



CEPPS/NDI Quarterly Report: January 1 to March 31, 2005

AFGHANISTAN: DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

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I. SUMMARY

Immediately following last year's historic presidential election, Afghanistan turned its attention to preparations for the upcoming parliamentary elections to be held in September 2005. These national elections will include contests for three levels of government: the lower chamber of parliament, provincial councils, and district councils. Parliamentary elections are expected to be far more complex than the presidential elections, not only because of the simultaneous administration of three separate contests, but also due to the tenuous security environment in which campaigning and polling will take place. Local elections will likely increase the probability of violence from remnants of Taliban or other armed groups; overall, there has been an increase in violent attacks since the presidential elections, with the likelihood of continued militant activity in the months to come.

The completion of President Karzai's cabinet selections has enabled his government to make progress on several important issues, including the establishment of the Interim Election Commission, a body which—along with four additional International Commissioners—will oversee election preparations. NDI facilitated the political discussion of the choice of electoral systems with its January conference exploring the differences between the Single Non Transferable Vote (SNTV) and Proportional List (PR List) election systems. The date of the parliamentary election was set as September 18, 2005, during a visit of Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice to Afghanistan.

With funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the National Democratic Institute (NDI) launched a program in March 2003 to support Afghan political parties and civil society groups that are trying to build a democratic and pluralistic state. The objectives of this program are: to improve the capacity of political parties to be inclusive and operate as viable political entities; to prepare political parties to stand and effectively compete in the elections; and to engage civil society in the process of election monitoring to encourage transparency and ownership of the electoral process by the public. In April 2004, NDI was granted an 18-month extension to conduct the following activities: a political party capacity-building program with emphasis on women's political participation; the establishment of resource centers around the country to assist party and independent candidates prepare for the

elections; assistance to the Office of Political Party Registration (OPPR) within the Ministry of Justice; and support for a domestic election monitoring effort.

During this quarter, NDI conducted various activities to support these groups as they prepare for parliamentary elections. NDI's political party development activities continued following the presidential elections with the implementation of the three new training modules developed during the last quarter: Basics of Democracy, Candidates and Parliamentarians, and Political Party Organization and Management. The Institute held discussions with various stakeholders on the proposed Single Non-Transferable Vote system to be used for the parliamentary elections, and assisted political parties in developing campaign strategies suitable for this system. NDI also conducted a series of regional women's trainings with political party activists throughout the country. NDI continued to provide training and support to the Free and Fair Elections Foundation of Afghanistan (FEFA) as it moves forward with preparations for monitoring activities related to the 2005 elections. Finally, the Institute was asked to host a roundtable discussion on the upcoming elections during Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's visit; the roundtable was attended by Secretary Rice and various political party leaders, as well as the Afghan members of the newly formed Election Commission.

II. BACKGROUND

Many of the political issues that surfaced during this quarter related to the role of political parties in the future of Afghanistan. The decision to retain the SNTV system was greeted by many stakeholder groups with dismay. Political parties, in particular, understood the difficulties they would face under the system, as it treats all candidates as independents on a single ballot. Despite the intervention of many international actors, it seems almost certain that this system will remain in place and will adversely affect the development of a true party system for some time.

The appointment of the Election Commission (EC) on February 17, 2005, was a significant event in advancing the preparations for the elections. Many of the issues critical to planning and holding elections have begun to see progress during this reporting period. Another important development was the appointment of Peter Erben as the de facto Chief Electoral Officer for the EC. Mr Erben was one of five international commissioners who assisted the Afghan Interim Election Commission (IEC).

In March 2005, a date for the parliamentary elections was set by President Karzai, with recommendations from the IEC and various international actors. The selection of September 18 as the date for national elections was based on several factors, including security (with several time periods unacceptable due to international troop rotations) and the opium eradication program (planned to last from February to July 2005). In addition, challenges to implementing effective voter registration and accurately estimating provincial populations (in order to allocate seats) necessitated a delayed election date. Most stakeholders accept that an election date of September 18 will allow adequate time for preparations, while also allowing a degree of flexibility for the formation of the newly elected government in advance of Afghanistan's challenging winter.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Political Party Development

NDI Conference on Electoral Systems

From January 12 to 14, 2005, NDI held a conference on electoral systems to assist the political parties and civil society groups of Afghanistan better understand the Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) electoral system. In addition, the conference covered ways of developing campaign strategies to successfully compete under the SNTV system, particularly for political parties. Further, as there was a possibility at that time that the system could still be changed, the conference discussed other possible electoral systems and their benefits. The conference particularly discussed the Proportional Representation (PR) List system.

