



# GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS-2014

Report

Kyiv  
2014



The «Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections-2014» Report examines the gender aspect of early parliamentary elections<sup>1</sup> to the Verkhovna Rada (the Parliament) of Ukraine in 2014. The Report specifically focuses on the gender component of election programs and platforms of various political parties, gender analysis of electoral party lists, media component of the election campaign, and gender monitoring of female candidates in the majoritarian electoral system<sup>2</sup>. The report also offers conclusions and recommendations for strengthening the role and participation of women in political life of Ukraine.

The Report intends to better inform experts, politicians, members of the academia, civil servants, local government officials and the broader public about the participation of women in the electoral processes in Ukraine.

Researchers and contributors: Maria Alekseyenko, Svitlana Harashchenko, Vira Karaycheva, Larysa Magdyuk, Marfa Skoryk, Yevhenia Slyozka, Oksana Yarosh.

Rapporteurs: M. Alekseyenko, L. Magdyuk, O. Yarosh.

Editor: T. Nebesna.

Translator: S. Kokizyuk.

Cover Design and Layout: H. Volkova.

Publication uses illustrations provided by «Funk and Consulting» Company.

Detailed information about gender monitoring of parliamentary elections-2014 is available on the website «Women in Politics»: <http://vybory2014.wcu-network.org.ua>

For free distribution

Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections-2014 was conducted by Women's Consortium of Ukraine and Women's Democracy Network Ukraine Country Chapter as part of its project implemented under Ukraine National Initiatives to Enhance Reforms (UNITER) program, which is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by Pact Inc. This publication is made possible by the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The contents are those of the authors' and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID, Pact Inc. or the United States Government. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transferred in any form or by any means, graphic, electronic, or including photocopying or by any information storage retrieval system, without the proper reference to the original source.

Contact information:

E-mail: [info@wcu-network.org.ua](mailto:info@wcu-network.org.ua)

Tel.: +38-044-592-68-54

Women's Consortium of Ukraine

---

1 Elections called when not required, usually to capitalize on a unique electoral opportunity or to decide a pressing issue

2 Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of 8th convocation was elected using the following system: voters elected 225 deputies on the proportional representation system, and 213 deputies from single-mandate constituencies (12 mandates reserved for Crimea, where elections could not be held, should be subtracted from 225).

Introduction by Erika Veberyte, the Director of the Women's Democracy Network, the International Republican Institute	2
Introduction by Maria Alekseyenko, the Chairwoman of the Women's Consortium of Ukraine	3
<b>1. ANALYSIS of the POLITICAL SITUATION in UKRAINE BEFORE the EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS of 2014 by Larysa Magdyuk</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2. GENDER MONITORING of PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS in 2012 and 2014:</b>	<b>11</b>
• Methodology of Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections	11
• Gender Monitoring of the Electoral Party Lists of Candidates to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 8th Convocation by Marfa Skoryk	12
• Gender Monitoring of the Election Programs and Platforms of the Political Parties by Marfa Skoryk	15
• Gender Monitoring of Pre-election Situation in the Single-Mandate Constituencies <sup>3</sup> by Svitlana Harashchenko	28
• Gender Monitoring of Media Space by Vira Karaycheva	32
• Comparative Analysis of Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections in 2012 and 2014 by Oksana Yarosh	46
• Conclusions	49
• Recommendations	51
<b>3. PROJECT INFORMATION:</b>	
• Authors and Experts	52
• Project Resources	53
• List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	54

---

<sup>3</sup> Note: terminology «majoritarian» and «single-mandate» stands for the same connotation in relation to elections

The Women's Consortium of Ukraine, in partnership with the Women's Democracy Network (WDN) Ukraine Country Chapter, conducted their second Gender Monitoring of Elections Project (GMEP) for the 2014 parliamentary elections. The project sought to monitor the country's elections through a gender perspective and to create greater awareness of women's participation in the political process in Ukraine.

When women participate as decision makers, the economic and social well-being of their country flourishes, and more inclusive governing and peace building processes take root. Despite this women continue to be underrepresented in elected offices. The 2014 report reveals the level of openness of the political system to the participation of women and provides valuable recommendations regarding measures that can be taken to increase women's political participation in Ukraine.

The Women's Democracy Network established the WDN Ukraine Chapter in 2011 with a focus of enhancing women's political participation. In 2012, the Chapter partnered with multiple civil society organizations around the country, including the Women's Consortium of Ukraine, and successfully conducted the first Gender Monitoring of Elections Project. The project provided for a better understanding of the gender balance during the 2012 parliamentary elections and a baseline for future studies.

The **Women's Democracy Network** is the **International Republican Institute** global initiative to increase women's political participation, leadership roles in civic and political life and representation in public office. WDN is active in 61 countries in every region of the world and features 14 country chapters. Chapters include women from across their country's political spectrum, from both the public and private sectors, committed to addressing challenges facing women's political participation.

Strengthening the role of women in the national and regional decision-making has been one of the key priorities of the Women's Consortium of Ukraine (WCU) since 2006. Together with our partners, we set out to explore why we have seen consistently low numbers of women holding senior posts in all branches of power in Ukraine. Aware of the current situation, together we organized training and public events to encourage women to become more active in discussions pertaining to their lives. We strive to make a difference for women all across Ukraine.

Gender monitoring of elections is part of our work to advance women in decision making. Utilizing the know-how of WCU and the Women's Democracy Network (WDN), we carried out our first comprehensive analysis of women's participation in parliamentary elections in 2012. Thanks to different components of gender monitoring we were able to capture media attention to highlight the issue of low representation of women and the issues women face throughout their political careers. This resulted in a significant increase of publications and broadcasts discussing the issue of the lack of women in the political processes in Ukraine. It also raised the question of who dominates the political sphere and how to open it up for those who do not belong to this dominant group. This discussion increasingly involved men, who actively commented on their readiness to address the issue of women's participation in politics.

The events of 2013-2014 entitled «the Revolution of Dignity» and subsequent military aggression of the Russian Federation have unified the entire population of the country. Women played an important role in these events, and today we see new faces among public and political leaders. Some of these women were elected to the Verkhovna Rada following early elections in October 2014. Currently, six of 50 women elected to Verkhovna Rada chair parliamentary committees. For the first time in Ukrainian Parliamentary history a woman serves as a deputy speaker of the Verkhovna Rada. Women's Consortium of Ukraine welcomes the increase of female leadership and expresses hope that this will pave the way for a fundamentally different composition of the entire parliament. The second Gender Monitoring of Elections in 2014 Report is contributing to this goal.

WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK EVERYONE WHO JOINED AND SUPPORTED US.

### **Our partners:**

Ukraine National Initiatives to Enhance Reforms (UNITER) project; United States Agency for International Development (USAID); the Pact Inc. in Ukraine; Women's Democracy Network (WDN); International Republican Institute (IRI); Partnership For Development Center Moldova.

### **Citizen associations:**

Kyiv Institute for Gender Studies; Volyn Oblast NGO «Gender Center»; Podilsky Center «Gender Council» (Khmelnitsky); Kherson Oblast Center «Successful Woman»; Zaporizhya Charitable Foundation «Unity for the Future»; Rivne Oblast Citizen Association «Centre for Public Initiatives 'Seagull'»; Kirovohrad NGO «Circle».

### **Authors and experts of the Gender Monitoring of the Election - 2014 Project:**

Svitlana Haraschenko, Vira Karaicheva, Larysa Magdyuk, Marfa Skoryk, Yevgniya Slozka, Oksana Yarosh.

# 1 ANALYSIS of the POLITICAL SITUATION in UKRAINE BEFORE the EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS of 2014, LARYSA MAGDYUK

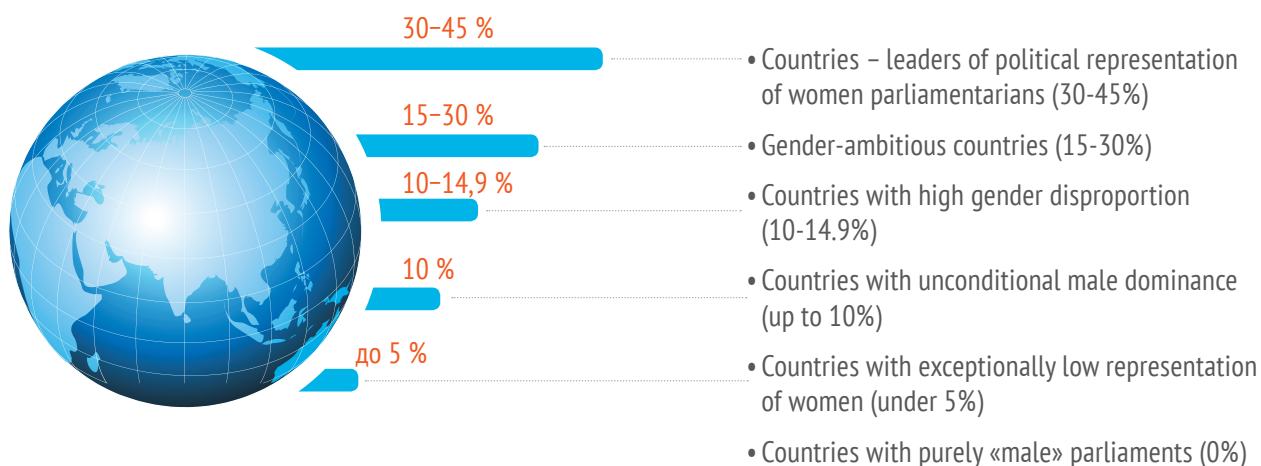
*«Ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women and men in Ukraine, including at the level of national policy-making along with practical implementation of these decisions in everyday life is an important precondition for further democratic development of Ukraine; for the preservation of national values of the Ukrainian people; and for peace in the European region».*

Maria Alekseyenko,  
Chairwoman of the Woman's Consortium of Ukraine

A gender-balanced parliament is a part of the national commitments of Ukraine. It is also a party to the United Nations Millennium Declaration and other international treaties, as well as inscribed in domestic legislation. In addition to the Constitution of Ukraine, norms of gender equality are embedded in the «gender» Law of Ukraine: «On Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men»<sup>4</sup>. Article One of this law explains the essence of gender equality as «equal legal status of women and men, and equal opportunities to exercise it, enabling persons of both genders to participate in all spheres of social life on equal terms». Yet a right does not automatically mean an opportunity, therefore gender equality of opportunities in all spheres of life will only work when provisions of this law come in conformity with other legislation, including electoral law.

Table 1

COUNTRIES BY THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN  
Inter-Parliamentary Union data<sup>5</sup>, %



According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union data, countries are divided into the above categories. Ukraine belongs to the group of countries with high gender disproportion. Despite many changes in electoral systems, laws, regulations and norms, the representation of women in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine throughout the country's independence has never exceeded 10 per cent. However, in 2014 there were observed fluctuations between 10-12 per cent of women's representation, mostly due to the instability in the political environment in the country.

<sup>4</sup> <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2866-15>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

Ukraine's European aspirations, active civic stance of women during the times of adversity, their patriotism and resilience, and an increased representation of women in political decision-making will contribute to stabilization, peace and sustainable social and economic development of Ukraine. Thus, professional and competent support for women who decided to participate in elections is an important component of ensuring equal opportunities in Ukraine.

The goal of Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections - 2014 project was to raise public awareness about the importance of equal opportunities for both genders in elections to the Verkhovna Rada and to potentially increase the number of votes for women.

The project aimed to collect and disseminate information about gender imbalance during the 2014 election campaign; to share the Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections - 2014 Report and comparative analysis of gender monitoring of elections in 2012 and 2014 with interested stakeholders.

The project also focused on broadening the public's knowledge about gender equality in election processes and on motivating women to participate in election. At the same time it contributed to ensuring female candidates were more visible through daily publications on the Women's Consortium of Ukraine (WCU) webpages<sup>6</sup>, Facebook group «Women and Politics»<sup>7</sup> (and other internet portals<sup>8</sup>), in the national and local media<sup>9</sup>, as well as through public events, including two press conferences<sup>10</sup>, four regional press events in Khmelnytsky (November 29, 2014), Kherson (December 8, 2014), Zaporizhzhya (December 9, 2014) and Rivne (December 10, 2014), and a national press conference in Kyiv (January 14, 2015).

In addition to traditional methods, to strengthen the message of the report, infographics, video presentations, direct online broadcasts and interactive activities, such as media-cafe, press-clubs and the like, were used.

*«Awareness and conscious choice of citizens, free from stereotypes and bias, is the best recipe for effective and democratic elections».*

Larysa Magdyuk, Gender expert,  
Coordinator of the Gender Monitoring of Elections Project

In the course of gender monitoring of parliamentary elections-2014, experts of the Women's Consortium of Ukraine (WCU) sought to determine quantitative and qualitative aspects of women's representation in the electoral party lists and in single-mandate constituencies; key issues that female candidates faced during the election campaign; the extent of observance of gender equality and social justice principles in the party platforms and individual candidate programs; and whether principle of professional quality was observed by the media covering female candidates. To fulfill these objectives, WCU used comprehensive gender monitoring indicators adopted from and used by colleagues in four Moldovan election campaigns. While building the list of indicators we also used gender analyses of the Ukrainian society that have been routinely published by the UNDP Office in Ukraine since 1999, and the results of annual reports on the situation of gender equality in the country by the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports.

6 <http://vybory2014.wcu-network.org.ua/party>

7 <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalwomen/>

8 <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/26715112.html>; [www.ukrinform.ua](http://www.ukrinform.ua)

9 <http://verge.zp.ua/2014/12/>; <http://alextyv.zp.ua/alextyv/news/inform/18112-gendernyj-monitoring.html>

10 <http://www.ukrinform.ua/ukr/news/1978084>, <http://gender.at.ua/news/2014-10-29-1233> (October 7, 2014)

<http://www.ukrinform.ua/ukr/news/1985530> (October 29, 2014)

# 1 ANALYSIS of the POLITICAL SITUATION in UKRAINE BEFORE the EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS of 2014, LARYSA MAGDYUK

*«The use of methodology of gender monitoring and comparative analysis of the course and results of parliamentary elections, designed on the basis of international standards and other countries' best practices, should help formulate recommendations, which – if properly taken into account – will bring Ukraine closer to the goals of democratic and sustainable development».*

Marfa Skoryk, Expert of the Gender Monitoring of Elections Project

Achieving gender equality has been an issue for the last 23 years – the entire period of Ukraine's independence. It becomes particularly visible at the level of elected bodies where the representation of women remains low. The interests of 55 per cent of female voters (among all citizens who participated in elections) are represented by only 50 women parliamentarians<sup>11</sup> in the Verkhovna Rada of the 8th convocation. For the first time the representation of women in the national parliament is 11.87 per cent. This represents the increase of women MPs by only six seats as there were 44 women in the Verkhovna Rada in 2012<sup>12</sup>.

According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2014<sup>13</sup>, Ukraine is ranked 56th in the world among 142 countries by the Gender Gap Index, and 105th by **the political empowerment of women**. Ukraine's political empowerment score in the Gender Gap Index is only 0.101 (where 0 = inequality, and 1 = full equality)<sup>14</sup>. Among 142 countries with **women's representation in the national parliaments**, Ukraine is ranked 118th<sup>15</sup>.

To compare with the 2013 (2013 Global Gender Gap Report<sup>16</sup>), Ukraine was ranked 114th by the representation of women in the parliament among 136 countries, despite Ukraine's commitment to reach the 2015 Millennium Development Goals' target of increasing representation of women in the national parliament to 30 per cent.

Early parliamentary elections of 2014 were called following the events<sup>17</sup> that occurred at the end of 2013 and at the beginning of 2014. There was an expectation for a more democratic election as compared to the 2012 elections. WCU and WDN Ukraine Country Chapter believe that democracy is impossible without equal opportunities for women and men to make political decisions. Thus they set to draw the public attention to the issue of the lack of women in election processes and the imbalanced access to politics for women and men. Elections brought a small increase in gender representation; the new Verkhovna Rada saw a 2.4 per cent<sup>18</sup> increase in female parliamentarians as compared to the previous Verkhovna Rada. Moreover, for the first time in the modern history of Ukrainian parliament, a woman became the Deputy Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada<sup>19</sup> and women chair six parliamentary committees<sup>20</sup>.

11 By the Constitution the Parliament of Ukraine consists of 450 MPs.

12 [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_deputat\\_list](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_deputat_list) (as of December 22, 2014)

13 The Gender Gap Report 2014, <http://www.weforum.org/reports>.

14 Ibid, «Political Empowerment» Section.

15 Ibid, «Political Empowerment» Section.

16 [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GenderGap\\_Report\\_2013.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf)

17 Some of the events, specific for the period, included: November, 2013's people's protests (EuroMaidan), collapse of the government, annexation of the Crimea; military conflict in the East of Ukraine; others.

18 [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_deputat\\_list?skl=8](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_deputat_list?skl=8) and [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_deputat\\_list](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_deputat_list) (7th Convocation: 46 women – 9.6%; 8th Convocation (updated on 15.03.2015): 51 women – 12%)

19 Oksana Ivanivna Syroyid.

20 [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_komitis](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_komitis) (as of December 4, 2014).



