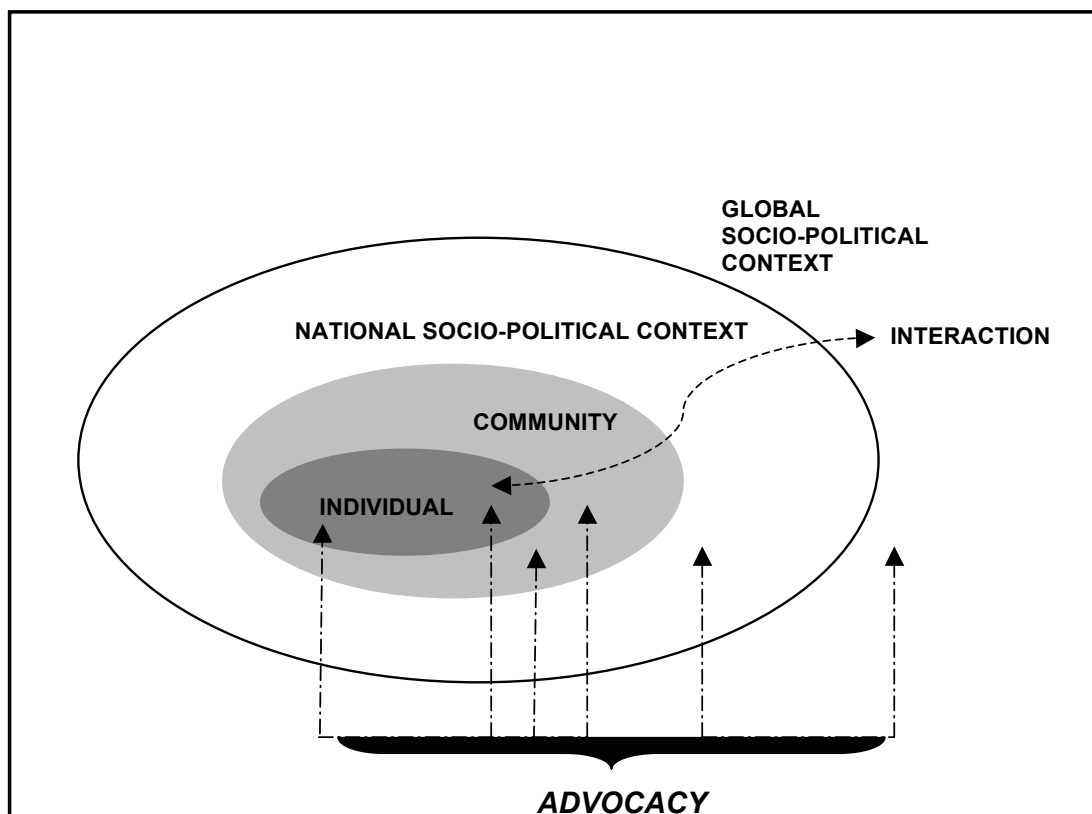
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<sup>1</sup> The "Soul City" model of social change represents an integration of existing models of social and behaviour change- such as Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977; 1989), the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein, et.al, 1994), John Hopkins University "Steps to Behaviour Change" (Poitrow et al, 1997), the Diffusion of Innovation Model (Rogers, 1983), and the Stages of Change model (Prochaska et al, 1992).

research at four levels, the individual, the community, the national socio-political context and the global socio-political context and includes a focus on the interactions between and within these levels. Using this model, GEPG will focus on individual behaviour and develop messages related to various stages in the model such as knowledge, attitude, intention and action to perform behavioural change.

The model also encourages the link through advocacy to social change. Advocacy can occur within levels as well as between them. For example, Individuals can support others and speak out in favour of women leaders and communities can initiate actions showing support to female candidates. Importantly advocacy provides a voice from the individual to community and national levels as well as representing community needs and views to national and global decision makers. It is both an outcome of change and a mechanism through which change is facilitated socially and interpersonally (Goldstein et al, 2004). The GEPG program operates at each of these levels and this is depicted in figure 1 below. Change is not linear and neither is there only one direction of change, rather the constructs of change within each level has a recursive impact on each other.