NDI enlisted the expertise of Professor Andrew Reynolds from the University of North Carolina to for this event. Dr. Reynolds is a distinguished expert on electoral systems and has worked extensively on Afghan political issues with the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU), as well as previously for NDI in other countries. The conference was attended by over 350 representatives of political parties, civil society groups, and international organizations operating in Afghanistan.

The first day of the conference provided an overview of various electoral systems used throughout the world, and a more detailed explanation of how the SNTV and PR List systems work. The morning of the second day of the conference was designed for political parties only, with 220 political party representatives attending to discuss general strategies on how to campaign most effectively under the SNTV and PR List systems. The afternoon of the second day was devoted to working with 44 training coordinators of NDI and IFES, with the goal of incorporating issues regarding electoral systems in their respective political party development and civic education programs.

Following the conference, with NDI's assistance, 35 of the 40 participating political parties assembled to draft a letter of joint recommendations to be sent to President Karzai and the new Election Commission for their consideration. The group prepared a letter outlining their desire to move from a SNTV system to one of PR List. The recommendations were subsequently the subject of a press conference held 17 January 2005, organized with the assistance of NDI (See Appendix A: Declaration of Political Parties).

Regional Training of Political Parties

During the last quarter, NDI established three new training modules and conducted a training-of-trainers to familiarize NDI's 19 master trainers with the new material. The new modules, designed in response to requests from the political parties, include political party organization and management, basics of democracy and government, and candidates and parliamentarians.

Following the training-of-trainers in December, the ETIC-based trainers began delivery of the first of the new courses, “Basics of Democracy,” in January 2005. Over 4,300 political party activists participated in this two day course, a remarkable turnout considering the obstacles to mobility posed by Afghanistan’s winter, which was the harshest in decades. This module was followed by “Candidates and Parliamentarians” in February and the start of “Political Party Organization and Management” in March, with 4900 and 5200 participants turning out in February and March, respectively. The eight ETICs have each recorded an average of 30 to 40 participants per week.

Women’s Political Participation – Roundtable on Electoral Systems

Following the NDI “Conference on Electoral Systems,” the Institute and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) jointly held a roundtable discussion on February 3, 2005, on how electoral systems affect the political participation of women. The discussion, which included members of the newly-constituted Election Commission, as well as representatives of various NGOs and Embassy political officers working in women’s programming, served as an opportunity to discuss various scenarios relating to women’s participation under both the SNTV and PR List systems. The results of this discussion provided the basis for a paper written by NDI and delivered to Women’s Affairs Minister Jalal on February 19, 2005, to help her provide input on the topic during Cabinet discussions taking place to decide on the electoral system (See Appendix B: NDI Briefing Note for Minister Jalal).

The discussion found that a significant number of women will most likely run as independent candidates in the upcoming elections, due to the male-dominated political party system in Afghanistan. While this may be somewhat feasible under the present SNTV system, the cultural realities are such that women candidates are likely to only be elected to the minimum number of seats reserved women (68 out of 249) in the Wolesi Jirga. Moreover, due to the fact that Afghanistan has a parliamentary system, political parties will necessarily be the primary unit of political action as it moves towards a functioning democracy based on the rule of law. Should women choose not to run as party candidates, those that gain office could be at a disadvantage in parliament.

To ensure that the party system is strengthened, participants of the discussion determined that the electoral system should be changed to a PR list system. In order to best integrate women into the party system and ensure they are present in the Wolesi Jirga in more than the minimum numbers, participants



recommended that the PR list be closed, with some form of quota applied to the number and position of women on the party lists.

Women's Political Participation - Regional Training for Women Party Activists

Beginning in February and continuing through March, NDI conducted trainings for approximately 330 women party activists in the following ETICs: Kabul, Mazar-i-Sharif, Kunduz, Jalalabad, and Herat. To implement these trainings, NDI sent Marilyn Evans—an international consultant with expertise in women's political participation—to each of the ETICs.