Elections to the Verkhovna Rada on October 26, 2014 had a number of measures in the context of political will to ensure equal rights and opportunities for women and men. For example, it included gender quotas, or parity representation of women and men in the party lists. The Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine»<sup>21</sup> determines that women should make at least 30 percent in a national party electoral list. However, the number of women in 20 out of 29 party electoral lists registered by the Central Election Commission of Ukraine (CEC) was below quotas established by the law.

*Pursuant to the Law of Ukraine No. 709-VII «On Amending Some Legal Acts of Ukraine to Improve Electoral Legislation» as of November 21, 2013 (entered into force on February 1, 2014), Article 8 of the Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine» was amended by adding paragraph 10: «the size of quotas that determines minimum level of representation of women and men on the list of parliamentary candidates in Ukraine of a political party in the national election constituency shall make up at least 30 per cent of the total number of candidates in the list»<sup>22</sup>.*

To draw public attention to the issue, the Women's Consortium of Ukraine submitted an official public inquiry<sup>23</sup> to the Central Election Commission regarding why the gender quota was not observed when registering a political party. In essence, WCU inquired how political parties that violated the said law got registered to participate in the elections. The answer from CEC was prompt, but very general and formal:

*«It should be noted that grounds to refuse registration of candidates, nominated by the political parties or self-nominated candidates are determined exclusively by the Law of Ukraine «On Election of the People's Deputies of Ukraine». In particular, Part 1 of Article 60 defines only 7 grounds for such refusal. This exhaustive list cannot be expanded by any means. Of course, the Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine» does contain provision on the 30-percent representation of women in elected bodies, but it cannot be implemented until it is included in the electoral legislation, or relevant election laws provide reference to the Law «On Political Parties of Ukraine». This provision is binding, yet there are no mechanisms to enforce it. Therefore it remains declarative».*

Comments provided by Andriy Mahera, Deputy Head of CEC<sup>24</sup>

21 <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14/DocumentNo.2365-14>, current version as of October 26, 2014; basis 1697-18.

22 <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/709-18>

23 The letter was sent on October 13, 2014 in the framework of the Gender Monitoring of Elections Project.

24 <http://povaha.org.ua/predstavnytstvo-zhinok-u-parlamenti-zroslo-mensh-nizh-na-15-scho-vplynulo-na-tsej-rezultat/>

# 1 ANALYSIS of the POLITICAL SITUATION in UKRAINE BEFORE the EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS of 2014, LARYSA MAGDYUK

The above mentioned seven grounds for refusal include:

1. The violation of the requirements of parts 4 and 5 of Article 52 of the Law of Ukraine «On Election of the People's Deputies of Ukraine»<sup>25</sup> (inclusion of a person in electoral lists of two or more political parties, or party membership of a self-nominated candidate);
2. The absence of documents specified by the law;
3. The termination of the candidate's citizenship of Ukraine;
4. The departure of the candidate abroad for residence or for the purpose of political asylum;
5. The recognition of the candidate as incapable;
6. The court decision convicting the candidate of a deliberate crime;
7. The discovery of circumstances depriving the nominee of the right to be elected pursuant to Article 9 of this Law (e.g. the candidate did not reside on the territory of Ukraine for the previous 5 years)<sup>26</sup>.

Monitoring of women's representation on the electoral party lists during parliamentary elections-2014 has determined that significant differences in representation existed among the genders.

*«Women's role during elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the 8th convocation grew stronger. The number of female candidates in the national multi-mandate and throughout single-mandate constituencies increased. Improvements in the political parties' gender culture was observed. Yet the analysis of party lists shows that women are twice as likely to find themselves in the lower portion of the electoral lists rather than the top tier of the list. Therefore it would be expedient to elaborate the legal norm of 30-percent gender quotas and to harmonize it with other election laws. We, as a civil society, must demand greater responsibility for non-fulfilment of provisions of gender quotas by the authorities observing election processes».*

Oksana Yarosh, Expert of the Gender Monitoring of Elections Project

Peculiarities of ensuring Ukrainian citizen's access to realization of their voting rights in 2014 are also worthy of attention.

*«Ensuring access of men and women to their voting rights is one of key preconditions for providing equal rights and opportunities, as set forth in both national and international legal provisions. During parliamentary elections of 2014 the problem of the lack of voters' access became particularly pronounced because of large numbers of voters in Anti-Terroristic-Operations' (ATO) areas (mostly men), and temporarily displaced persons (mostly women), who could not fully exercise their voting right despite the government's efforts».*

Larysa Magdyuk, Gender Expert, Coordinator of the Gender Monitoring of Elections Project

<sup>25</sup> <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/4061-17>

<sup>26</sup> <http://povaha.org.ua/predstavnytstvo-zhinok-u-parlamenti-zroslo-mensh-nizh-na-15-scho-vplynulo-na-tsej-rezultat/>

Due to annexation of Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol by the Russian Federation (March 2014)<sup>27</sup> and their special status of temporarily occupied territories, and because of ongoing anti-terrorist operation in the Luhansk and Donetsk oblasts, the government had to introduce special measures and to create special conditions for many Ukrainians to be able to participate in parliamentary elections. Several draft laws<sup>28</sup> were submitted for consideration, including the bill on amending the Law of Ukraine «On Election of the People's Deputies of Ukraine» (concerning election procedures in single-mandate constituencies within administrative and territorial units affected by anti-terrorist operation) (No. 5123, «Svoboda» party), etc.

Thanks to targeted actions of the government and the Central Election Commission, supported by persistent efforts of human rights organizations and activists, residents of temporarily occupied territories were able to vote anywhere in Ukraine<sup>29</sup>, yet for various reasons significant proportion of people did not benefit from this opportunity. According to results of independent observations<sup>30</sup>, only 52.42 per cent of citizens participated in the snap elections of the people's deputies of Ukraine on October 26, 2014; in absolute numbers this makes up 16,004,057 persons. According to the National Exit Poll, conducted by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation of Ilko Kucheriv (DIF)<sup>31</sup>, only 44 per cent of young people ages 18-29 years and 60 per cent of the people in the age group of 30-39 years had voted. The most active voters were found among the age groups of 40 to 49 (67 per cent), and 50 to 59 years (70 per cent). Representatives of the group aged 60+ made up 55 per cent. 65 per cent of rural residents participated in elections, whereas only 58 per cent of voters turned up in the cities. As for the gender-men (61 per cent) were somewhat more active than women (59 per cent). There were polling stations that did not open their doors for voting in the Luhansk and Donetsk oblasts; in general the percentage of citizens, who showed up to vote in these regions was the lowest in the country, considering the situation (3 per cent in the Donetsk, and 5 per cent in the Luhansk oblasts – out of the overall number of voters in Ukraine)<sup>32</sup>.

In the course of gender monitoring we determined differences by age, education and employment of female candidates across single-mandate constituencies.

**Women-candidates in single-mandate constituencies of the Verkhovna Rada in 2014:**

*«10.5 per cent of female candidates participating in parliamentary elections-2014 had secondary or special secondary education, which exceeds the numbers of women candidates in the previous elections. The most common responses to the question of the identification of occupation among these candidates were «unemployed», «manager» or «employee in a business enterprise». The number of women who identified as «entrepreneur» and «government official» was very similar. The least represented were «students» and «women who were serving in the armed forces» – these were running for the parliament for the first time».*

Svitlana Harashchenko,  
Expert of the Gender Monitoring of Elections Project

27 <http://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki>

28 No. 5123 as of October 1, 2014; [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4\\_1?pf3511=52251](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=52251)

29 [http://zik.ua/ua/news/2014/09/17/meshkantsi\\_tymchasovo\\_okupovanyh\\_terytoriy\\_mozhut\\_proglasuvaty\\_budde\\_v\\_ukrainy\\_yurysty\\_524106](http://zik.ua/ua/news/2014/09/17/meshkantsi_tymchasovo_okupovanyh_terytoriy_mozhut_proglasuvaty_budde_v_ukrainy_yurysty_524106)

30 <http://www.corruption.net/index.php/component/k2/item/6928-prychyny-nyzkoi-aktyvnosti-vybortsiv-na-vyborakh-26-zhovtnia-2014-roku-ta-riven-lehitymnosti-novoobranaykh-sluh-narodu>

31 <http://www.dif-exitpoll.org.ua/ua/novini/1311.htm>

32 <http://www.dif-exitpoll.org.ua/ua/novini/1311.htm>

# 1 ANALYSIS of the POLITICAL SITUATION in UKRAINE BEFORE the EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS of 2014, LARYSA MAGDYUK

Our project included the media monitoring component of elections. Certain differences from the situation in 2012 were observed in the media coverage of parliamentary elections-2014.

*«As in the previous elections, media coverage of female candidates in 2014 was adequate to their representation, and the nature of information provided by the media was the same for both women and men. Key difference was greater visibility of women, which increased due to women putting an emphasis on campaigning and self-presentation».*

Vira Karaycheva,  
Media Expert of the Gender Monitoring of Elections Project

In addition to the review of political situation around the Early Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine (Introduction), this analytical «Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections-2014» report also offers detailed information about the research methodology, gender monitoring of results (party lists, platforms, media monitoring), comparative analysis of parliamentary elections of 2012 and 2014, as well as information about authors, regional press events, resource materials, and conclusions and recommendations on how to strengthen gender-balanced capacity of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

## METHODOLOGY OF GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

**METHODOLOGY OF GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS** consisted of comparative quantitative and qualitative assessment of gender component of the snap elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in 2014.

Gender monitoring pursued several objectives:

- to analyze gender component of election programs of the political parties and the lists of candidates;
- to monitor the performance of female candidates in single-mandate election constituencies;
- to carry out gender analysis of media coverage of the election campaign-2014;
- to compare gender aspects of parliamentary elections of 2012 and 2014;
- to draw public attention to the issues of women's access and participation in election processes.

In addition, special consideration was given to:

- legislative changes related to elections;
- The issue of accessibility to polling stations caused by fighting in the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, and annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol.

**MONITORING OF FEMALE CANDIDATES IN SINGLE-MANDATE CONSTITUENCIES** was based on the following criteria: quantitative indicators; the ratio of self-nominated female candidates to candidates nominated by the political parties; rating of oblasts by the representation of female parliamentary candidates; average age, education and occupation of women candidates; and the content of election programs of candidates in single-mandate constituencies

**GENDER ASSESSMENT OF ELECTION PROGRAMS OF POLITICAL PARTIES** was based on the methodology developed and implemented by the Moldovan Partnership for Development Center (CPD) in Moldova. The methodology was adapted to the context of Ukraine. The methodology compares the text of an electoral program to the 13 comprehensive Gender Assessment of Political Parties (GAPP) indicators consisting of 3-4 specific indexes (see table 3 for a complete list). Every indicator determined the presence (or absence) of equality in individual social spheres. These were used to calculate the total score for each political party. Representation of interests of the minority gender group was considered an indicator of gender equality in each particular sphere.

**GENDER ANALYSIS OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN-2014** sought to identify gender peculiarities of quantitative, content and illustrative indicators of elections-related publications. Within the framework of gender monitoring of parliamentary elections the researchers also studied a cross-section of the web space covering women's participation in the election process. Special attention was given to the specialized web resource «Women in Politics»<sup>33</sup>, and a dedicated Facebook page «Women and Politics»<sup>34</sup>. Monitoring and web tracking identified that during the course of the Project implementation there were up to five articles, statements, and graphic materials published every day. Gender proportion among the visitors of above web resources was 46 per cent of women, and 54 per cent of men, which averaged 290 persons weekly. On average, 40% of users visited these sites twice and reviewed up to three publications per visit.

<sup>33</sup> <http://vybory2014.wcu-network.org.ua>

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalwomen>

## GENDER MONITORING OF THE ELECTORAL PARTY LISTS OF CANDIDATES TO THE VERKHOVNA RADA OF UKRAINE OF THE 8<sup>TH</sup> CONVOCATION

In 2014 the Central Election Commission of Ukraine (CEC) registered 52 political parties. However, only 29 parties registered their candidates to run for the parliament in the national multi-mandate constituency. In the course of gender monitoring we reviewed the lists of candidates of 29 political parties. However, only 26 parties were subject to deeper analysis, as the remaining three had fewer than 20 candidates on their lists. We took into consideration the representation of women among the top twenty on the party lists, as well as their overall presence on the lists. In the course of monitoring we formulated two basic criteria: general list parity and «entry» parity. The latter was a more accurate indicator of the access of female candidates to the national parliament.

Table 2

POLITICAL PARTIES THAT REGISTERED LISTS OF PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES<sup>35</sup>

Nº	Political party – subject of the election process	Registered candidates	Female candidates	Male candidates
1	Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party	219	65	154
2	Party «Solidarnist zhynok Ukrayiny» (Solidarity of Women of Ukraine)	61	45	16
3	Political Party «Internet-party of Ukraine»	17	3	14
4	Political Party «The Opposition Bloc»	194	64	130
5	Political Party «Narodnyi Front» (People's Front)	221	68	153
6	Political Party «5.10»	173	42	131
7	Political Party «All-Ukrainian Agrarian Union 'ZASTUP' (Spade)	183	60	123
8	Party «Vidrodzhenya» (Revival)	89	7	82
9	Political Party «Nova Polityka» (New Policy)	36	9	27
10	Political Party «Yedyna Krayina» (United Country)	27	4	23
11	Political Party «Syla Liudey» (Power of people)	37	15	22
12	Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union 'Svoboda» (Freedom)	206	29	177
13	The National Democratic Party of Ukraine	14	4	10
14	The Communist Party of Ukraine	205	54	151
15	Political Party «SAMOPOMICH Union» (Self-help)	60	14	46
16	Political Party «All-Ukrainian political union «Ukrayina – YedynaKrayina» (Ukraine is united country)	92	16	76
17	Political Party «Pravyi Sektor» (Right sector)	31	3	29
18	Political Party «Ukrayina maibutnuoho» (Ukraine of the future)	51	7	44
19	Liberal Party of Ukraine	81	22	59
20	Party of Greens of Ukraine	52	12	40
21	Ukrainian Party «Zelena Planeta» (Green Planet)	98	19	79
22	Political Party «Petro Poroshenko's Bloc»	193	36	157
23	Political party «Syla i Chest» (Power and Honor)	72	20	52
24	Political Party «Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists»	4	0	4
25	Serhiy Tihipko's Party «Sylina Ukrayina» (Strong Ukraine)	201	60	141
26	Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna» (Fatherland)	213	65	148
27	Political Party «Hromadyanska Pozystiya (Civic Stance) of A. Hrytsenko»	146	17	129
28	Political Party «Blok Livykh Syl» (Bloc of Leftist Forces»	109	32	77
29	Political Party «Hromadyanskyi Rukh Ukrayiny» (Citizen movement of Ukraine)	34	3	31

<sup>35</sup> According to CEC data, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/wp400?PT001F01=910#>

The Project analyzed party lists of 9 out of 29 parties, namely:

- All-Ukrainian Union «Svoboda»;
- Communist Party of Ukraine;
- All-Ukrainian Political Union «Ukrayina – Yedyna Krayina»;
- Political Party «Pravyi Sektor»;
- Liberal Party of Ukraine;
- The Party of Greens of Ukraine;
- Political Party «Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists»;
- Serhiy Tihipko's Party «Sylna Ukrayina»;
- All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna».

We specifically focused on two indicators: the ratio of women to men in the party lists and the presence of women in the top ten places of the party lists.

Analysis shows that only a few political parties took seriously the identified need for full-scale women's representation and diligently included 30% of female candidates in their party lists.

It should be noted that the seasoned and experienced political parties tended to support gender quota more than other political parties, namely All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna» of Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko's Party «Sylna Ukrayina». These parties had explored gender equality requirements and started implementing them in 2014 elections.

To date the results of analysis of party lists are as follows:

## 1. ALL-UKRAINIAN UNION «SVOBODA»

There are 29 women among 206 candidates included in the «Svoboda» party list (the ratio is 1/10). No woman was included in the top ten. The first woman appears only as No. 19 – Halyna Chorna (No. 19). Subsequently, other women candidates are placed even lower on the list – Yaryna Vayda (No. 33); former Deputy Minister of the Social Policy of Ukraine, who was responsible for gender equality policy, Natalia Fedorovych (No. 36); and Anastasia Snizhna (No. 38). The «concentration» of women sharply increases towards the end of the list.

## 2. COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE

There were 54 women candidates among 205 candidates; in other words, women made up a quarter of all party nominees. There was only one woman among the top five candidates – Kateryna Samoylyk (No. 3). In addition, the Communist Party included Alla Aleksandrovska as No. 13. Two more female candidates were included as Lidia Zakusylvovata (No. 21) and Viktoria Demyanchuk (No. 22).