**Figure 1: Illustration of the Theoretical Framework for GEPG Research**



GEPG views advocacy as a key process in social and behavioural change towards women's empowerment in political participation. Advocacy will take place in different contexts and levels, for example:

- By and between individuals- supporting other women and individuals who stand for elections.
- Within communities- community lobbying in support for women's representation at local constituency level.
- At a broader societal level- public debate and advocacy for policy and legislative change.
- At the global socio-political context- processes and procedures implemented to comply with UN resolutions and conventions on gender equality in political participation.

GEPG intervention can have an impact on individuals, community and broader society in a variety of ways. It can have direct impact on the three levels mentioned before, on the individual, community and the society. It can raise awareness and increase knowledge about women's political participation. It may shift attitudes and practices, and lead to dialogue and debate. The GEPG intervention can also influence a community's norms and policy makers creating an enabling environment supportive of women intending and running and actually running for elections. This research framework will primarily focus on personal, community and social change at the societal level, and the role of mass media, advocacy interventions (WCLE programs) and partnerships with MNO, CSOs and CBOs in contributing to such change. Hence, it is imperative to measure, evaluate and investigate the impact of GEPG intervention at an individual level, contextualised in his/her immediate interpersonal and social environment, as well as looking at community and broader societal impact on behavioural change towards gender equality in political governance.

### **3.0 GEPG RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES**

#### **3.1 Research Aims:**

The primary aim of GEPG research is to investigate the obstacles to women's political participation and means to overcome those. Secondly, this research will explore the extent to which GEPG programs have increased demand for equitable and accountable governance and increased women's capacity and effectiveness to act as leaders by combining qualitative and quantitative information gathered at an individual, community and societal level utilising a framework of social change theory.

#### **3.2 Research Objectives**

- 1) To investigate changes in individual constructs of social change such as knowledge, attitude, subjective norms, self efficacy, intention, action and advocacy in men and women on aspects of
  - i) women's citizenship and human rights
  - ii) women's leadership

- iii) democratic governance
- iv) voting behaviour
- v) engagement in local government
- vi) pacific political systems and processes
- vii) gender equality in political governance
- viii) Women's participation in local and national government through the use of tools associated with GEPG interventions such as WCLE training.

This research objective will be explored through the implementation of a community clustered panel data survey. This will also include targeting of male leaders to track changes in their norms, actions and advocacy for gender equality in political governance (*output 1.3, 2.4, 3.2, 3.6*).

- 2) To explore existing and potential women leaders preferences for mechanisms of support to stand for local and national government election or appointment and for the conduct of duties once a serving representative including an assessment of major constraints faced and their effective removal (*output 2.2*).
- 3) To explore the effectiveness of women local and national government representatives in the representation of issues effecting women in their constituencies, including women in decision making and resource allocation and opposing gender discrimination in policies and processes through focus-group interview with local and national government officials and clerks, prospective key indicator collection by volunteering government representatives and surveys of community based women across a sample of male and female represented constituencies. (*output 2.2*).
- 4) To assess the degree to which GEPG partnered MNO's and local women's CSOs are reflecting learnt principles of democratic governance and their ongoing institutional capacity to advocate for gender equality in political governance and to support women political candidates and representatives through periodic standardised institutional assessment and the documentation of facilitating and obstructing factors associated with this through case study approaches (*output 2.1*).
- 5) To analyse barriers and facilitators to the adoption and successful implementation of special measure policies to advance gender equality in political government in a policy analysis framework of actors, processes and context (*output 2.4*).
- 6) To explore the effectiveness of GEPG support activities in increasing numbers of women in political governance through analysing numbers of women intending to stand, standing and being elected for local and national government representatives over the course of GEPG activities disaggregated by political party versus independent standing and socioeconomic status of constituency (*output 2.4, 3*).
- 7) To assess changes in the broader environment to enable changes toward gender equality in political governance through an analysis of media coverage of women's active citizenship and leadership and the degree to which the local, national and

regional media are developing and implementing their own initiatives to provide positive coverage of women in leadership and politics (*output 3.2, 3.3, 3.5*).

- 8) To quantify numbers and types of existing and new partnerships and activities developed to jointly advance gender equality in political government through the construction of baseline, intermediate, end of project and follow up social network analyses including NWM's, MNO's CSO's electoral bodies, political parties and the media (*outcome 3*).