The training program focused on women activists within political parties, highlighting the necessity of ensuring that internal party structures reflect the importance of women's participation and that parties develop political platforms for the upcoming parliamentary elections which address the needs of women in Afghanistan. The training was created with three principal goals: to explore status and options for women's party structures to develop action plans to assure women's involvement in party decision-making; and to develop skills for the development of party manifestos.

Training exercises focused on the status of women's committees within parties and the development of manifestos. The first two sessions assessed the current roles of women within political parties. Participants discussed organizational charts as a tool to represent decision-making, communication lines, and areas of responsibility within parties. The final three sessions concerned the use of party manifestos and the process of using questionnaires to gain citizen input while preparing party statements and policy views; parties were then asked to develop their own questionnaires as a sample of what they might ask citizens. Participants also completed role-playing exercises to practice surveying volunteers, and each participant then gained feedback from the audience on their role-play.

Roundtable discussion / elections briefing for FES' Young Leaders Forum

NDI held a roundtable discussion on the elections process with the 24 participants of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung's Young Leaders' Forum, discussing the following issues: the most appropriate electoral system for Afghanistan; challenges facing the newly-constituted Election Commission; and the functions and responsibilities of the Wolesi Jirga. The discussion highlighted the significant gap in understanding of the true roles and responsibilities of the Wolesi Jirga. The group, representing a wide range of Afghan youth organizations, expressed a keen desire to expand this type of cooperation with NDI on other issues related to the elections.

Domestic Election Monitoring

Free and Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan (FEFA)

Following an intensive three-day planning retreat in which the operational plan for the upcoming elections was discussed and designed, NDI began planning for a donors' meeting to be held in April to determine the level and nature of support for FEFA's planned activities.

NDI has initiated a working group to coordinate the use of international criteria in the Afghan parliamentary elections. Participants in this group include organizations, both Afghan and international, which will be engaged in observing various phases of the election. Participating organizations include the UN, EC/EU, Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) representatives, as well as various embassy officers from nations planning to send observation teams.

Consultations and Meetings

Visit of Secretary of State Rice

Secretary of State Rice visited Afghanistan as part of her first official trip through Asia as Secretary of State; her trip to Afghanistan on March 17, 2005, lasted approximately six hours, of which one hour was spent with NDI.



NDI was asked to host a roundtable discussion for Secretary Rice's visit, including the presidents of the 12 parties that make up the Advisory Commission of National Democratic Parties. The roundtable also included the nine Afghan members of the recently appointed EC. The event arose in the late stages of planning for the visit; NDI was told that the Secretary's office wished to include an event with the theme of democratic development to build on the overall theme of the Secretary's trip. The Advisory Commission was chosen as the primary participants because the twelve participating parties represent a distinct, leading group that holds democratic principles as part of their platforms and practices internal party democracy. The nine Afghan election commissioners were added to the list of participants at the suggestion of U.S. Ambassador Khalizad.



After introductions, the Chair of the EC and the Chair of the Advisory Commission made short statements, in which they both acknowledged NDI's role in the democratic development process, and thanked the US government for their continued support. Secretary Rice opened the discussion by thanking those assembled for their efforts, and then

asking for their views on the upcoming parliamentary elections. The main challenges discussed were those dealing with security, in particular the prospect of holding parliamentary elections without having completed the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process. In addition several participants stressed the fact that democratic development depends not only on elected representatives but also the government and its administration committing to and practicing democratic values. To illustrate this point, they cited the current problems besetting the Governor of Kandahar and his administration. The roundtable ended with several of the participants paying tribute to the efforts of the departing Ambassador Khalizad, who then thanked NDI for hosting the event.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Objective 1: To improve the capacity of political parties to be inclusive and operate as viable political entities

- Political parties continue to utilize the ETIC's for meetings on internal party building and research on policy development. The Advisory Commission of National Democratic Parties—18 parties in all—has continued to use the Kabul ETIC for meetings related to upcoming cooperation in the parliamentary elections. Outside of the Commission, 13 different parties have regularly used ETIC facilities for meetings and other organizational activities in the eight centers in the last quarter. The utility of the ETICs has been proven through the numerous requests NDI receives for expanded facilities and equipment outside of the regional centers.
- NDI successfully completed targeted training sessions for women party activists on party structure and policy development on women's issues. Parties are planning to include women's issues as part of their campaign platforms and voter outreach strategies.