### 3. ALL-UKRAINIAN POLITICAL UNION «UKRAYINA – YEDYNA KRAYINA»

Female candidates make up 1/6 of the total number of candidates, nominated by this young political party. There were 16 women among 92 candidates on the party list: Larysa Yevtukhova No. 8; Natalia Pershyna (No. 13); Olena Lyagina (No. 21); Olena Minina (No. 37) and other women candidates lower on the party list. The frequency of inclusion of female candidates also increases towards the end of this list.

### 4. POLITICAL PARTY «PRAVYI SEKTOR»

There were only three women among 31 candidates of «Pravyi Sektor» (the ratio of 1/10). It is interesting, though, that two of them were included in the top ten: Olena Bilozerska (No. 2) and Olena Karpiuk (No. 7). The third female candidate was Natalia Barsuk (No. 28).

### 5. LIBERAL PARTY OF UKRAINE

There were 22 women among 81 candidates on the Liberal Party of Ukraine list. This accounted for approximately a quarter of all nominees. Yet there was only one woman among the top ten candidates: Diana Bobrovska (No. 4), followed by Viktoriya Parada (No. 12), Lidia Hryhorieva (No. 13), and Natalia Panova (No. 15). Given that the party had poor chances in these elections, the seemingly high placement of women on the electoral party list did not mean a better chance to be elected to the Verkhovna Rada.

### 6. THE PARTY OF GREENS OF UKRAINE

The list submitted by the Greens includes 12 women among 52 candidates. Two of the women – Larysa Shevchuk (No. 6) and Tetiana Bodun (No. 8) were included among the top ten on the party list.

### 7. POLITICAL PARTY «CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS»

There were no women among the four candidates on the party list.

### 8. SERHIY TIHIPKO'S PARTY «SYLNA UKRAYINA»

About one-third of candidates on the list of this party are women – 60 among 201 candidates. Moreover, two of them – Svitlana Fabrykant (No. 4) and Larysa Melnychuk (No. 7) – were included among the top ten on the party list. However, the next female candidates on the list occupy significantly lower spots Anastasia Makarova (No. 27), Olha Vakulenko (No. 33) and Kateryna Yurchenko (No. 36). Significant concentration of women candidates (4 out of 10) is noticeable only after No. 70.

### 9. ALL-UKRAINIAN UNION «BATKIVSHCHYNA»

Yulia Tymoshenko's party included 65 women among 213 candidates, which made 32.7 percent. Compared to other political parties, it had a significant number of women among the top ten and top twenty candidates. Nadiya Savchenko (No. 1), Yulia Tymoshenko (No. 2) and Alyona Shkrum are the leading candidates on the list. Other female candidates on this list are well-known politicians: Oleksandra Kuzhel (No. 16) and Olena Kondratiuk (No. 18). This political party attempted to establish gender balance among its candidates as female candidates are almost evenly distributed throughout its list. Yet even this political party did not avoid placing more women towards the bottom of the list - starting with No. 100 the presence of female candidates increases.



## GENDER MONITORING OF THE ELECTION PROGRAMS AND PLATFORMS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Gender monitoring presents results of the analysis of election programs and platforms of 29 political parties that nominated their candidates in the national multi-mandate election constituency (party lists). Overall, Central Election Commission (CEC) had registered 52 political parties, but only 29 parties registered their candidates to participate in parliamentary elections in the national multi-mandate constituency. Another 18 parties failed to present party lists, and nominated their candidates in single-mandate constituencies only. These political parties programs are not analyzed in this report.

### 1. THE TOPIC OF EQUALITY OF WOMEN AND MEN DID NOT RECEIVE EXPECTED ATTENTION

One of the major trends of this year's elections was a gradual increase in importance of equality issues. These were used not only rhetorically in election campaigns and political party programs, but also were reflected in the policies.

During the 2012 parliamentary elections there were references to the Human Rights, democracy principles, the need to strengthen civil society and the Ukrainian society's «strive» for democratic procedures. Consequently, women's rights and gender equality issues were also mentioned in this context, and two political parties – UDAR and the Party of Regions – included relevant provisions in their programs. At that time these references in the platforms of other parties were purely symbolic in nature rather than deliberate approaches of political parties to the issues of equality.

The 2014 parliamentary elections lacked gender equality or Human Rights rhetoric in general. Other topics prevailed, including public administration reform, tax reform and national defense issues. At the same time Indicator two of gender assessment (a system of political party quotas), which was largely invisible during elections in 2012, now gained significant attention. In other words, many political parties introduced a meaningful proportion of female candidates on their party lists.

This can be explained by the impact of information and lobbying campaigns during the summer and early autumn of 2013. The Ukrainian government was about to sign an agreement with the European Union (EU), under which, national legislation was to be harmonization with the EU law. Such provisions included a requirement for gender equality in politics, among others. It resulted in three drafts of the law concerning political parties' gender quotas: one by the government (submitted by Natalia Korolevska, then Minister of Social Policy), the second by the MP group of Iryna Berezhna (the Party of Regions), and the third by the group of Iryna Herashchenko (the UDAR party). All bills attracted serious discussion and attention by the media and the experts. Even though none of them ultimately were adopted, the discussion generated by them has led to the amendments of the Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine» by adding paragraph 10 to Article 8 which states:

*«The size of quotas that determines the minimum level of representation of women and men on the list of political party parliamentary candidates in Ukraine in the national multi-mandate election constituency shall make up at least 30 percent of the total number of candidates on the list».*

## 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

Eight of 29 parties have fulfilled this legal requirement:

- Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party,
- Political Party «Narodnyi Front»,
- Political Party «The Opposition Bloc»,
- All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna»,
- The Party «Solidarnist zhinok Ukrayiny»,
- All-Ukrainian Agrarian Union «ZASTUP»,
- Serhiy Tihipko's Party «Sylna Ukrayina», and
- Political Party «Blok Livykh Syl».

Three more political parties were very close to fulfilling this regulation:

- The Liberal Party of Ukraine (25 per cent of female candidates),
- The National Democratic Party of Ukraine (29 per cent of women on the party lists), and
- The Political Party «Syla i Chest» (28 per cent of female candidates).

As a contrast, pro-presidential «Petro Poroshenko's Bloc» included only 23 per cent of women on its party list.

## 2. GENDER EQUALITY IS A LUXURY THAT ONLY WELL-KNOWN AND RESPECTED PARTIES CAN AFFORD

Another important trend that could be observed during elections in 2014 was stronger inclusion of gender-related indicators in the programs and platforms, developed by old, relatively strong, traditional and quite large political parties (and their satellites), compared to the new and/or marginal parties. A similar trend was observed in the analysis of party programs during parliamentary elections in 2012. At that time it was also obvious that programs of such parties contained plentiful and diverse provisions, relevant to gender equality issues.

Table 3 below lists the GAPP indicators and components to each indicator. We used these indicators throughout our assessment.

Table 3

COMPREHENSIVE INDICATORS FOR GENDER ASSESSMENT OF ELECTION PROGRAMS<sup>36</sup>

Nº	Indicator	Max. score	Detailed measureable indexes to each indicator
1	Support of democratic values and equal political representation	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Does the party declare/support the provisions that view human rights as a political value? (2 points)</li> <li>Does the party declare/support the provisions on gender equality and women's rights as human rights? (2 points)</li> <li>Does the party declare/support stereotypic attitudes towards a woman/man? (3 points)</li> <li>Does the party commit itself to ensuring gender equality? (3 points)</li> </ul>
2	A system of quotas applied to party cadres and availability of quotas	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Availability of quotas system (above 40 per cent)<sup>37</sup> in the party statute/documents (3 points)</li> <li>Observance of quotas system requirement in the lists of candidates (3 points)</li> <li>Observance of quotas system in the lists of candidates for vacant seats (at least 40% in the top 20) (4 points)</li> </ul>
3	Gender equality on labor market	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provisions on equal remuneration for equal labor (4 points)</li> <li>Provisions on equal treatment during recruitment and career advancement (4 points)</li> <li>Provisions on stimulating creation of work places, including for specific social and demographic groups (2 points)</li> </ul>
4	Combining of career and household duties	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Special attention to maternity, child care, and medical leave, and issues of their funding (3 points)</li> <li>Introduction of flexible timesheets (3 points)</li> <li>Special attention to the issues of social protection on the labor market (2 points)</li> <li>Special attention to the observance of law at the labor market and the issues of illegal workers (2 points)</li> </ul>
5	Educational policy	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Universal access to quality educational services (1 point)</li> <li>Access to educational infrastructure for preschoolers (nurseries and kindergartens) (3 points)</li> <li>Correlation between professional competence and the labor market requirements (higher education) (3 points)</li> <li>Measures to improve the status and working conditions for the staff of educational establishments<sup>38</sup> (salaries and infrastructure) (3 points)</li> </ul>
6	Demographic and family policy	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General intention to increase birth rates (1 point)</li> <li>Provisions on the state support to families; political and economic means of stimulating births (action plan, payment of child birth grants and the like) (3 points)</li> <li>Support of single parent families with economic or political means (3 points)</li> <li>Support of large families and families of people with disabilities with economic or political means (3 points)</li> </ul>
7	Healthcare policy	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Universal access to health services (1 point)</li> <li>Issues of quality of health support, development/reform of the public health infrastructure (3 points)</li> <li>Issues of medical support in rural areas, women/children healthcare in rural areas (3 points)</li> <li>Issues of safeguarding reproductive health (3 points)</li> </ul>
8	Gender-sensitive economic policy	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provisions on socially responsible business (1 point)</li> <li>Support to small business: simplification of licensing procedures, access to credits and similar measures (3 points)</li> <li>Programs or steps towards economic empowerment of women: changes to current legislation to promote women to managerial positions in the private sector; development of programs to support and promote women's entrepreneurship) (3 points)</li> <li>Provisions on eliminating unemployment (3 points)</li> </ul>
9	Social support and pension policy <sup>39</sup>	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Correlation between the pension policy and labor market policy<sup>40</sup> (1 point).</li> <li>Measures to increase pensions due to inflation (3 points)</li> <li>Political and economic means to support pensioners (pension funds and the like) (3 points)</li> <li>Issues related to increasing of the retirement age and making it the same for men and women (3 points)</li> </ul>
10	Policy for rural areas development <sup>41</sup>	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policy to ensure jobs for residents of rural areas (3 points)</li> <li>Policy to reform agricultural sector (3 points)</li> <li>Specific issues that affect lives of women in rural areas (2 points)</li> <li>Issues of equal access to quality education and health care in rural and urban areas (2 points)</li> </ul>
11	Issues of gender-sensitive development of social infrastructure	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General intention to develop social infrastructure (2 points)</li> <li>Programs for development of social infrastructure: stores, markets, consumer services, facilities to care for children and the elderly, and health facilities (4 points)</li> <li>Plans of constructing social housing and introduction of easy-term housing loans for young, single-parent, or large families, and the like (1 point)</li> <li>Percentage of projects of road infrastructure development compared to water, sanitation, and gas supply infrastructure (3 points)</li> </ul>
12	Response to gender-based and domestic violence	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policy of combating domestic violence (3 points)</li> <li>Steps to ensure safety in public places (3 points)</li> <li>Prevention of sexual harassment at the workplace (3 points)</li> <li>Women's access to law enforcement agencies (1 point)</li> </ul>
13	Policy of combating human trafficking	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General intention to fight human trafficking (2 points)</li> <li>Detailed aspects of policy of combating human trafficking (max. of 8 points)</li> </ul>

36 Partnership For Development Center Moldova вместе our Moldovan colleagues.

37 According to the Recommendation Rec (2003)3 of the Committee of Ministers to member states, balanced participation of women and men means that the representation of either women or men in any decision-making body in political or public life should not fall below 40%

38 The majority of educational sector employees are women.

39 Poverty levels are higher among senior women/pensioners.

40 Reduction of discrimination against women in the labor market means elimination of the gap between pensions of women and men.

41 Women in rural areas are more vulnerable compared to women in urban areas. Also, their access to education and health care services is more complicated.

## 3. GENDER EQUALITY INDICATORS IN THE PROGRAMS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Results of our assessment of the parties' election programs and platforms were made public through our website <http://vybory2014.wcu-network.org.ua/party>. All parties were rated by the sum of gender equality indicators identified in their programs (leaders are highlighted and in bold).

Table 4  
RATING OF POLITICAL PARTIES BY CUMULATIVE INDICATOR OF GAPP

POLITICAL PARTY	TOTAL SCORE	% OF MAXIMUM VALUE
The Liberal Party of Ukraine	33	25
Political Party «SAMOPOMICH Union»	30	23
Political Party «Syla Liudey»	28	21
Political Party «Hromadyanska Pozytysiya» (Anatoliy Hrytsenko)	28	21
OlehLyashko's Radical Party	27	21
Political Party «Blok Livykh Syl»	27	21
The Communist Party of Ukraine	26	20
Political Party «The Opposition Bloc»	25	19
Political Party «Pravyi Sektor»	20	15
Political Party «Narodnyi Front»	19	15
Party «Vidrodzhenya»	18	14
Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union 'Svoboda»	18	14
Party of Greens of Ukraine	18	14
Political Party «Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists»	18	14
Political Party «All-Ukrainian Agrarian Union 'ZASTUP»	17	13
Political Party «All-Ukrainian political union «Ukrayina – Yedyna Krayina»	17	13
Party «Solidarnist zhinok Ukrayiny»	16	12
SerhiyTihipko's Party «Syl'na Ukrayina»	15	11
Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna»	14	11
Political Party «Yedyna Krayina»	12	9
Political Party «5.10»	11	8
Political Party «Petro Poroshenko's Bloc»	10	8
Political Party «Hromadyanskyi Rukh Ukrayiny»	9	7
Ukrainian Party «Zelena Planeta»	8	6
Political party «Syla i Chest»	8	6
Political Party «Internet-party of Ukraine»	7	5
The National Democratic Party of Ukraine	7	5
Political Party «Nova Polityka»	2	1
Political Party «Ukrayina maibutnuoho»	1	0,8

\*Maximum score – 130 points.

Overall, the numbers are very low. Even the highest scoring Liberal Party of Ukraine barely reached 25 per cent of the maximum possible score. Other political parties which led on the issue include:

- «SAMOPOMICH Union» (scored 23 per cent of 100)
- «Syla Liudey» (Power of People) (21 per cent). The leader of the party, Oleksandr Solontay, showed genuine interest in the issues of gender equality. He contributed to organizing a number of relevant thematic internal-party events on the issue. Thus his party's score.
- «Hromadyanska Pozytsiya» (Civic Stance) (20 per cent). The political party union of Anatoliy Hrytsenko's had many representatives from the Democratic Alliance party. The latter had held serious discussions on human rights' issues and women's representation in politics. This helped the entire political union to score 20 per cent of GAPP.
- Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party (20 per cent).

#### 4. SHIFTING EMPHASIS FROM SOCIAL SECURITY TO EQUALITY IN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION, SAFETY, AND COUNTERING ARMED VIOLENCE

The Communist Party in the 2014 elections failed to win a single seat in the Parliament. It was a shock to the party. It also suffered a significant decline in GAPP indicators, which was unusual. With its strong gender-sensitive rhetoric the party was the trend setter on equality issues during the previous elections. In fact, other parties, regardless of their political views, moved in the footsteps of the Communist party. The Communist Party inherited well-built Soviet social policy, which had quite an extensive rhetoric on gender equality. The party had used it for every parliamentary election without many amendments. However, such important indicators as gender based violence, physical safety, equal decision-making, etc., were not reflected in the Soviet social policy, thus also in the Communist Party's platform.

The situation changed drastically in 2014, primarily thanks to the increased discussion on personal safety and of equal representation within a political party and gender quotas on the party lists, which that were not used during the elections-2012. The former issue received heightened attention due to the Russian military aggression, which revealed the problem of vulnerability of the population, primarily women and children. This also encouraged some parties to use the rhetoric with the special focus on safety. Our gender assessment revealed that political parties shifted their focus from excessive attention to social protection, which had dominated the political rhetoric of the Ukrainian government for many years, to the protection of an individual, especially women, from various forms of structural violence (detailed results will be presented below). Yet one should be careful not to overstate the importance of the shift, as it was caused primarily by Russia's military aggression and the beginning of the war.

## 5. POLITICAL PARTIES LEADING ELECTION CAMPAIGNS RECEIVE HIGHER CUMULATIVE SCORES OF INDICATORS OF GAPP

Those parties who won the parliamentary elections and had a successful campaign which increased their visibility, find themselves with higher scores than the political parties that failed to gain significant support of Ukrainian voters. One exception is the Petro Poroshenko's Bloc.

Leaders by the cumulative indicators of GAPP:

- Liberal Party of Ukraine (33 scores),
- Political Party «SAMOPOMICH Union» (30 scores), and
- The proxy of Tymoshenko's «Batkivshchyna» – Political Party «Syla Liudey» (28 scores).

It was an unexpected discovery that the right-wing parties reached the rating of 20 scores.