## **4.0 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

### **4.1 Overall research design:**

The overall GEPG research is divided into separate but convergent studies each focussing on one or more of the key goals and outputs of the GEPG program and defined key measures of success (see Annex 2: which provides a summary of the research methodology and timing by research objectives). Each of the methods of data collected is designed to be able to be conducted, reported, utilised and published in its own right but also that by combining studies further information and insights can be extracted. The methodology section of this framework therefore discusses the approach to the study of each research objective which could be conducted by separate or the same research teams depending on expertise, resources and quality of proposal.

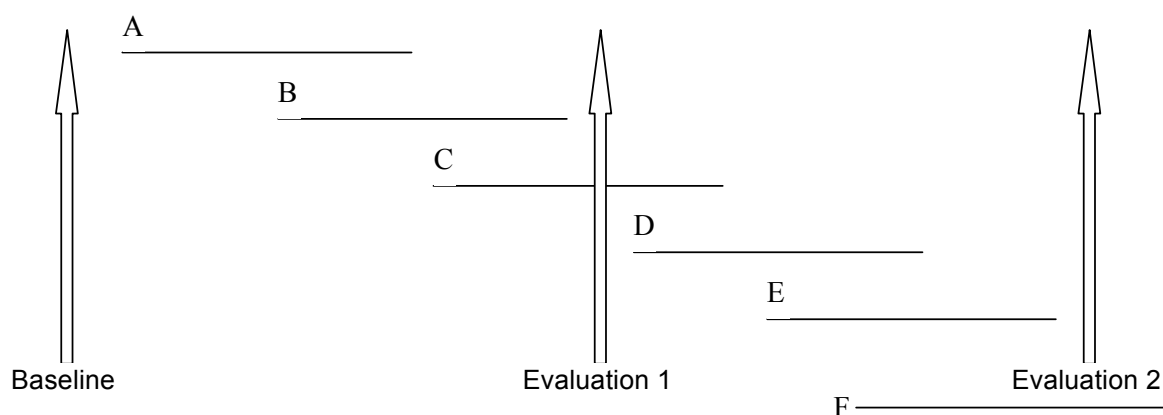
### **4.2 Data Collection and Analysis Methods by Research Objective:**

**Research objective 1** - *To explore the impacts of the WCLE training and other UNIFEM knowledge dissemination activities on men's and women's knowledge, attitude, self efficacy, action and other constructs of social change through a staged community cluster matched control panel survey.*

Individual change will be measured through community cluster matched control panel survey in the three study countries. The communities will be selected for roll out of WCLE education in PNG, SI and Vanuatu. The panel surveys will be designed to measure shifts across the same variables discussed under the section research objectives, to enable analysis of change in relation to GEPG-specific intervention. Items related to constructs of social change and multiple objectives of GEPG will form the basis for this panel survey. For example, self efficacy and subjective norm changes associated with WCLE and knowledge changes on special measures. As well as before and after GEPG implementation surveys will be conducted including an intermediate round (closely linked to GEPG interventions in terms of timing and focus), allowing for more detailed modelling of change over the implementation period and assess whether any of these could be attributed to GEPG interventions.



A staged approach will be taken to this roll out of WCLE education in the three study communities. Longitudinal matched community staged cluster – control sampling design will be used to select the sample. For example, in PNG- 3 x paired communities ( $n = 6 \times 80$ ), Vanuatu - 2 x paired communities ( $n = 4 \times 80$ ) and Solomon Islands – 2 x paired communities ( $n = 4 \times 80$ ). The **community clustered sampling** aims to provide “natural” controls. The stepwise nature of differing program component roll out will be taken advantage of to create a “natural experiment” where control groups are those who have not had the intervention at first follow up evaluation (communities D, E and F) versus those that have fully or partially implemented a GEPG initiative (communities A, B and C) (see figure 2 below).



**Figure 2: Stepwise rollout of GEPG communities based interventions creating a “natural experiment” of intervention and control communities for comparison**

This attempts to pick up any changes taking place due to other changes in the operating environment or other programs not related to GEPG and therefore assist in attribution. It also allows evaluation to guide roll out of programming to the remainder of the target communities not yet implementing the program in terms of applying lessons learnt over the first year of implementation.

Respondents in the experiential (community A) and control (community B) group will be interviewed at three different points in time: baseline (before implementation), intermediate (just after implementation) and final follow-up. The intermediate and follow-up survey will be conducted with the same individuals that participated in the baseline survey, representing a panel design. Final follow up survey allows commenting on sustainability of change given different lengths of implementation in the two communities. Respondents in community A and B in each of the study countries will be selected or matched on key influencing characteristics which may include:

- Proportion by gender
- Level of education

- Socio-economic status
- language
- Key other community based activities implemented
- School curriculum on politics and gender equality.