Objective 2: To prepare political parties to stand and effectively compete in the 2004 elections

- NDI held a large two-day conference for political parties and other stakeholder groups on electoral systems for the upcoming parliamentary elections. The conference essentially began the general discussion around the choice of electoral systems amongst the parties, the international community and the Afghan government departments. The impact of the conference was clearly evident as NDI received several requests to present the findings of the conference to youth groups, women's groups and political parties in the regions. The conference also led to the request from the Minister of Women's Affairs for a report on the impact of electoral system choice on women's political participation.
- The parties benefited from two aspects of the SNTV conference. First, by presenting comparative electoral systems to the party representatives the conference provided them with a base knowledge of the upcoming elections process, enabling them to discuss this issue with a measure of authority. Additionally, the forum itself—and the subsequent discussions relating to the joint statement (attached as Appendix A)—provided a venue for the majority of political party leadership in Afghanistan to come together on issues of mutual concern. One participant, viewing the party leaders in the NDI conference room,

working on the conference's joint statement remarked that "if parties could get together in this way after the election, there should be high hopes for the new Wolesi Jirga."

- NDI continuously delivered focused training courses to party activists through the ETICs. This training was extremely well received by the participants, as the content was designed after extensive consultation with the parties themselves. Attendance was extremely high at most regional centers, showing the effectiveness of such an approach. The parties have benefited from the training in the following ways:
 - The parties have begun to incorporate elements of the training modules, most markedly in the area of *party structure*. The 18 parties represented in the Advisory Commission have developed regional structures in anticipation of the campaign, which represents a significant step forward. The growth of these regional and provincial structures is also evidenced in the increase in requests that trainings be delivered in the provinces so that those party activists and branches unable to travel to the nearest ETIC are able to attend. In addition, functional groups within parties—such as women's committees—are beginning to form in the larger parties at the national level. It is anticipated that the next quarter will witness the formulation of campaign teams and the beginning of policy development activities specifically aimed at the parliamentary elections.
 - The training has also served to energize party activity, most especially in the regions; following the presidential elections there appeared to be a (expected) drop in party activity. The trainings in this quarter have brought activists together again, and the training more often than not served as a catalyst for political discussions outside the main training topic. Many comments were made from participants stating this as a significant benefit to the trainings.

Objective 3: To engage civil society in the process of election monitoring and to encourage transparency and ownership of the electoral process by the public

- With NDI's support, FEFA has engaged in an extensive planning process to develop the operational plan for the upcoming parliamentary elections. NDI proposed the strategy—accepted by FEFA—to tier the coverage of districts where observers will be deployed, starting with the same level of coverage used in the presidential elections, and then to map out subsequent blocks of additional coverage based on funding and other considerations.
- A working group of Afghan and international monitoring organizations has been formed, initiated and led by NDI, to coordinate the use of internationally recognized criteria in the Afghan parliamentary elections. This initiative has brought together groups such as AIHRC, UNAMA and others to make explicit the criteria to be used for each phase of monitoring. The value of this effort has been borne out by the wide participation each of the coordination meetings attracts. Several attendees noted that this type of coordination was sorely needed at this point in the preparations for the elections and that they highly valued NDI's work in this area.

V. EVALUATION

The continued success of NDI's political party training rested on the fact that, following the presidential election, NDI designed its training modules based on input from the parties and its own regional staff. The creation of three new training modules is a direct result of NDI's frequent consultations with both the political parties and NDI's own regional staff. This approach has been rewarded by the strong number of attendees at the regional trainings during this reporting period.

Trainings focused on capacity-building for women were also in strong demand, as illustrated by the popularity of trainings conducted by visiting trainer Marilyn Evans at the regional centers. One of the biggest challenges facing NDI will be the delivery of candidate training to the more remote provinces, a problem that is especially relevant to women candidates facing constraints on mobility in those regions where culture or geography pose obstacles.