«Old» political players are concentrated in the middle of the rating list, with 10 - 20 scores. These include:

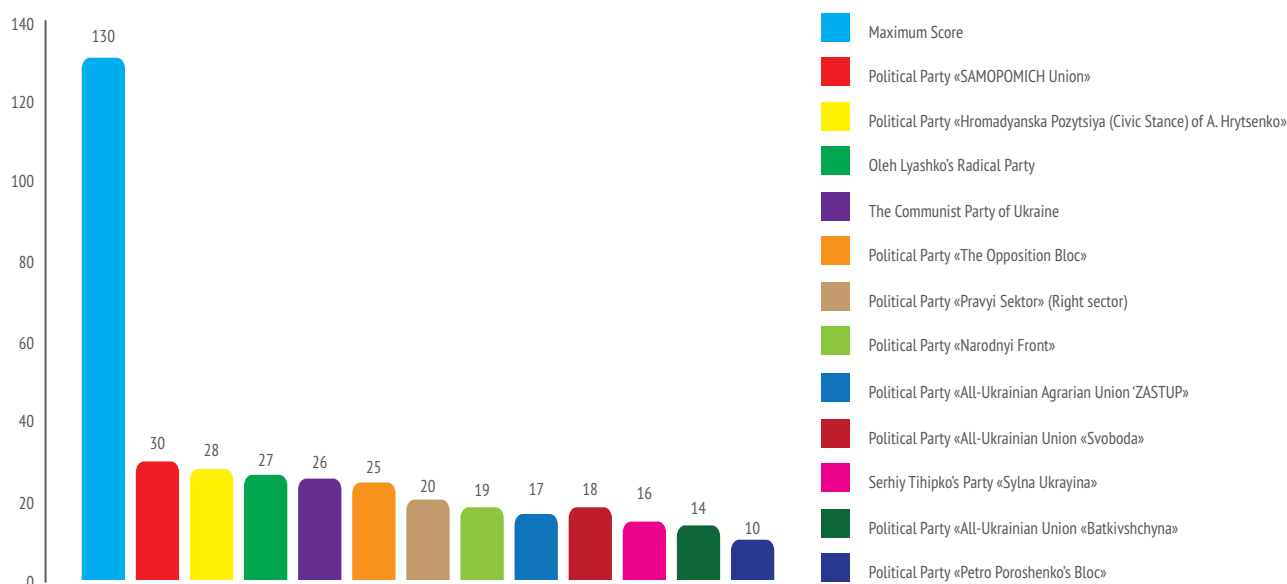
- Serhiy Tihipko's «Sylna Ukrayina» (Strong Ukraine) with 15 scores, and
- All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna» with 14 scores.

In the bottom of the rating of cumulative GAPP indicators we find:

- National Democratic Party of Ukraine (7 scores) which is not well known,
- The party «Nova Polityka» (New Policy) with 2 scores, and
- The party «Ukrayina Maibutnyoho» (Ukraine of the Future) with 1 score.

Chart 1

INDICATORS OF COMPREHENSIVE GENDER ASSESSMENT OF ELECTION PROGRAMS OF THE LEADING POLITICAL PARTIES, 2014



There are twelve parties included in the chart above: both the winners of the parliamentary elections (parties that had passed a 5-percent threshold) and the political parties that gained support of comparatively large numbers of voters (1 percent and more) but did not win.

In addition to political parties elected to parliament: «SAMOPOMICH Union», Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party, «The Opposition Bloc», «Narodnyi Front», All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna», and Petro Poroshenko's Bloc, we also included the All-Ukrainian Union «Svoboda» (which barely missed the threshold), the Communist Party of Ukraine, Serhiy Tihipko's «Sylna Ukrayina», «Pravyi Sektor», and All-Ukrainian Agrarian Union «ZASTUP».

## 6. INTEGRATION OF GENDER ISSUES IN THE PARTY PROGRAMS

We attempted to determine how gender-sensitive approaches were used by different political parties by analyzing the number of GAPP indicators mentioned in the texts of their programs. The two most popular indicators among potential parliamentary parties were:

- Indicator 5, Education policy (received the best media coverage), and
- Indicator 8, Gender-sensitive economic policy (primarily due to its focus on supporting small and medium size business development).

We found these indicators in the programs of 21 parties out of 29.

Table 5

RATING OF GAPP INDICATORS USED IN THE PARTY PROGRAMS

INDICATOR	USED BY NO. OF PARTIES
5. Education policy	21
8. Gender-sensitive economic policy	21
7. Healthcare policy	19
9. Social support and pension policy	18
2. A system of quotas applied to party cadres	14
12. Response to gender-based and domestic violence	12
1. Support of democratic values and equal political representation	11
10. Policy for the development of rural areas	11
11. Issues of gender-sensitive development of social infrastructure	11
6. Demographic and family policy	10
4. Combining career and household duties	6
3. Gender equality in labor market	4
13. Policy of combating human trafficking	0

Indicator 7, Healthcare policy: 19 political parties included healthcare related topics in their platforms.

Indicator 9, Social support and pension policy: 18 political parties mentioned these issues in their election programs.

Compared to parliamentary elections in 2012, active use of Indicator 2, A system of quotas applied to party cadres saw a real breakthrough during the 2014 elections with 14 parties trying to introduce quotas.

The same is true for Indicator 12, Response to gender and domestic violence: 12 political party programs had specific talking points without being explicit on the gender aspect in this area e.g. «it is necessary to protect civilians from violence».

Despite ongoing public discussions, demographic concerns did not dominate the election campaign as they were in the previous elections. Topics related to Indicator 6, Demographic and family policy can only be found in 10 election programs, which is only one-third of all platforms analyzed within this project.

The 2014 elections reaffirm one of our key conclusions regarding 2012 and earlier election campaigns. We stated then that it was possible to achieve relatively high values of gender indicators even through the components of these indicators were not specific to gender. The same is true today.

Throughout analysis, we have used indicators (listed in table 3) that consist of three or four measureable components as well as «general» and «gender specific» approach. We have found that relatively high scores in gender assessment can be attributed to these general components. For example, one of more important gender indicators – Response to gender and domestic violence (No. 12) – received high scores thanks to its component 12.2, Steps to ensure safety in public places, which is not gender specific. It was less impacted by gender-specific components, such as 12.1 Policy of combating domestic violence or 12.3 Prevention of sexual harassment.

It becomes particularly clear if we look at the bottom of table 4, where we see the least popular indicators among political parties participating in parliamentary elections-2014. These include the majority of gender-specific comprehensive indicators:

- Indicator 4, Combining of career and household duties (found in the platforms of 6 political parties);
- Indicator 3, Gender equality on labor market (found in the platforms of 4 parties), and
- Indicator 13, Policy of combating human trafficking (no political party mentions this issue).



Table 6

## RATING OF POLITICAL PARTIES BY THE NUMBER OF GENDER INDICATORS IN THEIR PROGRAMS

POLITICAL PARTY	GENDER INDICATORS USED
19. The Liberal Party of Ukraine	9
1. Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party	9
4. Political Party «The Opposition Bloc»	9
5. Political Party «Narodnyi Front»	9
28. Political Party «Blok Livykh Syl»	9
27. Political Party «Hromadyanska Pozytsiya» (AnatoliyHrytsenko)	8
15. Political Party «SAMOPOMICH Union»	8
8. Party «Vidrodzhenya»	7
11. Political Party «Syla Liudey»	7
17. Political Party «Pravyi Sektor»	7
14. The Communist Party of Ukraine	6
20. Party of Greens of Ukraine	6
26. Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna»	6
24. Political Party «Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists»	5
16. Political Party «All-Ukrainian political union «Ukrayina – Yedyna Krayina»	5
12. Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union 'Svoboda»	5
10. Political Party «Yedyna Krayina»	5
2. Party «Solidarnist zhinok Ukrayiny»	5
6. Political Party «5.10»	4
7. Political Party «All-Ukrainian Agrarian Union 'ZASTUP»	4
22. Political Party «Petro Poroshenko's Bloc»	4
25. SerhiyTihipko's Party «Sylna Ukrayina»	4
21. Ukrainian Party «Zelena Planeta»	3
23. Political party «Syla i Chest»	3
29. Political Party «Hromadyanskyi Rukh Ukrayiny»	3
13. The National Democratic Party of Ukraine	3
3. Political Party «Internet-party of Ukraine»	2
9. Political Party «Nova Polityka»	2
18. Political Party «Ukrayina maibutnuoho»	1

## 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

It is also interesting to compare political parties by the number of gender indicators used in their programs.

The table shows that the largest number of gender indicators is integrated in the party programs of Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party, the Opposition Bloc, «Narodnyi Front», SAMOPOMICH Union, and «Hromadyanska Pozytysiya» of Anatoliy Hrytsenko, as well as in the platforms of newly created «Blok Livykh Syl» and the Liberal Party of Ukraine. Gender indicators are also prevalent in the programs of the parties «Syla Liudey» and «Pravyi Sektor». Please note the scarcity of gender indicators in the programs of the little-known and unpopular parties.

It is worth noting that the political establishment of Ukrainian politics, such as All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna», Petro Poroshenko's Bloc and Serhiy Tihipko's «Sylna Ukrayina» (excluding «Narodnyi Front») are represented in the middle section of the table. This points to the fact that gender issues were not as integrated in their election programs as by other parties above.

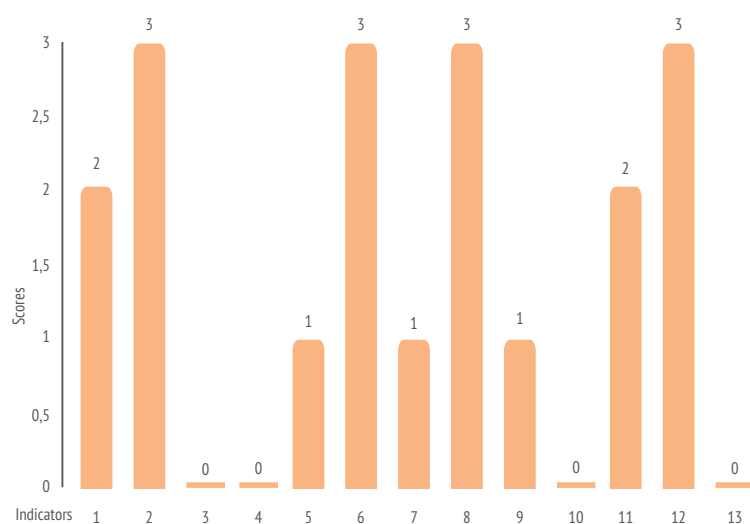
This leads us to conclude that the younger political parties may prove to be more gender-sensitive compared to an old political establishment. To achieve this, it is necessary that the new politicians offer sustained support for gender equality within their political parties already today as well as while preparing for the next elections.

### 7. GENDER PROFILES OF LEADERS OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS-2014

Gender profiles of political parties – leaders of parliamentary elections in 2014 - were developed for six parties that passed the 5-percent threshold: «Narodnyi Front», Petro Poroshenko's Bloc, SAMOPOMICH Union, Oleh Lyashko's Radical

Chart2

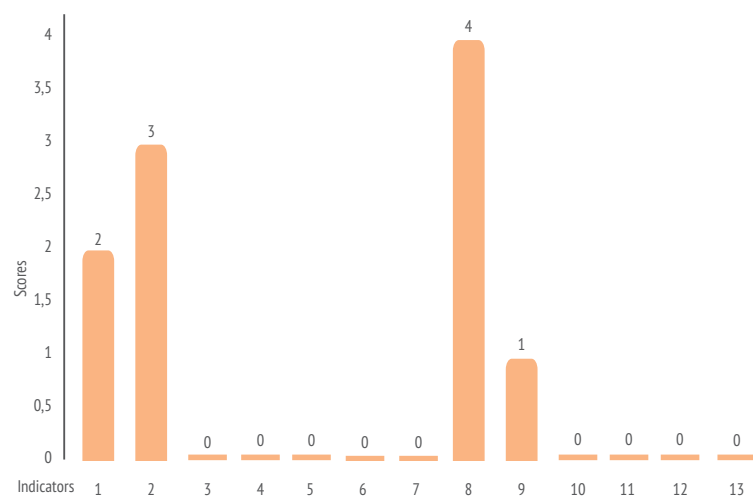
GENDER PROFILE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY «NARODNYI FRONT»



Party, the Opposition Bloc, and All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna». We present the results of individual parties in the charts below.

Chart3

## GENDER PROFILE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY «PETRO POROSHENKO'S BLOC»

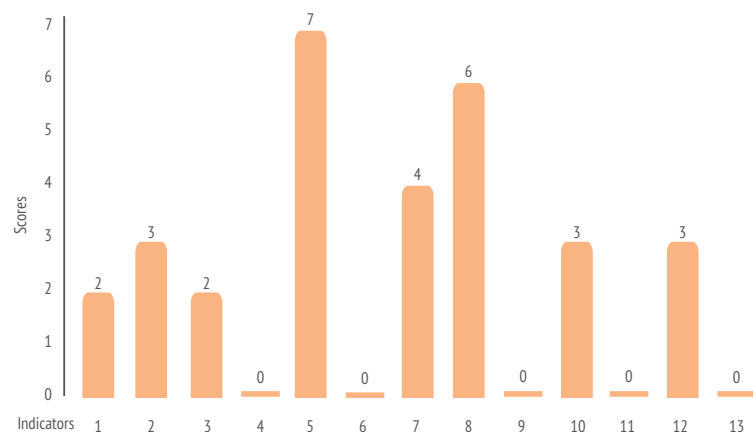


Comparatively high indicator values and diverse representation of these indicators show that Narodnyi Front is predominantly gender-sensitive, and demonstrates inner-party consensus on gender issues.

Another leading parliamentary party – Petro Poroshenko's Bloc – presents a different picture. Ultraliberal rhetoric of the election program matches the lack of gender indicators. Only the issues of gender-balanced economic policy (1.8)

Chart 4

## GENDER PROFILE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY «SAMOPOMICH» (SELF-HELP UNION)



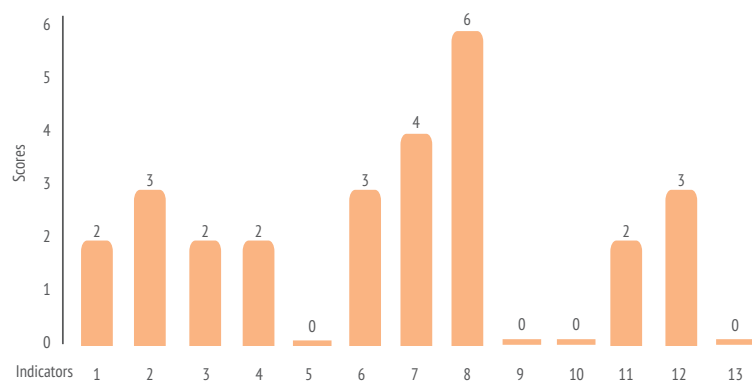
and female representation (1.2) have a bit more pronounced values. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that this pro-presidential party did not view gender equality as one of its top priorities.

Political party «SAMOPOMICH», similarly to the «Narodnyi Front», demonstrates significant diversity of gender

## 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

Chart 5

GENDER PROFILE OF OLEH LYASHKO'S RADICAL PARTY

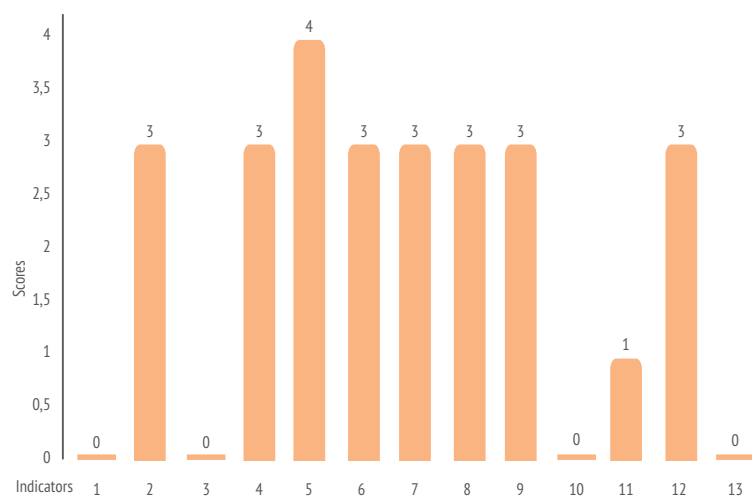


assessment indicators with relatively high values. Quite notable are the issues of gender equality in education (1.5), healthcare policy (1.7), and gender-

sensitive economic policy – these received comparatively high scores of 7, 4 and 6 correspondingly.

Chart 6

GENDER PROFILE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY «THE OPPOSITION BLOC»

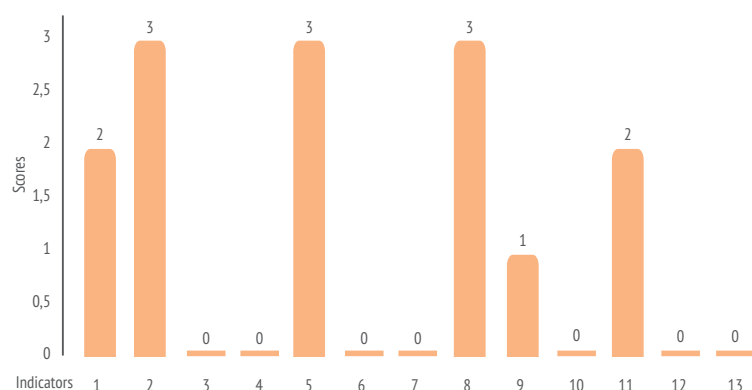


Gender profile of the Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party is very similar to the profiles of the «Narodnyi Front» and «SAMOPOMICH Union».