The reasons for matched sampling are to select a reservoir of potential controls to produce a control group that is similar to the experimental group. Furthermore, recognition of key messages disseminated through other means by UNIFEM and of other key activities occurring in the country will be explored through this step-wise roll-out of panel survey to determine their potential additional role in any change. As part of the panel survey, men will be interviewed to analyse any changes in attitude and actions and advocacy being undertaken by men for gender equality in political governance in PNG, SI, Fiji and Vanuatu.

**Research objective 2** - *To measure the importance women place on various constraints faced to their standing for political election and possible effectiveness of differing support measures and incentives to remove them.*

This objective will measure and capture GEPG's impact at an interpersonal level of analysis. Respondents will be chosen from the panel survey for participation in focus-group discussions or in-depth interviews on the basis that there was a shift in their responses to certain survey questions. For example, quantifying the number of women that would consider running for political office over time of GEPG implementation and track changes in attrition from this to intention to run, actually running, getting elected and performing effectively and being retained in political office. The purpose of these qualitative interviews will be to explore in more detail how and why shifts came about, and to understand the relationship between change and GEPG. Three functions of this research method are that:

- Contextualise other initiatives and influences in study communities
- Qualitative follow-up of early versus late changers identified from questionnaires – 1 late; 1 early; 1 combined
- Monitor overburdening of communities with WCLE trainings.

Furthermore, in-depth discussions with these respondents will allow us to explore existing and potential women leader's preferences for mechanisms of support to stand for local and national government election or appointment and for the conduct of duties once a serving representative including an assessment of major constraints faced and their effective removal. Discrete choice analysis of stated preferences and mechanisms could be used to measure the preferences of respondents and potential users over various dimensions of GEPG program, and especially WCLE training programs. It will be good to compare the views of women who have benefited from these training programs with those women from the community who may be future users or may have experienced barriers to accessing women's citizenship and leadership training services in the past.

**Research objective 3** - *To explore the degree to which elected or appointed female political leaders represent the needs of and involve women and remove gender discrimination in political decision and policy making.*

This component of the research will conduct focus group interviews with people in the community and capture community level analysis of the impact of GEPG. These include how GEPG connects people to local services, impact on community structures/organisations, impact on organisational policy and practice, community mobilisation and collective efficacy. The importance of an enquiry into community impact is rooted in various theories of social change that inform the intervention discussed earlier. For example, a catalyst for change at community level encompasses interpersonal reinforcement, support and social network of important people who are influential in shifting perceptions and attitudes. It is also important to understand community's role in "the creation of enabling/disabling environment supportive of behaviour change" towards women's political participation.

Community base focus groups alongside the survey will take place divided into key stakeholder groups utilising a most significant change approach. The role of social interaction will be explored through a social network and dialogue analysis within the survey to look at the importance of individual interactions in a community and with institutions. The role of social interaction and the interplay with formal and informal institutional environment will be explored in the focus groups (Deutsch, 2007). Furthermore, the interviews with community members will help us explore social change constructs of community identified female leaders and whether these differ from general community norms and factors associated with choice to stand for political candidacy or not. In addition, the research will explore the effectiveness of women political representative performance from the perspective of their constituencies and through their representation of issues (particularly those affecting women) in political decision making forums. This method will allow us to identify groups of people called "surprise factors" which were not pre-identified but could be revealed to be relevant through the panel surveys.

**Research Objective 4** - *to document number, content, structure and timing of the implementation of WCLE and other significant citizenship and democracy activities being implemented in study communities using a case study approach.*

The evaluation of WCLE activities in each of the study communities in study countries will draw on the data collected in the above components of the research. The panel survey will include items on knowledge, awareness and participation in WCLE activities and in-depth interviews with community members will include specific probes on awareness and perceived role / impact of network structures in each study community. This assessment of WCLE initiatives is an additional fact-finding approach to trace the activities of NWM and MNOs as service providers over the intervention period of GEPG.