A related challenge will result from the decision that has been made to retain SNTV as the electoral system for the parliamentary elections. In a practical sense, this raises several important issues, including:

- training parties and candidates on how to campaign under SNTV: NDI must incorporate SNTV materials into its campaign training, as parties face a significant challenge under this system;
- training large numbers of independent candidates: SNTV will encourage large numbers of independent candidates to run for office. It is difficult to estimate at this time the number of independent candidates likely to run, and as a result, it is difficult to plan training workshops appropriately. The Institute may have to wait until 75 days prior to election day—at which points candidates have to declare their candidacy—before trying to respond to what will likely be a last minute rush of demand for campaign skills training, during a period when ideally the emphasis should be placed on candidate agent election monitoring; and,
- the complexity of the ballot under SNTV: the large numbers of candidates will result in enormous ballots, which will be in a very practical sense difficult for voters to understand, and therefore parties must respond by including this in their outreach plans.

Ultimately, the success of NDI's party program over the next six months will depend in large part on the Institute's ability to deliver training content by reaching out to political parties and independent candidates currently beyond the present reach of the ETICs. This will represent a significant challenge with respect to planning and resource management. Nevertheless, with appropriate funding and support, these obstacles will certainly be surmountable.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The establishment of a realistic timeframe for the parliamentary elections has enabled NDI to develop a training plan for the coming months. In May, NDI will initiate a new round of media training for political parties aimed at training local activists who will be dealing with

media issues in the upcoming campaign. Campaign skills will be the focus of regional training beginning in June. It is anticipated that August and early September will be devoted to candidate agent training, incorporating new election procedures for voting and counting ballots. NDI will continue to support FEFA, assisting the organization of its efforts to plan and commence training and monitoring activities for the parliamentary elections.

This current CEPPS grant expires on August 31, 2005, almost three weeks prior to election day (September 18, 2005). NDI has been in discussions with USAID-Afghanistan on extending the grant and providing additional funding to expand the Institute's program in depth and duration. Although the funding has not yet been released, USAID has assured the Institute that it is forthcoming.

The Declaration of the Political Parties of Afghanistan

On the 2005 Parliamentary Elections

We, as 35 political parties who have participated in the recent two day National Democratic Institute (NDI) conference which was held on electoral systems, have met on 17 January 2005 to discuss electoral systems for the parliamentary elections.

We agreed these elections will play an important role in the completion of the governmental structure of Afghanistan and they will ensure that the people participate in the governmental authority.

We agreed that when elections are held in a free and fair environment, the parties of Afghanistan can arrive in their collective goal of leading the creation of representative and effective parliament. We accepted that the use of a rational electoral system is critical for the participation of political parties, social organizations and civil society, independent candidates and women's participation.

Accordingly, we as political parties have decided to present our recommendations on the electoral system for parliamentary elections for the consideration of President Hamid Karzai and other appropriate international organizations:

Primarily, we believe that the electoral law should be revised and believe that parliamentary elections should be held according the Proportional Representation – List system (PR – LIST), in accordance to the draft changes to the electoral law produced by UMANA.

We would also like to take this opportunity to highlight our concern regarding several other issues relating to the upcoming elections:

Out of Country Voters. It is our recommendation that refugees and other potential out of country voters should not vote within the current electoral boundaries. A fair solution to this issue would be to have seats reserved for out of country voters in the Meshrano Jirga.

Consultation with Political Parties. As the new Election Commission is created, there should be a permanent and active body within the Commission with the responsibility of liaison and consultation between the Commission and political parties, in order to create and maintain trust in the ongoing process.

Timing of the Elections and the DDR process. A number of political parties attending the conference hold the opinion that parliamentary elections should be delayed until the completion of the disarmament process, however there is a majority of political parties who believe it is important that elections should occur on time, while at the same time calling for the government to vigorously pursue the DDR process. In addition, there should be adequate measures put in place to ensure that intimidation does not affect the voting of the populace.

Qualification of Candidates. Clear and comprehensive criteria for candidates must be issued, including the disallowance of individuals with a history of war crimes, terrorism, drug smuggling and looting of ancient artifacts.