Comparatively high indicator values and the diversity of gender-specific indicators are also observed in the electoral rhetoric of the Opposition Bloc. This party is composed of many members who are former members of the Party of Regions, which demonstrated similar results in 2012. The only difference is that the present-day Opposition Bloc, similarly to other political parties, shows noticeable increase indicators 2 and 12 (political representation of women and the issues of safety and violence prevention). These were previously not present.

Chart 7

GENDER PROFILE OF ALL-UKRAINIAN UNION «BATKIVSHCHYNA»



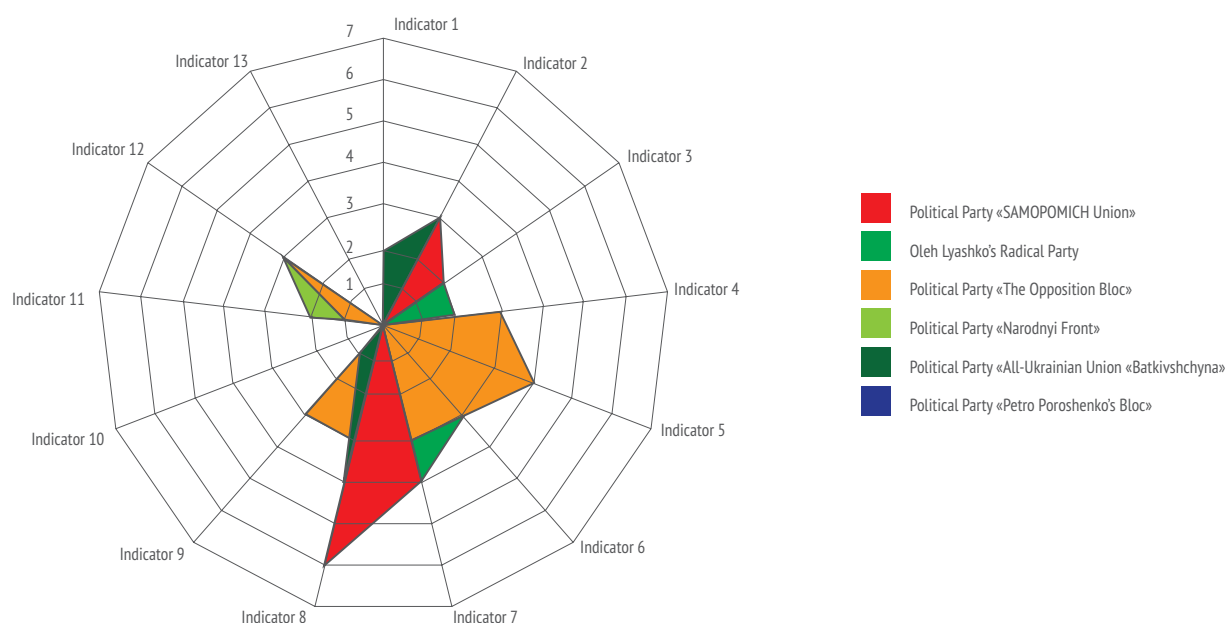
The gender profile of Yulia Tymoshenko's party is very similar to the profile of its political opponents – the Petro Poroshenko's Bloc. Slightly higher indicator values found in the Batkivshchyna's platform can be explained by a more active exploitation

of the themes of women's political representation (nomination of Nadiya Savchenko was one of the zests of this party's election campaign), and by a clearly articulated support to the democratic values (I.1). The remaining indicators are either low or poorly integrated.

## 8. READINESS OF THE LEADERS OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION CAMPAIGN TO ADDRESS GENDER ISSUES. GENDER-SPECIFIC POLITICAL AGENDA OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Chart 8

UNITED GENDER PROFILE OF POLITICAL PARTIES – WINNERS OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS-2014



Below, please find a chart which presents cumulative results that reflect the level of readiness of the leading political parties to address gender issues in the Ukrainian parliament. We compare the results of gender assessment of all parties that won the seats in the national parliament readiness to address gender issues.

The chart above suggests that it is quite possible that the current parliamentarians shall enhance progress in gender-sensitive economic policy, but no groundbreaking legislative initiatives should be expected in the area of human trafficking prevention (Indicator 13) or women in rural areas (Indicator 10).

### GENDER MONITORING OF PRE-ELECTION SITUATION IN THE SINGLE-MANDATE CONSTITUENCIES

Among all parliamentary candidates of the early elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in single-mandate constituencies there were 2,766 men and only 445 women (approximate ratio of 6 to 1). Political parties nominated 1,117 men and 158 women as single-mandated candidates (7 to 1), whereas the number of self-nominated male and female candidates were 1,651 and 287 respectively (5 to 1). It is important to note, that statistical data shows that the number of self-nominated women candidates significantly exceeded the number of those nominated by political parties.

Luhansk oblast leads by the representation of female candidates: 60 self-nominated women candidates and 62 nominated by political parties. For reference, political parties in the Luhansk oblast nominated 34 men (the ratio is 1 to 17). The ration of self-nominated female and male candidates was 1 to 2 (60 women and 125 men).

The next region leading by the representation of female candidates was the Odessa oblast with 45 self-nominated women candidates and nine nominated by political parties. The total number of 54 women ran in their respective single-mandate constituencies in Odesa oblast with 9 of them nominated by parties (vs 75 male candidates) and 45 self-nominated (vs 160 men candidates).

The third region leading in the representation of female candidates was the Kyiv oblast with 34 self-nominated and 13 nominated by political parties. In total 47 female single-mandated candidates ran in this oblast.

The fourth is the Donetsk oblast with 44 female candidates. Eight of them were nominated by the political parties (vs 62 male candidates; with the ratio 1 to 8) and 36 women were self-nominated candidates (with the ratio 1 to 5).

Quantitative data indicates that regardless of the instability in Luhansk and Donetsk, with fighting going on, both of the regions scored in the top five for female representation in the Verkhovna Rada elections.

It is also worth noting, that there were several election districts in Ukraine with very few or no female candidates. For example, none of the political parties in the Zakarpattia oblast nominated women to participate in the parliamentary elections. It was not a surprise that this oblast scored last for number of female candidates. Only 4 self-nominated women candidates from this region ran for seats in the parliament.

Another poorly represented region was the Chernivtsi oblast – there were only 5 female candidates, but unlike Zakarpattia, 4 of them were nominated by political parties, and one self-nominated woman candidate ran for the parliament.

**AGE.** Average age of a female candidate to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine from the single manadate constituencies was 42. The youngest candidate was university student Kateryna Shcherbyna (1993), a self-nominated candidate who ran for parliament in the election district No. 170 (the Kharkiv oblast). The oldest candidate was Kateryna Lyashko (1944), a self-nominated pensioner with university degree; she ran for the parliament in the election district No. 216 in Kyiv.

**EDUCATION.** The majority of candidates had university degree. During 2014 elections, about 10.5% of women had secondary or special vocational training. This was a higher number compared to previous elections to the Verkhovna Rada (2012).

**PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATION.** The majority of female candidates stated that they were «unemployed», «manager» or «employee in a business enterprise». «Entrepreneur» and «government official» closely followed. The least represented among the candidates were «students» and «women in the armed service profession.» However it is important to point out that these categories were represented in the parliament elections for the first time.

Below is the list of key occupations and places of employment for female candidates in the 2014 elections (from highest to lowest):

- Unemployed – 81
- Business (managers) –56
- Business (employees) –45
- Independent entrepreneurs – 43
- Civil servants/government officials –42
- Education sphere–32
- Pensioners –14
- Heads of NGOs and political parties – 12
- Media representatives–12
- Legal professions –11
- Health care sphere– 8
- Members of parliament –8
- Political party members–5
- Cultural workers – 3
- Students – 2
- Women in the armed service profession–1

**POLITICAL PARTIES.** The party which leads among the political parties in the number of nominated female candidates is the Opposition Bloc (17 women). The next is Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party (14 candidates), and All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna» (12 candidates). It is interesting to note that the Communist Party of Ukraine (11 candidates) nominated the majority of women candidates in the regions where the Communist party had the lowest ratings – in the Lviv, Volyn and Ternopil oblasts. «Narodnyi Front» with 10 female candidates in single-mandate constituencies was the last among the top five political parties.

Ukrainian Platform «Sobor», «Hromadska Syl» (Public Force), «Ukrayinska Perspektyva» (Ukrainian Perspective), «Spravedlyvist» (Justice), «Democratic Alliance», «My Ukrayitsi» (We are Ukrainians), «Nova Polityka» (New Policy) and Ukrainian Republican Party each nominated one female candidate in single-mandate constituencies.

## 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

**PROGRAMS.** For the purpose of analysis the programs of female candidates from the regions with the largest number of women running for parliament were reviewed: Luhansk, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv and Odessa. We considered programs of self-nominated candidates focused primarily on issues that are common among all citizens: lustration, economic development, social protection of disadvantaged populations, education and healthcare. The issues of supporting the armed forces of Ukraine and restoring peace are included in the majority of election programs. Key areas of interest in the women candidates' programs also include children, youth and other vulnerable populations.

Some women candidates addressed the issues specifically pertaining gender equality. This includes, among other things, job creation specifically for women; development and introduction of anti-domestic violence legislation; the promise not to further increase retirement age for women, etc. In addition, candidates become increasingly active in discussing the need for greater representation of women in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. For example, the election program of the candidate Iryna Turovska (district No. 32, the Dnipropetrovsk oblast) contains the following text:

*«I am a woman and I believe that we will make wise, flexible, sociable and tolerant politicians. This is why my goal is to increase the number of women in the Verkhovna Rada and in the government».*

Some candidates from the Luhansk oblast and out as well, due to pointing at issues of constructing new and repairing waterlines. While others, like Maria Yarchuk, a candidate from the single-mandate election district No. 107 (Luhansk), included in their programs the issue of child protection. These initiatives emphasize the importance of safety and child care even when anti-terrorism operations are taking place.

*«Any modern kindergarten should offer full dietary rations, and provide children with well-equipped playground for their interactive development».*

The main points of concern for the candidates from the Donetsk oblast include better funding of the Ukrainian armed forces, battling corruption and ensuring regional development. At the same time, women from this region focus on:

- Creating better conditions for recreation and leisure time for school children and constructing new sports grounds;
- Reconstructing and equipping pediatric departments of hospitals and maternity wards with modern equipment.



In addition, programs offer simple and practical advice. For example, the election program of the candidate Larysa Kryvoruchko (district No. 59) has the following paragraph:

*«I stand for the development of the draft law «On competent and free psychological counselling, mandatory for all population groups». This practice is widespread in the developed world, for people strongly affected by dark and depressing reality, which is true today in Ukraine as a result of political, social and economic crisis and warfare on the Ukrainian territory».*

Programs of female candidates from the Odessa region also have their specifics as they focus on industrial development, cancellation of some types of taxes, construction of kindergartens and creation of environment to keep kids occupied. Other distinct problems include road repairs and quality of drinking water. The program of candidate from the district No. 133, Olena Chertoryzhska, calls for better protection of large families:

*«Three-fold increase in the size of one-time and monthly benefits for children, and introduction of single payments to families at the child's admission to school. Payment of «family wage» to either parent who cares for three or more children. Establishment of special workplaces for parents with multiple children. By doing so we will force labor and employment authorities to provide new workplace for parents of three and more children within 30 days after the loss of the previous one».*

Female candidates in the Dnipropetrovsk oblast have priorities of their own. Of particular importance for them are the issues of local self-governance, social protection of men and women in uniform fighting in ATO<sup>42</sup>, development of agricultural sector, as well as housing and communal reform.

Programs of women candidates in the Kyiv oblast have more political rather than social or economic coloring. For example, they demand cancellation of the immunity of elected officials, lustration of those in power, nationalization of strategic enterprises, and greater accountability of MPs.

Analysis of programs reveals the diversity of interests of candidates, and these women's deep understanding of problems affecting the country. In addition to supporting the military, the candidates' programs mention children and disadvantaged populations. Moreover, all programs are unanimous in the need to support the Ukrainian army. Women tend to focus on social and economic protection of different population groups, on childcare, and on supporting Ukrainian armed forces that defend peace in the country.

42 ATO stands for Anti-Terrorism-Operations

## GENDER MONITORING OF MEDIA SPACE (VIRA KARAYCHEVA)

We carried out gender monitoring of mass media during the early parliamentary elections in 2014 from September 1 through November 1. In addition to tracking quantity and quality of publications covering activities of female candidates, we also collected and published information about these women on the website <http://vybory2014.wcu-network.org.ua/>. This online resource was also used to present interim results and conclusions of our monitoring exercise.



The big board advertisement of Lidiya Kotelyak, female candidate, presents civic initiative of mothers of the mobilized people and its Hot line phone number

Media outlets, selected for ongoing monitoring, included UkrInform, Interfax-Ukraine, UNIAN, Gazeta.ua, as well as websites of popular newspapers «Dzerkalo Tyzhnya» (Weekly Mirror) and «Holos Ukrainy» (The Voice of Ukraine).

In addition to the monitoring of the above media we also visited many other online resources, as we attempted to cover all publications pertaining to female participation in the election campaign.

In general, not a single case of discrimination or sexism was found in publications of the news agencies UkrInform, UNIAN and Interfax-Ukraine. Online resource Gazeta.ua published several materials, which can provisionally be considered sexist («the beauty contest of female candidates»). Following elections «Dzerkalo Tyzhnya» published a list with corresponding ratings of each candidate, where Hanna Hopko, number one in the party list of «SAMOPOMICH», was substituted with Andriy Sadovyi<sup>43</sup>. By doing so, the author probably wanted to identify a true leader of this political party. In the same article the author depicts Yulia Tymoshenko as the leader of «Batkivshchyna» instead of the official number one – Nadiya Savchenko.

Yet, such examples are rare and they are exception to the rule.

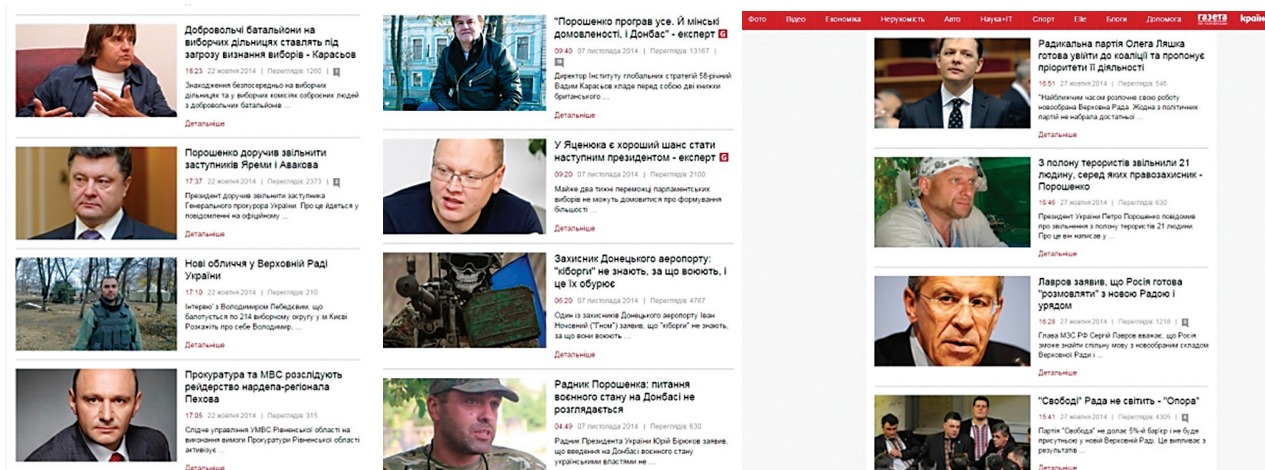


The chart at the top of the news paper is headed as «Preliminary results of the elections»

<sup>43</sup> The current mayor of the city of Lviv and founder of the political party of «Samopomich»

Overall media monitoring has led to conclude that there was no systemic discrimination against women candidates in the course of the election campaign-2014. However some discrepancies were unavoidable.

As in the past, the number of men in politics is much higher than that of women, therefore news and statements about men and their images are more frequent. Gazeta.ua is a good example, as it illustrates news items in an individual section. We mentioned this resource in 2012, as it is very indicative in terms of proving dominance of men's images:



This is true for all media. As the proportion of women is small, media outlets that cover elections inevitably show strong prevalence of men.



This does not mean that women suffered from discrimination. Whenever a female candidate made a statement, participated in the news conference, or created any other newsworthy event journalists covered this event and included her image. If it was a statement of major importance, it was placed in the headlines and large size pictures were included.