It will also allow us to assess the key attributes and gaps in institutional capacity to implement advocacy and support programs to increase women's representation and how these change with GEPG implementation. Hence, trying to capture changes in roles and relationships of the NWM and MNOs over the period of the GEPG support program, implemented through a two stage comparative social network analysis. The stakeholder network analysis will achieve the following functions:

- Map groups / individuals the organisation connects with and / or influences
- Nature and strength of relationship
- Change in size, shape and influence over time

**Research Objective 5** - *To explore the changes in patterns of positive versus negative media coverage of women's leadership and citizenship issues in local, regional and international media as it pertains to Pacific countries.*

Local media analysis and evaluation will be undertaken in the 15 countries of the region to track community exposure to (and participation in) larger public debate as reflected in the local media, as well as to identify media coverage around the relevant thematic issues contained in GEPG- but also not necessarily linked to- the GEPG intervention. Media and political discourse analysis will be conducted at the global and local level and throughout the implementation period.

**Research Objective 6** - *To investigate the facilitating factors that are associated with the successful adoption and particularly sustainable implementation of special measures in PICs including the effectiveness and role of differing advocacy initiatives.*

The overall approach guiding investigation in the 15 Pacific Island countries is to identify the importance of considering who or what causes an issue to be placed on policy agenda and why specific reforms are designed in particular ways. Acknowledging that the design and even objectives of a reform towards increasing women's representation in parliament may change in unexpected ways through the process of implementation, it also allows such changes in themselves to become a focus of inquiry to understand why and how they came about. To operationalise this research objective, a positive case study self reflective approach will be used to assist electoral bodies to identify what aspects of their structure and functioning they would change to improve their role in addressing gender inequalities in electoral systems and to investigate changes over time. Retrospective policy analysis will take a look at implementation and success of special measures policies / processes in the 15 countries of the Pacific region.

The reason for this is to identify contextual factors that influence the nature of policy making and policy change within a country, including parallel policy changes, the actors involved in policy change, the processes through which policies are identified, formulated and implemented, and the nature and design of specific reforms as an outcome of GEPG intervention. Hence, it will be interesting to investigate the changes from baseline to end of GEPG in taking up, representation and implementation of policies

and processes to increase numbers of women and explore retrospectively where GEPG provided the support and the changes being made, using an M&E framework.

**Research Objective 7-** *To investigate what gender-sensitive policies were implemented in PNG, SI, Fiji and Vanuatu local and national governments, if any, and how do they relate to the characteristics of the local government. What were the major barriers faced and successes achieved.*

Discussions with key informants of the local and national government will be undertaken to measure and capture GEPG's impact at a societal level of analysis. Measures of constructs will include impact on public debate reflected in the media, impact at a national level connecting people to the services of gender equality in political governance and impact on policy implementation. Evaluate and monitor the facts about mainstreaming gender issues at the broader societal level of analysis and to see how gender issues are integrated within different political, social and economic concerns, revealing interdependency and linkages with other issue areas. Key informants will be identified in a snowball process by initial respondents in panel survey, focus-group and community interviews and using a contextual interview schedule they will be interviewed to gauge the engagement of their local government or parliaments towards gender mainstreaming.