# 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

Gazeta.ua

Головна Фото Відео Економіка Нормативність Авто Наука IT Спорт Екс Блоги Додаток газети

Політика Суспільство НТ Кіно Релігія Культура Історія Мова Зірки Цікаво

**У зоні АТО близько 2 тисяч 800 заручників і зниклих безвісти — зникає**

Окремі заручники і зниклих безвісти в зоні бойових дій на Донбасі складається з 2 тис. 800 осіб. Там деякі...

**Кубок світу-2014: на землі Пеле та Роналдо**

Останні новини

- 12:16 Кабінет виділив на газети Верховної Ради додаткові 3,6 млн грн
- 12:12 На трасі Донецьк-Маріуполь взяли розвідника з жетмоном батальйону "Восток"
- 12:04 "Беніси з Донецька" намагалися, як і до катувань бойовими
- 12:00 Американці викали фото 2000-річного суперкара Nemesis
- 11:58 За місяць Севастополь залишиться без води
- 11:54 Янукович буде "Ново Мехігірі", його кришуть "Пітишні Кличка" - Черновол
- 11:53 Під Дебальцево поласав "стрілець" ДНР з російським паспортом
- 11:51 Оппозиційний блок вилгався звільнити губернатора Коломойського

На трасі Донецьк-Маріуполь взяли розвідника з жетмоном батальйону "Восток"

**Лещо заперечив свої зв'язки із Львовичем та Ахметовим**

06:21 23 жовтня 2014 | Голосівка 1807 | Деталі

Лідер Радикальної партії, народний депутат Олег Лещо заперечив, що його політична сила має є проектом змирення...

**Царев шахраював із папером для шкільних підручників — Квіт**

05:12 23 жовтня 2014 | Голосівка 3087 | Деталі

Колійний народний депутат від Партії регіонів Олег Царев шахраював на шкільних паперах для шкільних...

**"Народний фронт" запропонував створити коаліцію у наступній ВР відразу після підрахунку голосів на виборах**

03:01 23 жовтня 2014 | Голосівка 399 | Деталі

У партії "Народний фронт" заявили про необхідність створення коаліції у новій Верховній Раді та формування...

**"Батьківщина" збирається вступити у новий Раді до парламентської більшості**

01:03 23 жовтня 2014 | Голосівка 672 | Деталі

Партія "Батьківщина" у новій Верховній Раді не збирається вступити в опозицію, а має намір стати частиною...

Great example was appointment of Olena Bondarenko as the head of large Ukrainian media holding UMH on September 22, 2014. On that day all media outlets, in addition to posting this news, invited experts to comment.

**Олена Сіх - 44 роки, народний депутат України. Кандидатка №119**

Олена Сіх народилася 1970 року в місті Львові. Закінчила Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Працювала в журналістиці, викладає в Львівському національному університеті імені Івана Франка. З 2012 року народний депутат України. Кандидатка №119.

**Микола Бондар - 43 роки, народний депутат України. Кандидат №119**

Микола Бондар народився 1971 року в місті Львові. Закінчив Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Працював в журналістиці, викладає в Львівському національному університеті імені Івана Франка. З 2012 року народний депутат України. Кандидат №119.

**Ольга Сіх - 44 роки, народний депутат України. Кандидатка №119**

Ольга Сіх народилася 1970 року в місті Львові. Закінчила Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Працювала в журналістиці, викладає в Львівському національному університеті імені Івана Франка. З 2012 року народний депутат України. Кандидатка №119.

As in 2012, Ukrainian journalists in 2014 provided fair and equal coverage of activities of parliamentary candidates of both genders. One of such examples is the story about single-mandate candidates at the district No. 119 (Lviv portal, <http://portal.lviv.ua/article/2014/10/14/160605.html>). The author describes the background of each candidate only providing factual information and tells readers what each candidate is known for. It should be noted, however, that the author did not use alphabetical order, and it can be assumed that he moved from the more well known to the virtually unknown candidates. Yet, the first one in the list is a woman – Olha Sekh.

The same approach was observed in the description of candidates in the election district No. 123 <http://portal.lviv.ua/article/2014/10/16/090000.html>

**Лідія Котеляк – 51 рік, народний депутат України. Висунута партією «Народний фронт».**



Переможець виборів 2012 року добре відома на Львівщині як громадський активіст та один з лідерів партії «Батьківщина». До партії Лідія вступила у 2008 році і уже за два роки була обрана першим заступником голови Львівської обласної партійної організації.

На парламентських виборах 2012 року була обрана народним депутатом України від своєї політичної сили. У грудні 2012 року увійшла до фракції ВО «Батьківщина» у Верховній Раді та стала членом Комітету Верховної Ради з питань екологічної політики, природокористування та ліквідації наслідків Чорнобильської катастрофи.

Лідія Котеляк – голова Львівського осередку Всеукраїнської громадської організації «Жінки Батьківщини». Під її керівництвом проходять постійні благодійні акції, зустрічі з жінками; піклування та постійна допомога малозабезпеченим сім'ям, інвалідам, дітям-сиротам, ветеранам тощо; організації центрів юридичної та психологічної допомоги жінкам. Львівський осередок організації визнаний найкращим в Україні.

Цього року Лідія Котеляк створила громадську ініціативу «Матері мобілізованих», яка об'єднує матерів бійців, які захищають територіальну цілісність України і допомагає їм. Зараз організація влаштувала масштабний всенародний збір найнеобхіднішого для українських воїнів: збирає теплі речі, ліки, дощовики, гумовці та продукти харчування. При ініціативі цілодобово працює гаряча телефонна лінія, і Котеляк, гордиться тим, що туди звертаються за допомогою матері з усієї України.

Лідія Котеляк є заступником голови тимчасової слідчої комісії, що контролює використання коштів міністерством оборони, безпосередньо займається контролем благодійних коштів, що надходять на рахунки військового відомства. Сана їздила в гарячі точки. У цьому пані Лідія має й особисту мотивацію – одного з її трьох синів мобілізовано до лав збройних сил України.

Раніше Котеляк була успішним підприємцем. Після закінчення економічного факультету «Львівської політехніки» відкрила власну справу – студію звукозапису «Ліда», яка за кілька років перетворилась на солідне підприємство, лідера серед компаній у Західному регіоні України.

**Тарас Батенко – 40 років, директор філії «Магістральні нафтопроводи «Дружба» ПАТ «Укртрансгаз». Висунутий Блоком Петра Порошенка.**



Батенка можна назвати типовим, хоча й талановитим кар'єристом. Протягом багатьох років він вміло використовував політичну кон'юктуру та особисті зв'язки для підйому по щаблях владного олімпу. І це йому вдавалось доволі непогано. Наразі вершинами його кар'єри були посада заступника голови ЛОДА та нинішнє директорство у компанії магістральних нафтопроводів «Дружба». Зрозуміло, що це не є стелею для планів амбітного Батенка. Два роки тому він поставив для себе наступне завдання – народне депутатство. Тоді не вийшло. Та немає сумнівів, що цього разу Тарас підготувався значно серйозніше.

Першу спробу увійти в адміністративні структури Батенко зробив у середині 90-х років, ставши прес-секретарем голови Львівської облради Оresta Фурдичка. Однак після першої ж невдало організованої прес-конференції, Фурдичко звільнив свого недосвідченого прес-секретаря.

Після цього Батенко опиняється у колі народного депутата Тараса Стецьківа, а відтак і в провладній партії НДП. Довгий час він працював аналітиком в команді Стецьківа, пробував свої сили у журналістиці, а в 2002 році знову опиняється поблизу влади – на посаді прес-секретаря голови ЛОДА Мirona Янківца. Саме на цій посаді Батенко спричинився до серйозного скандалу – йому приписують написання на замовлення адміністрації Президента «аналітичного записку», в якій автор не лише відверто ганив національно-демократичні сили Львівщини (у тому числі, і вчорашніх соратників з команди Стецьківа), але й лаяв київський владі

Another example with peculiar stylistics can be found in a story about candidates from the election district No. 100<sup>44</sup>. This example is one more proof of the absence of sexism and discrimination of media coverage of elections-2014. The author tells about candidates and their programs and adds his own subjective, and negative at times, comments (highlighted in blue). The same stylistic approach is used for all candidates – both men and women.

## 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

In other words, the information about female candidates and the way they were portrayed were generated by the activities of the women candidates themselves. They also depended on reporters' interest towards specific personalities. The same could be observed in visual materials (banners, infographics, etc.). We did not find discrimination against women and they were not «silenced».



AN EXAMPLE OF GENDER-BALANCED APPROACH IN THE UKRAINIAN MEDIA.

IMAGES OF WOMEN AND MEN WERE SIMILAR IN SIZE, STYLE AND ARRANGEMENT.

Even when publishing or posting negative information, images were not condescending towards female candidates. Journalists offered information as a set of facts.



SUCH PHOTOS APPEARED IN THE WEB WHEN THE CANDIDATE OKSANA KALETNYK BECAME A SUSPECT IN A SEPARATISM CASE.

One blatantly sexist image was discovered after the elections. Reporting on the results of a recent news conference, a reporter from the «Express» newspaper added a sexist (in our opinion) photo, where a woman was caught on camera sitting in an awkward pose.

<http://expres.ua/news/2014/10/29/117844-stalo-vidomo-yakiy-oblasti-naybilshe-zhinok-politykiv>



**Експрес** ONLINE  
07/44/39

ГОЛОВНА НОВИНИ СПЕЦТЕМИ СВІТОВІ НОВИНИ ЛЬВІВСЬКІ НОВИНИ ЦІКАВО СПОРТ ТЕХНОЛОГІЇ АВТО РЕКЛАМА ПИШІТЬ

**Умер ли Христос?**  
Исследователи изучают факты  
обнаружить факты  
Y-Jesus.org/Russian

**Новини**  
30 Жовтня 2014

07:27 На Україну насувається сильний туман!  
07:07 Кремлівській хунті пропонують нанести Заходу "вражачий удар"  
06:42 Знаменита українська кіноактриса про візит Кобзона: "...твою мати!"  
06:14 До Криму масово переїжджають азербайджанці, вірмени, молдаване, візанти-ФМС  
06:42 Ватажок "ДНР" не може жити в Україні, бо та вбивала його бандитів

**Оновлені тарифи Київенерго**  
Про те як порівнювати оплату на гарячу воду та опалення на офіційному сайті

Політика » Новини  
**Стало відомо, у якій області найбільше жінок-політиків**  
29.10.2014 18:24

У Луганській області зафіксовано найбільше жінок-кандидаток на виборах до Верховної Ради восьмого скликання. Про це під час прес-конференції в Укрінформі повідомила представник ГО "Коло" Світлана Гаращенко.

"Якщо говорити в кількісних показниках лідерів серед областей, то на першому місці по кількості жінок-кандидаток була саме Луганська область. Тут було висунуто 62 жінки-кандидатки, з яких дві було висунуто політичними партіями. Зокрема, більшість із них є самовисуванцями", - сказала Гаращенко.

За її словами, наступною за кількістю жінок, які балотувалися в Раду, є Одеська область. "Там було 54 жінки-кандидатки, однак з них політичними партіями було висунуто лише 9 кандидаток, всі інші - це жінки-самовисуванці", - зазначила вона.

У Донецькій області зафіксовано 44 кандидатки, із них 8 було висунуто політичними партіями. Крім того, експерт зазначила, що були такі

**ТОП ТЕМИ**  
Як діяти Путін після тесного ультиматуму Заходу?  
21995  
Блок Порошенка вже назвав Яценюку "ціну" нового прем'єрства  
21675  
Головного "кізяка Новоросії" чекає операція зі збільшення грудні  
21009  
Потрапивши у під'їзд у засідку із чотирьох, Кличко не відмовився від тренування  
16394  
Безлер визнає Донецьк Україною, бо з "ДНР" йому не по дорозі - Тарута  
15419

**Рейтинг**  
lamoda

## ONE OF UNDENIABLY POSITIVE TRENDS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN 2014 IS THAT WOMEN BECAME MORE VISIBLE.

One of the problems that women candidates faced during the campaign of 2012 was their invisibility. In addition to rare coverage and few mentions in media we observed the lack of the images of women on adds and other promotional materials about them.

The situation during the election campaign in 2014 was absolutely different. Almost all publications included pictures of women. Young female politicians actively used social networks for self-presentation. By making the news, they informed the public about their work and actively used photographs in their campaign. This is evidence that realizing the importance of media, women were more keen to cooperate with media outlets as opposed to two years ago, when women shied away from media.



20 Дніпропетровськ | РЕДКА ОЛЕКСАНДР ОЛЕГОВИЧ  
04 Житомир | КІЗЛОК МИХАЙЛО ВОЛОДИМИРОВИЧ  
08 Ужгород | ПЕРЕСОЛЯК ОЛЕКСАНДР СЕРГІЙОВИЧ  
96 Вінниця | МІНІН ОЛЕНА ОЛЕКСАНДРІВНА  
127 Миколаїв | ЗАХАРЕНКО ЯРОСЛАВ ОЛЕКСАНДРОВИЧ  
170 Харків | САВИНСЬКА НАДІЯ ОЛЕКСАНДРІВНА  
205 Чернігів | АНДРИЙЧЕНКО ІГОР ВОЛОДИМИРОВИЧ  
215 Київ | ВАСИЛЬЧУК ВАДИМ ВАСИЛЬОВИЧ  
218 Київ | МИХАЙЛОВ РОМАН ВОЛОДИМИРОВИЧ  
221 Київ | МАРЦЕНЮК ОЛЕКСІЙ ЄРАЗМОВИЧ  
223 Київ | ОМЕЛЬЯНЧУК ОЛЕКСІЙ ВОЛОДИМИРОВИЧ

**ДЕМОКРАТИЧНИЙ Альянс** **ГРОМАДЯНСЬКА ПОЗИЦІЯ**  
АНАТОЛІЙ ГРИЦЕНКО

ДЕМОКРАТИЧНИЙ Альянс ЙДЕ ДО ПАРЛАМЕНТУ  
СПІЛЬНО З ГРОМАДЯНСЬКОЮ ПОЗИЦІЄЮ **27**

#ВЕРХОВНАРАДАНАША

ONE OF EXAMPLES OF CANDIDATES' ADVERTISEMENT

### OBSERVATIONS REGARDING NEGATIVE MEDIA IN THE COURSE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN-2014

We found several publications which can be classified as sexist or discriminatory. They can be divided into two categories: «beauty pageants» and «pictures of nude candidates».

In the course of the campaign readers could find several publications with the photographs of nude or semi-nude female candidates, as well as candidates in provocative postures. The newspaper «Segodnya» (Today) even made a rating of the most provocative candidates: [http://www.segodnya.ua/elections/vybory\\_2014/top-5-samyh-otkrovennyh-kandidatok-v-verhovnuyu-radu-foto-562795.html](http://www.segodnya.ua/elections/vybory_2014/top-5-samyh-otkrovennyh-kandidatok-v-verhovnuyu-radu-foto-562795.html).

This was also common in the following outlets:

<http://tabloid.pravda.com.ua/photos/54340b29622b2/>

<http://real-vin.com/5-23>

[http://visty.in.ua/news/gossip/news\\_4834/](http://visty.in.ua/news/gossip/news_4834/)

<http://vshoke.net/?p=7421>

It should be noted that journalists found the photos which were available on the personal social media pages of the candidates.

We believe that the issue identified was not sexist attitudes of media, but the fact that many parliamentary candidates did not understand the importance of personal reputation. This issue most probably will disappear with the maturing of the political culture of the Ukrainian society.

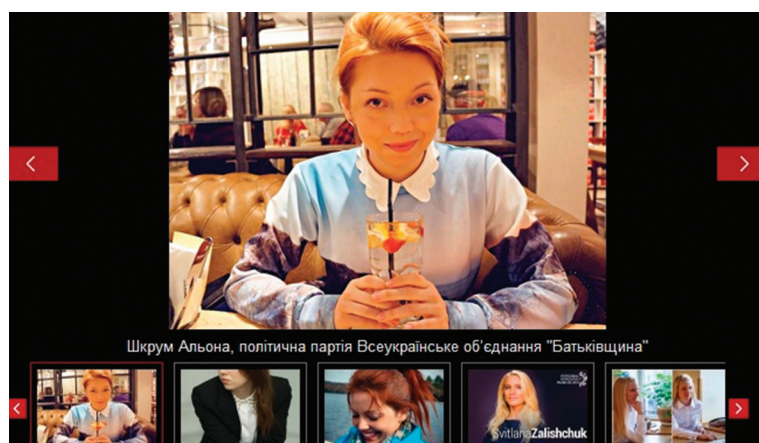
On the other hand, the situation is different with the «beauty pageants» that were published in the course of the campaign and following the elections. Here we observe sexism by either a publication or the author of an article.

One should remember that publications in Ukrainian media (especially online) may serve as concealed advertisement without proper identification as one. In this case it is difficult to determine whether the author used sexism consciously, was it poor campaigning. For example, the «Top-5 of the most beautiful single-mandate candidates» (<http://ukr.segodnya.ua/politics/society/top-5-samyh-krasivyh-kandidatok-v-narodnye-deputaty-po-mazhoritarke-562593.html>) can be considered a concealed advertisement, or an example of poor promotion. Still, we have to emphasize that materials balancing between sexism or even indecency are typical for the yellow press. We should also note that the regional online media happily re-posts such «sensational» materials: <http://transkarpatia.net/transcarpathia/social/38597-zakarpatska-nkoletta-sabov-v-top-5-naykrasivshih-kandidatok-v-deputati.html>

Another «beauty contest» appeared after elections involving newly elected members of parliament:

[http://gazeta.ua/articles/politics/\\_skladeno-rejting-top20-najkrasivishih-deputatok-novoyi-verhovnoyi-radi/590203](http://gazeta.ua/articles/politics/_skladeno-rejting-top20-najkrasivishih-deputatok-novoyi-verhovnoyi-radi/590203)





It is quite revealing that the authors' statement is sexist: «Who will beautify our parliament from now on? See our gallery». It should not be surprising that this online resource, while mentioning political affiliation of these MPs, does not provide any information about their public or political activities.

In conclusion, some of the Ukrainian media will continue publishing sexist materials, which encourage the public to treat women only for their appearance rather than their achievements

### COMPARATIVE ASPECTS OF GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

*«Gender monitoring of parliamentary elections-2014 is not only the diagnosis of the election process in terms of equal rights and opportunities for women and men to access representative bodies of power, but also a method for creating positive public opinion about the need to further strengthen women's presence in the halls of decision making».*

Oksana Yarosh, Project expert

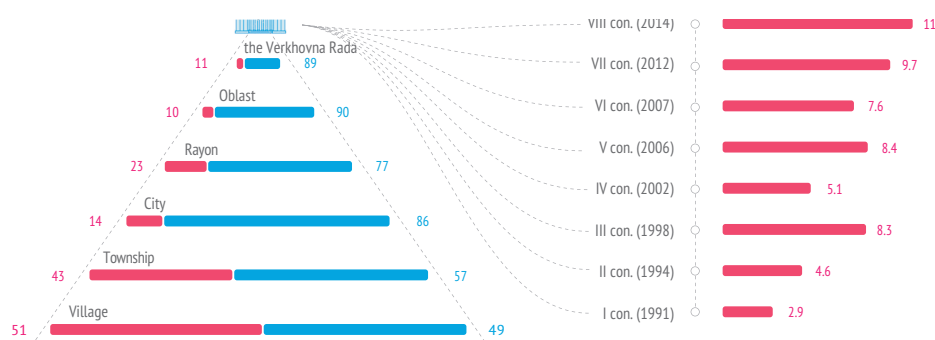
The goal of gender monitoring of elections is to identify opportunities, obstacles, participation and access of women to the national parliament. Quantitative representation of women in the parliament is one of the criteria of democracy in a country. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Ukraine is ranked 56th in the world by the Gender Gap Index, and 105th – by the political empowerment of women. Ukraine's Gender Gap Index by political empowerment scored only 0.101 (where 0 = inequality, and 1 = full equality). Among 142 countries with women in the national parliaments, Ukraine is ranked 118th.

### Ukraine



Ukraine is the country with political inequality of women and men. Representation of women in the Verkhovna Rada determines Ukraine as a country with high gender disproportion – the higher is the level of power, the more difficult it gets for women to reach this level. If village and township councils are gender balanced, then the parliament resembles a «barrier» for women.

Charts 9 and 10



As stated earlier, a gender-balanced parliament is not only part of national commitments of Ukraine, it is also a norm in domestic legislation. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine Resolution No. 717 September 26, 2013 approved the new State Program aiming to ensure equal rights and opportunities for women and men by 2016; its goal is to mainstream gender approaches in all spheres of the society. Program objectives include amendments to electoral legislation. These are gender quotas for representative bodies; for senior administrative positions in the central and local executive bodies. Amendments also deal with how gender should be included in public information campaigns involving mass media, cultural establishments and educational facilities to overcome stereotypes about the roles of women and men in the society.

Ukraine works its way towards establishing and developing a true democracy. Orange Revolution, Euromaidan, the Revolution of Dignity and other manifestations of citizen activity are the evidence of the society's demand for systemic change. Early parliamentary elections of October 26, 2014 were driven by the need to revamp Ukrainian parliament as a representative and legislative body, since elections are the only democratic means to change political elites. For the first time in Ukraine's recent history, elections were held in conditions where large territories of the country – Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts – remained outside the control of the national government.

Attempts to change the electoral system have failed, therefore the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of 8th convocation was elected using the old system: voters elected 225 deputies on the proportional representation system, and 213 deputies from single-mandate constituencies (12 mandates reserved for Crimea, where elections could not be held, should be subtracted from 225).

Parliament is a representative government body, which should reflect the entire society; therefore, the proportion of women in parliament is a sign of its democratic nature. Women make up 53 per cent of Ukraine's population and 55 per cent of all voters. For the first time ever the representation of women in the Ukrainian parliament reached 11 per cent. This number increased by only 6 from the previous parliamentary term (there were 44 women in the Verkhovna Rada in 2012, and 50 in 2014). **Interests of 55 per cent of female voters are represented by only 50 women parliamentarians in the Verkhovna Rada of the 8th convocation, or 11 per cent.** Early elections of 2014 marked some progress towards higher representation of women, but 11 per cent is hardly a democratic indication of equal rights and opportunities of women in Ukraine.

Table 7

#### REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE VERKHOVNA RADA OF UKRAINE (I–VIII CONVOCATIONS)

M – majority system; P – proportional system; M/P – majority-proportional (mixed) system

	I con. (1991)	II con. (1994)	III con. (1998)	IV con. (2002)	V con. (2006)	VI con. (2007)	VII con. (2012)	VIII con. (2014)
Type of electoral system	M	M	M/P	M/P	P	P	M	M/P
No. of MPs	445	413	448	450	450	450	450	423
No. of men	432	396	412	426	411	418	405	376
No. of women	13	19	37	23	38	32	44	50
% of women	2,9	4,6	8,3	5,1	8,4	7,6	9,7	11

## 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

Because the electoral process did not change from the one used in 2012 except for the 30 per cent quota requirement, it enabled comparisons.

Table 8

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

Parliamentary elections	2012	2014
Number of candidates on the party lists	2,643	3,128
The proportion of female candidates from political parties	20%	25.7%
The number of candidates in single-mandate constituencies	3,130	3,322
The proportion of female candidates in single-mandate constituencies	13%	15%
The proportion of women – members of district commissions	56%	54%
The proportion of women – members of CEC (15)	4	5

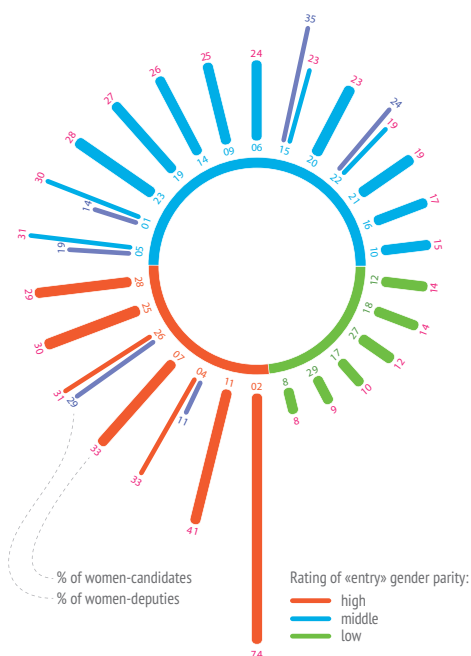
Parliamentary elections on October 26, 2014 were the first to be held under new legal provision regarding gender quotas, which has entered into force on February 1, 2014. The «On Political Parties in Ukraine» (Article 8, para. 10) determines that women should make at least 30 percent on a national party list. However, the number of women in 20 out of 29 party lists formally submitted to the Central Election Committee was far below quotas established by the law.

The Law on Political Parties in Ukraine (art.8, para.10)  
provides that representation of women or men  
on the list of candidates of political party at parliamentary elections



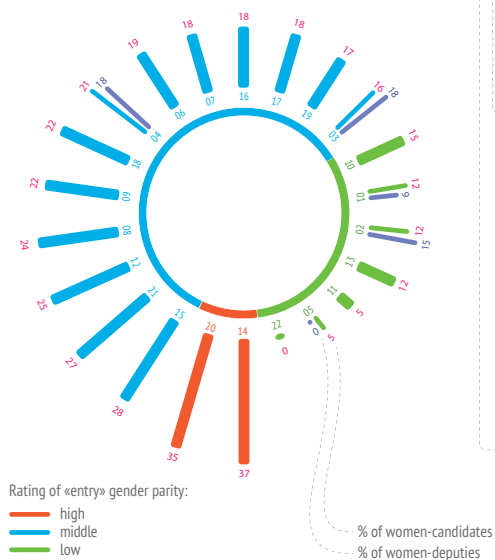
shall not be less than

## Gender parity of the election lists Parliamentary Elections 2014



- 01 Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party
- 02 Party «Solidarnist zhynok Ukrainy» (Solidarity of Women of Ukraine)
- 03 Political Party «Internet-party of Ukraine»
- 04 Political Party «The Opposition Bloc»
- 05 Political Party «Narodnyi Front» (People's Front)
- 06 Political Party «S.10»
- 07 Political Party «All-Ukrainian Agrarian Union 'ZASTUP» (Spade)
- 08 Party «Vidrodzhenya» (Revival)
- 09 Political Party «Nova Polityka» (New Policy)
- 10 Political Party «Yedyna Krayina» (United Country)
- 11 Political Party «Syla Liudey» (Power of people)
- 12 Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union 'Svoboda» (Freedom)
- 13 The National Democratic Party of Ukraine
- 14 The Communist Party of Ukraine
- 15 Political Party «SAMOPOMICH Union» (Self-help)
- 16 Political Party «All-Ukrainian political union «Ukrayina – YedynaKrayina» (Ukraine is united country)
- 17 Political Party «Pravyy Sektor» (Right sector)
- 18 Political Party «Ukrayina maibutnuoh» (Ukraine of the future)
- 19 Liberal Party of Ukraine
- 20 Party of Greens of Ukraine
- 21 Ukrainian Party «Zelena Planeta» (Green Planet)
- 22 Political Party «Petro Poroshenko's Bloc»
- 23 Political party «Syla i Chest» (Power and Honor)
- 24 Political Party «Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists»
- 25 Serhiy Tihipko's Party «Sylva Ukrainy» (Strong Ukraine)
- 26 Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna» (Fatherland)
- 27 Political Party «Hromadyanska Pozytyiya (Civic Stance) of A. Hrytsenko»
- 28 Political Party «Blok Livykh Syl» (Bloc of Leftist Forces)
- 29 Political Party «Hromadyanskyyi Rukh Ukrainy» (Citizen movement of Ukraine)

## Gender parity of the election lists Parliamentary Elections 2012



- 01 Party of Regions
- 02 Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna» (Fatherland)
- 03 Political party «UDAR of Vitaliy Klichko»
- 04 The Communist Party of Ukraine
- 05 Political Party «All-Ukrainian Union 'Svoboda» (Freedom)
- 06 Social Party of Ukraine
- 07 Party of Political Union «Ridna Vitchyzna»
- 08 Party «Ruskiy Blok» (Russian Block)
- 09 Party of Natalia Korolevska «Ukraina Vpered!»
- 10 Political Party of All-Ukrainian Union «Hromada» (Community)
- 11 Political Party of Ukrainian National Assembly
- 12 Liberal Party of Ukraine
- 13 Political Party «Nova Politika» (New Politics)
- 14 Ukrainian Party «Zelena Planeta» (Green Planet)
- 15 Party of the Retired of Ukraine
- 16 Party «Nasha Ukraina» (Our Ukraine)
- 17 Party of «Green»
- 18 Party of Greens of Ukraine
- 19 Political Party «Ukrayina maibutnuoh» (Ukraine of the future)
- 20 Political Party «People's Labour Union of Ukraine»
- 21 Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party
- 22 Political Party of Ukrainian Platform «Sobor»

In 2014, political parties increased the representation of women in their party lists as compared to 2012. Seven out of 29 parties had a 30 percent representation of women on their party lists, which accounted for a better gender parity. For reference: in 2012 only two of 22 parties had similar percentage. Regardless of the fact that parties failed to comply with this norm, the growth in female representation can be attributed to gender quotas introduced by law (from February 1, 2014 through the Law of Ukraine No. 709-VII «On Amending Some Legal Acts of Ukraine to Improve Electoral Legislation» as of November 21, 2013). Also the gradual increase in the role of women in the political life was an influential factor in the development of the Ukrainian society's political culture, in which women are perceived as political players.

The criterion of «entry gender parity»<sup>45</sup> provides women with opportunities to be elected to the Verkhovna Rada through party lists. The analysis of gender parity on the political party lists or the percentage of women on the lists of 26 parties is presented below. The remaining three political parties out of 29 nominated less than 20 candidates. These include the Internet Party of Ukraine (17 candidates), the National Democratic Party of Ukraine (14 candidates), and the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (4 candidates). For the gender parity on the political party lists we use the following distribution: low, middle and high. High represents 30 per cent or higher, as these parties comply with the quota law. Only 7 political parties were able to achieve 30 % representation of women.

### GENDER PARITY OF THE ELECTION LISTS-2014 AMONG 26 POLITICAL PARTIES:

**Low (0% to 14%) – 6 parties;**

**Middle (15% to 29%) – 13 parties;**

**High (30% and higher) – 7 parties.**

The picture is different when the ability of a female candidate to be placed on the list is considered. Now let us consider realistic probability of female candidates in the list to enter the Parliament (the top twenty).

### RATING OF «ENTRY» GENDER PARITY:

**Low (0 to 14) – 11 parties;**

**Middle (15 to 29) – 11 parties;**

**High (30 and higher) – 4 parties.**

Realistic opportunities for women to enter the parliament depend on their placement (spot) in the top twenty of their respective party lists, rather than on the number of women on the party lists. We should note that gender parity of party lists in 2014 elections was higher than «entry» parity.

Increasing numbers of candidates who participated in the last year's elections as compared to the previous ones is the evidence that many individuals took a chance to run to secure the immunity provided to the elected officials. Independent observers recorded violations, including vote buying and bribery. Some female candidates were also among the violators. Regardless, the elections were recognized as democratic.

---

<sup>45</sup> Probability of a woman candidate on the lists of political parties to enter the Parliament.

While analyzing women's access to electoral processes, we should also keep in mind financial factors. A party preparing the list of its candidates in the national multi-mandate constituency has to transfer monetary deposit to the special bank accounts of CEC in the amount of one thousand minimum wages, or UAH 1,218,000.00. Prior to the submission of relevant registration documents to the Central Election Commission. A party which nominates a candidate in a single-mandate constituency or a self-nominated candidate from such constituency also has to transfer a deposit to CEC prior to registration and the election process itself in the amount of only ten minimum wages, or UAH 12,180.00. There are more than 200 political parties registered in Ukraine, but only 29 submitted party lists in the national multi-mandate constituency. In other words, financial factor is another barrier to developing high quality party list, which is also a barrier for women.

Another important issue is the competence of potential candidates, as it is one of indicators of the quality of laws that will be passed. Among women parliamentarians in the Verkhovna Rada of 8th convocation there are many professionals and activists, therefore we believe they can change stereotypes and negative attitudes towards female politicians by becoming effective lawmakers. For the first time in history of Ukrainian Parliament we have a woman Deputy Speaker – Oksana Syroyid.

Parliamentary elections-2014 demonstrated small but tangible progress towards greater participation of women in the election processes.

### GENDER ASSESSMENT OF PROGRAMS AND PLATFORMS OF POLITICAL PARTIES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS 2012 – 2014

While assessing political party programs in 2012, the project expert Marfa Skoryk studied gender profiles of several parties: the Party of Regions, All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna», the UDAR party, the Communist Party of Ukraine, and All-Ukrainian Union «Svoboda». The human rights rhetoric in general and gender equality issues in particular were hardly a priority during the previous elections. Such important components as the political representation of women as well as anti domestic violence and human trafficking programs, which have been identified as priority areas of the state-wide policy were not included in the party platforms, ideologies, or programs. In addition, Skoryk identified some symptoms of authoritarianism, which contrasts with the basic European values – freedom of choice, freedom of speech, the protection of rights and tolerance towards minorities. Yet she was not alarmed, as these were rare occurrences rather than common trends.

The situation has changed in 2014. Experts hoped that Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity would impact the election programs of political parties in terms of equal opportunities for women and men. Earlier in this report Ms. Skoryk noted: «one of the major trends of this year's elections was gradual «migration» of equality issues from the sphere of rhetoric, used in election campaigns and programs, to the policy action domain». She added that gender equality is luxury that only well-known and respected parties can afford. Despite this, another important trend that was observed during elections-2014 was a stronger inclusion of gender-related indicators in the programs and platforms, developed by old, traditional and dominating, or simply large and strong political unions (and their satellites), as compared to new and/or marginal parties. A similar trend was observed in the analysis of party programs during parliamentary elections in 2012. At that time it was also obvious that «programs of such parties contain plentiful and diverse provisions, relevant to gender equality issues». During elections-2014 we witnessed shifting the stress in understanding of equality – from focusing on social protection issues towards the problems of equality in political representation, safety and countering armed violence, which is logical in a country at war.