## **5.0 RESEARCH ACTIVITY PLAN AND TIMELINE**

### **5.1 Research Timeline**

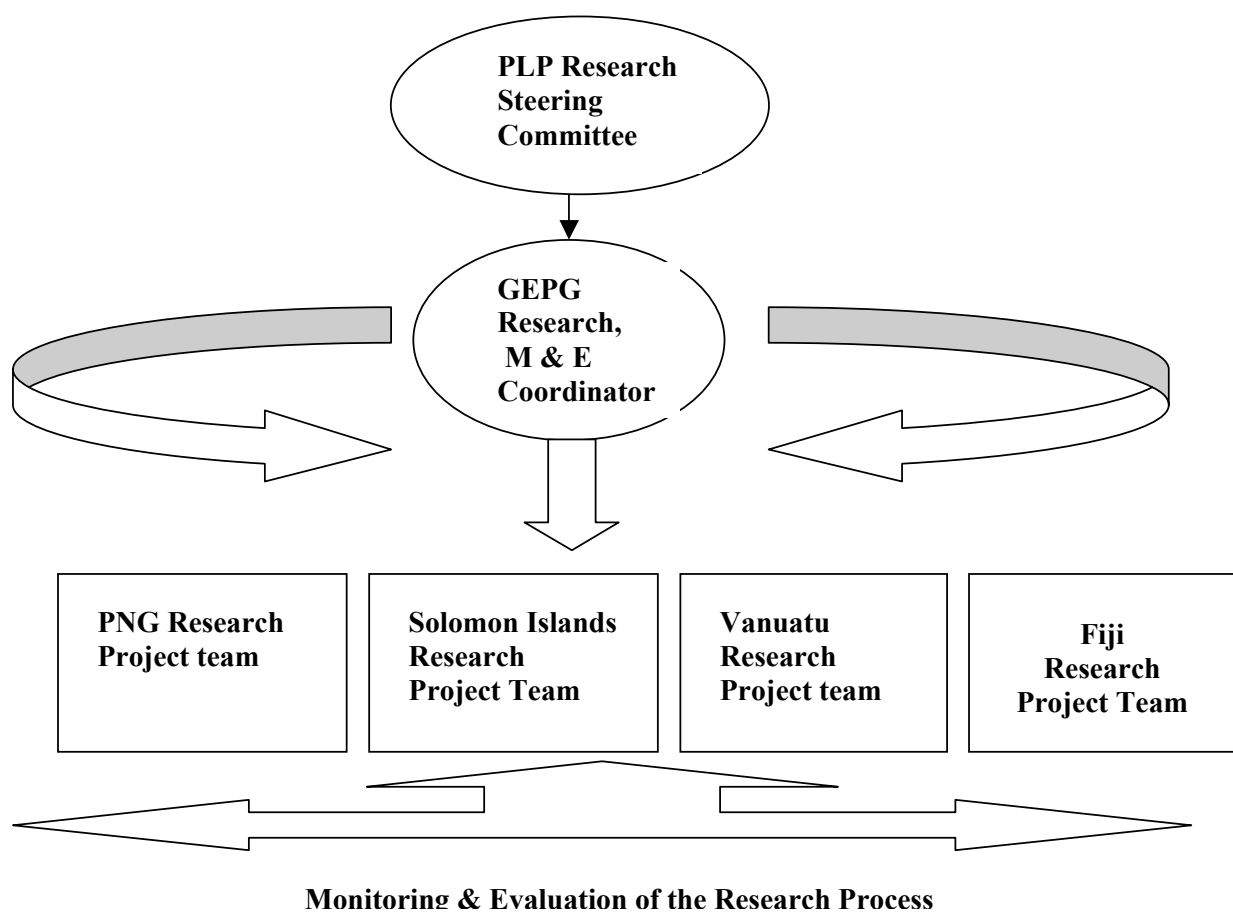
The timeline for the implementation of the GEPG research program must align with key activity implementation timing of the GEPG program and key events and dates in electoral cycles and civil society initiatives. The timing and multi-methodological framework of the GEPG research component will include baseline, intermediate and final review over the 4 years of the programme implementation. The timing of key research activities is crucial because baseline survey has to be conducted before community case study and MNO & NWM capacity network analysis takes place. On a similar note, the intermediate panel survey will follow MNO & NWM capacity analysis because it is important to track the changes brought about through the WCLE training and other programs implemented by MNOs and NWMs and how the success or failure of these programs is reflected in both panel and community case studies that follow. The timing of these research activities stays the same at the final review period. However, it is important to note that media and political discourse analysis will be undertaken over the four years of GEPG implementation. Retrospective policy analysis of special temporary measures will be conducted towards the end of the GEPG implementation period. This model ensures that research rigour was systematically considered during all stages of the research process. To maximise validity and reliability of findings, this framework will use triangulation employing different methods (panel survey, focus group interviews,

organisational assessment, document review etc) spread over the four year period of GEPG implementation.

## **5.2 The role of the framework**

The overall management of the GEPG evaluation will capitalise on the strengths of advisory and coordination groups and the operational structure of the program. The implementation and evaluation of the GEPG research framework will be coordinated by the Research, Monitoring and Evaluations Coordinator, based at UNIFEM regional office but working closely with the national research team members to ensure relevance and to enhance the utility value of the research exercise as a whole. The diagram below summarises the mechanisms for GEPG research coordination, implementation and advisory inputs/linkages between regional, national and international stakeholders. An inception regional workshop on the research framework will be held in the near future before it gets implemented in the four study countries, namely PNG, SI, Fiji and Vanuatu.

**Figure 3: GEPG Research Framework Coordination and Management**





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