The Maximum value of cumulative indicator of gender assessment of political parties (GAPP), which is the highest in less than popular Liberal Party of Ukraine, barely reaches 25 per cent of the maximum possible score. Leaders of parliamentary elections with relatively high scores of GAPP include «SAMOPOMICH Union» (scored 23 per cent of 100). Oleksandr Solontay, the leader of political party «Syla Liudey» (Power of People), was genuinely interested in the issues of gender equality and contributed to organization of a number of relevant thematic inner-party events, and helped his party to reach 21 per cent of GAPP. Another leader in this regard is Anatolii Hrytsenko's «Hromadyanska Pozytysiya» (Civic Stance), which included many representatives from the Democratic Alliance Party. The latter held serious discussions on human rights issues and women's representation in politics, which helped the entire political union to score 20 per cent of GAPP. Assessment of Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party demonstrated the same result (20 per cent).



Results of gender assessments of all parliamentary parties show that they are ready to address gender issues in the chamber of the Ukrainian parliament. However, comprehensive indicator suggests that no groundbreaking legislative initiatives should be expected in the area of human trafficking prevention or the improvement of conditions for women in rural areas. Yet it is quite possible that parliamentarians will discuss gender-sensitive economic policy. The real concern is that parties tend to neglect the implementation of their election programs after winning elections. Moreover, in today's Rada, the political parties are more focused to preserve the current ruling coalition, thus the focus is less on election program implementation and more on the implementation of the political compromises that have been achieved.

## GENDER MONITORING OF FEMALE CANDIDATES IN SINGLE-MANDATE CONSTITUENCIES: COMPARATIVE ASPECT

Expert Svitlana Harashchenko calculated gender correlation between parliamentary candidates during elections-2014: 2,766 men and only 445 women (the ratio of 6 to 1). Similarly, the ratio of candidates, nominated by political parties is 7 to 1, and of self-nominated candidates – 5 to 1. In other words, the number of self-nominated women – candidates significantly exceeded the number of those nominated by political parties.

Leadership in terms of representation of female candidates in 2014 belongs to the Luhansk, Odessa and Kyiv oblasts. Such leaders in 2012 included Kyiv and Chernihiv oblasts and Autonomous Republic of Crimea (which did not hold elections in 2014 because of its illegal annexation by Russia).

As in 2012, this year there were several election districts in Ukraine with no female candidates at all. For example, political parties in the Zakarpatya oblast did not nominate any women to participate in the parliamentary elections. Only 4 self-nominated women tried to win seats in the parliament from this region. In 2012 this region was also among outsiders, nominating the fewest number of women (only 3 per cent). Similarly, the Rivne oblast did not have any female candidates in 2012, but during elections-2014 five districts of this region (single-mandate districts 152 through 156) had registered 10 women candidates.

**AGE.** Average age of a female candidate to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine from single mandate constituencies was 42 years. The youngest candidate was 21, and the oldest – 70 years of age. As for elections-2012, the average age of women candidates was 41 years. Similarly, the youngest candidate was 21, and the oldest – 75 years.

**EDUCATION.** The majority of candidates have university degree, but during the elections-2014 about 10.5 per cent of women had secondary or vocation training education. This number exceeds figures of the previous elections to the Verkhovna Rada (2012).

**PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATION.** The most popular status among female candidates included «unemployed», «manager» or «employee in a business enterprise»; «entrepreneur» and «government official» have more or less similar representation. The least represented are «students» and «women who were serving in the armed forces»: women of such professions did not run for the parliament before.

**ELECTION PROGRAMS OF FEMALE SINGLE MANDATE CANDIDATES.** For this analysis we used election programs of candidates that ran for parliament in the regions with the highest numbers of female candidates: Luhansk, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv and Odessa oblasts. Special attention was given to programs of self-nominated candidates.

According to expert Svitlana Harashchenko, female candidates' programs focus primarily on issues that are common for the entire Ukrainian society: lustration, economic development, social protection of disadvantaged populations, education and healthcare. Supporting the army and restoring peace are also present in the majority of election programs. Key areas of interest in the candidates' programs also include children, youth and other vulnerable populations. Analysis of programs reveals the diversity of interests of women candidates, and their deep understanding of problems affecting the country. Still, female candidates tend to focus on social and economic protection of different population groups, on childcare, and on supporting Ukrainian armed forces that defend peace in the country. In contrast with elections in 2012, programs presented by female candidates in 2014, are more mature in terms of defending women's interests, seeking to increase representation of women in the parliament. This was virtually inexistent during past elections.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Women's Consortium of Ukraine and Women's Democracy Network Ukraine Country Chapter carried out the first gender monitoring of parliamentary elections in 2012. At that time we made several concerning conclusions: the top tier of the party lists included few women, and female candidates lacked resources to effectively work in the single mandate constituencies. The experts also pointed to such issues frequent cases of sexism and the fact that women candidates did not demonstrate support to gender issues in their campaigns. We concluded that the most effective way to increase the number of women in elected bodies was through the introduction of gender quotas.

Gender quotas were introduced for the parliamentary elections in 2014. However, the implementation was unsystematic. The reason is that currently it is only included in the Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties», but absent from another important law – «On Election of the People's Deputies of Ukraine». Social values and traditions change slowly, but legal regulations are important as the laws are binding for all.

Political parties increased representation of women in their party lists as compared to 2012. Parliamentary elections-2014 demonstrated small but tangible progress towards greater participation of women in the election processes. Seven out of 29 parties participating in the elections-2014 had 30 percent representation of women on their party lists, which showed better gender parity than in 2012 where only two of 22 parties had 30 percent representation.

Participation of women in 2014 elections has somewhat increased: female candidates on the party lists increased by 5 per cent; women candidates in the single mandate constituencies increased by 2 per cent. The total percentage increase of female candidates in 2014 elections was 4 per cent. The mixed electoral system, with the existence of single mandate districts does not contribute to women's representation in politics, as only two female candidates were able to win in their respective single mandate constituencies in 2014. A more favorable electoral system to women's representation would combine proportional representation system and legally established party lists quotas.

Results of gender assessment of all parliamentary parties reveal that they are ready to address gender issues in the chamber of the Ukrainian parliament, even though it does not refer to all spheres of social life.

Gender correlation between parliamentary candidates during elections-2014 in single-mandate constituencies was approximately 6 to 1. Analysis of programs reveals the diversity of interests of women candidates, and their in-depth understanding of problems affecting the country. In contrast with elections in 2012, programs presented by female candidates in 2014, are more mature in terms of defending women's interests, seeking to increase representation of women in the parliament. This was virtually inexistent during past elections.

## 2 GENDER MONITORING OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2012 AND 2014

Gender monitoring of mass media in the course of the election campaign gives grounds for the following conclusions.

- Ukrainian women politicians are more open than in 2012 to the cooperation with the media and are building skills to do so.
- Ukrainian media, while generally maintaining gender-balanced approach, sometimes comes close to such red lines as sexism and discrimination. This demonstrates the need for more awareness raising. It can be assumed that similar issues will be eliminated with the development of the political culture in Ukraine.

The more active women enter the political domain of Ukraine, the fewer manifestations of sexism and discrimination will appear in the mass media. The increased numbers of female politicians have the power to eventually change the public perception of women in decision making.

The new parliament would benefit from having an oversight of an educated and responsible constituent. However, today the Ukrainian voters tend to neglect the fact that parliamentarians are lawmaker, rather than philanthropists, investors or simply a «nice guys».

We believe the fact that more non-governmental organizations focusing on gender equality were involved in election monitoring, is a major achievement. Increased presence of women in the election process is one demonstration of the country's democratic development. However, NGO who have drafted election monitoring reports, note that women in political party structures continue to be discriminated as usually they are asked to work in the party offices as staff and are generally excluded from full-fledged participants in politics. In recent years, the leadership of women and their role in social and political processes has mainstreamed into public discussions. The increased visibility of women in social and political life, will cause parties to reckon with the public opinion, which demands increased women's representation.

We should emphasize the important role of international observers in promoting the democratic election process in 2014. International observers emphasized the issue of women's participation in the elections as an important component of the democratic process in their meetings with regional and national public figures and activists, political parties and female candidates. We believe that this will eventually affect public opinion and influence the political will of the party leaders.

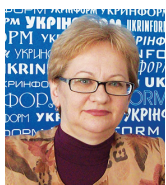
## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Ensure the implementation of existing legislation
- Continue to raise awareness of the public of the importance of women's representation in decision making. NGOs and gender experts play a big role here.
- Continue the practice of gender monitoring and analysis of elections in order to determine causes of the lack of gender parity in the election campaigns and aiming to further strengthen women's representation in decision making
- Introduce the practice of monitoring the implementation of the party platforms and the programs by individual female candidates', especially focusing on the protection of human rights and attainment of gender equality
- Continue cooperation and establish effective communication with political parties that share the values of human rights and freedoms, justice and democracy.
- Maintain contacts and cooperation with newly elected female members of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, parliamentary group «Equal Opportunities» with the membership from different political factions and identify women who are potential future candidates to continue building Ukraine's democratic society
- Amend the legislation on Introduce gender quotas, particularly the Law of Ukraine «On Election of the People's Deputies of Ukraine», etc.
- Raise awareness and thus increase public pressure for political party elites to adopt the Elections Code. Today, the lack of equal participation of women in the elections is directly linked to the current level of democracy, election laws and procedures
- Ensure the implementation of election laws. For example, refuse the registration of parties if gender quota requirements are not fulfilled
- Strengthen the legal provision on the 30-percent gender quotas, particularly by adding such wording as «...among every ten candidates on the party's election list»
- Establish a set of gender quotas in case of changes of electoral system to make them applicable in all types of electoral systems
- Ensure the availability of gender-disaggregated information at all levels of governance (This is especially important in the reports of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine)
- Ensure gender parity in the Central, territorial and district election commissions
- Demand that legal requirements of ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women and men are observed by all parties/organizations involved in election processes and referendums
- To promote active women's participation in political process through education and public information campaigns.

## AUTHORS AND EXPERTS



**Maria Alekseyenko**, Chairwoman of Women's Consortium of Ukraine; author and coordinator of multiple advocacy, educational, awareness-raising and humanitarian initiatives, aimed at strengthening political activity of women, protecting and promoting equal rights and opportunities of women, preventing violence against women and children, and countering human trafficking. Team leader of projects on gender monitoring of parliamentary elections in 2012 and 2014.



**Larysa Magdyuk**, Coordinator of the initiative «Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections-2014»; the head of independent analytical studio «Yadro» (Core); expert-analyst of international projects of OSCE, USAID, UNW, UNDP, UNFPA, DFAIT/CIDA, GIZ, Sida, SDC, and many others.



**Oksana Yarosh**, Ph.D. in political science, Professor of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the Eastern European National University named after Lesya Ukrayinka; Director of Volyn oblast NGO «Gender Center»; author of multiple studies and publications on gender equality; member of the board of Women's Consortium of Ukraine.



**Svitlana Harashchenko**, expert, consultant-coordinator and trainer for national and international projects on gender integration, gender-sensitive budgeting, political and social leadership of women and project management with Sida, OSCE and Friedrich Ebert Foundation; expert-analyst of Women's Consortium of Ukraine.



**Vira Karaycheva**, journalist, media expert of Women's Consortium of Ukraine, expert of the «Gender Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections-2014» project, author of the series of films «Women in Politics».



**Marfa Skoryk**, expert of the Kyiv Institute for Gender Studies, PhD. author of multiple studies and publications on the issues of gender policies and women's involvement in politics, expert-analyst of Women's Consortium of Ukraine, member of the network «Gender Strategic Platform».



**Yevhenia Slyozka**, sociologist and human rights activist working in the area of gender analysis and gender integration, participant of special trainings organized by the Council of Europe and Amnesty International, trainer on gender issues, NGO assessment, and strategic evaluation of Amnesty International (2010), sociologist with Women's Consortium of Ukraine.

## PROJECT RESOURCES

- Specialized WCU website: <http://vybory2014.wcu-network.org.ua/party>
- WCU's Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalwomen/>
- Radio «Svoboda» website: <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/26715112.html>
- Website of the news agency «UkrInform»: [www.ukrinform.ua](http://www.ukrinform.ua)
- Zaporizhya newspaper «Verge»: <http://verge.zp.ua/2014/12/>
- Zaporizhya TV channel «Alex-TV»: <http://alextv.zp.ua/alextv/news/inform/18112-gendernyj-monitoring.html>
- UkrInform website (information about the press conference on October 7, 2014): <http://www.ukrinform.ua/ukr/news/1978084>
- UkrInform website (information about the press conference on October 29, 2014): <http://www.ukrinform.ua/ukr/news/1985530>
- The list of People's Deputies of Ukraine (as of October 22, 2014): [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_deputat\\_list](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_deputat_list)
- Information about parliamentary committees (as of December 12, 2014): [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_komitis](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_komitis)
- The Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine», Document No. 2365-14, current version of October 26, 2014; basis 1697-18: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14/>
- The Law of Ukraine «On Amending Some Legal Acts of Ukraine to Improve Electoral Legislation»: <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/709-18>
- The Law of Ukraine «On Election of the People's Deputies of Ukraine»: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/4061-17>
- Article «Representation of women in the parliament increased by less than 1.5%. What has led to this result» (October 30, 2014): <http://povaha.org.ua/predstavnytstvo-zhinok-u-parlamenti-zroslo-mensh-nizh-na-15-scho-vplynulo-na-tsej-rezultat/>
- Web image of information and analytical system «Early Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine - 2014»: [http://www.cvk.gov.ua/vnd\\_2014/](http://www.cvk.gov.ua/vnd_2014/)
- Official site of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine: [http://zik.ua/ua/news/2014/09/17/meshkantsi\\_tymchasovo\\_okupovanyh\\_terytoriy\\_mozhut\\_progolosuvaty\\_budde\\_v\\_ukrainy\\_yurysty\\_524106](http://zik.ua/ua/news/2014/09/17/meshkantsi_tymchasovo_okupovanyh_terytoriy_mozhut_progolosuvaty_budde_v_ukrainy_yurysty_524106)
- News portal «Ukraine without corruption» (October 29, 2014): <http://www.corruption.net/index.php/component/k2/item/6928-prychyny-nyzkoi-aktyvnosti-vybortsiv-na-vyborakh-26-zhovtnia-2014-roku-ta-riven-lehitymnosti-novoobranaykh-sluh-narodu>
- Website of the Democratic Initiatives Foundation: <http://www.dif-exitpoll.org.ua/ua/novini/1311.htm>
- Lviv portal (October 14, 2014): <http://portal.lviv.ua/article/2014/10/14/160605.html>

- News portal «Gre4ka»: <http://gre4ka.info/polityka/13772-shcho-obitsiaiut-kandydaty-v-nardepy-po-100-okruhu-vybortsiam-chastyna-persha>; <http://gre4ka.info/polityka/13821-shcho-obitsiaiut-kandydaty-v-nardepy-po-100-okruhu-vybortsiam-chastyna-druha>
- Online Express: <http://expres.ua/news/2014/10/29/117844-stalo-vidomo-yakiy-oblasti-naybilshe-zhinok-politykiv>
- Segodnya.UA: [http://www.segodnya.ua/elections/vybory\\_2014/top-5-samyh-otkrovennyh-kandidatok-v-verhovnuyu-radu-foto-562795.html](http://www.segodnya.ua/elections/vybory_2014/top-5-samyh-otkrovennyh-kandidatok-v-verhovnuyu-radu-foto-562795.html)
- Tabloid «Pravda»: <http://tabloid.pravda.com.ua/photos/54340b29622b2/>
- «Kolomyiskivisti»: [http://visty.in.ua/news/gossip/news\\_4834/](http://visty.in.ua/news/gossip/news_4834/)
- News portal «NovynyZakarpattia»: <http://transkarpatia.net/transcarpathia/social/38597-zakarpotka-nkoletta-sabov-v-top-5-naykrasivshih-kandidatok-v-deputati.html>
- GAZETA.UA: [http://gazeta.ua/articles/politics/\\_skladeno-rejting-top20-najkrasivshih-deputatok-novoyi-verhovnoyi-radi/590203](http://gazeta.ua/articles/politics/_skladeno-rejting-top20-najkrasivshih-deputatok-novoyi-verhovnoyi-radi/590203)

## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ATO	Anti-Terrorism Operation
CEC	Central Election Committee
EU	European Union
GAPP	Gender Assessment of Political Parties
LU	The Law of Ukraine
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PP	political party
UNITER	Ukraine National Initiatives to Enhance Reforms project
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCU	Women's Consortium of Ukraine
WDN	Women's Democracy Network



NOTE

NOTE

NOTE