Registration of Parties. A number of parties expressed the opinion that the requirement of a certain number of registration

cards, and the payment of a fee, presented unacceptable obstacles to political participation.

Women's Participation. The parties agreed that greater effort must be made to reduce the obstacles to women's voting, including increasing the number of polling stations in villages.

The Population Estimate. Complaints regarding the validity of population estimates in some regions should be investigated.

Problems with Voter Registration. Greater care must be taken with the registration process. The mistakes and incidents of fraud which were apparent in the last election with respect to the issuance of registration cards should not be repeated.

Candidate Agents. Candidate Agents represent a significant safeguard against fraud and errors during the voting process and therefore voting should only be conducted in the presence of the appropriate Candidate Agents. In addition, ink and other technical equipment should be checked the day before, also in the presence of Candidate Agents. Similarly, counting should only start in the presence of Candidate Agents and the results recorded and verified by both observation groups and Candidate Agents, with copies distributed to both groups.

Concluding Remarks. The political parties thank NDI for organizing the two day conference, and thank the participating panelists. In addition, the facilitation of the subsequent meetings of the political parties was also very much appreciated. Lastly, the political parties undertake to cooperate with the Election Commission and the government of Afghanistan to ensure free and fair elections.



NDI BRIEFING NOTE

Women’s Political Participation in the Afghan Parliamentary Elections under the SNTV Electoral System

General. Recently there has occurred much debate concerning the advantages and disadvantages of the Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) system when compared to the Proportional Representation – List (PR – List) system. One of the arguments in favor of SNTV is the positive effect it would have on the participation of women in the political system of Afghanistan. **This is a false conclusion.** In fact, when one examines the issue in detail, one has to conclude that a PR List system, with the use of certain quota regulations, will be much more beneficial to women candidates, in both the short and long term. The purpose of this briefing note is to outline how the SNTV electoral system could adversely affect women’s participation in the parliamentary elections; wherever appropriate, comparisons will be drawn with the PR List system.

Summary. In brief, the SNTV system will have an adverse effect on women’s participation in the following ways:

1. SNTV will encourage women to run as independents, which would not benefit women due to the resource constraints facing women in Afghanistan;
2. SNTV will force voters to make a choice between individual candidates, and due to the cultural realities of Afghanistan, this will adversely affect women candidates;
3. SNTV will allow only well-organized and disciplined parties to do well, forcing parties to pick a limited number of candidates to support; women candidates will likely not be amongst these priority candidates; and,
4. SNTV will make public the votes each individual candidate receives and therefore the women who do enter into the Wolesi Jirga will suffer from the lack of comparable mandates to their male colleagues.

For each point raised above, the following are more detailed explanations:

1. **SNTV will encourage women to run as independents, which would not benefit women due to the resource constraints facing women in Afghanistan.** In general, SNTV minimizes the importance of political parties in an election, while making it comparatively easy for independent candidates to campaign. This will encourage women

to run as independent candidates, however the reality is that independent candidates – male and female – need to have extensive resources in order to be successful in any campaign. Women in Afghanistan are particularly vulnerable to this requirement, especially as a campaign for the Wolesi Jirga will be essentially a province-wide campaign. Women as independent candidates will face three main challenges in campaigning, which are: a) access to the financial resources required to campaign in the major population centers of the province, as well as rural areas; b) access to local and provincial media; and, c) access to regional community groups and other social structures which are, in a society such as Afghanistan, dominated by men. Participation in political parties under a PR List system, even those dominated by male leaders, will provide women candidates access to these required resources.

2. **SNTV will force voters to make a choice between individual candidates, and due to the cultural realities of Afghanistan, this will adversely affect women candidates.** The SNTV system, which is essentially ‘one vote for one candidate’ means that voters, both men and women, have to choose one candidate from a relatively large list of individual candidates. It is important to consider that although many men and women may be open to having women representatives in the Wolesi Jirga, SNTV forces a voter to choose one candidate, which, taking into account the cultural realities of Afghan society, will ultimately result in men voting for a male candidate. Indeed, with the perception that high numbers of women in Afghan are instructed how to vote by men in their family and/or men in their communities, the stark choice which SNTV demands will result in low support for women candidates even amongst women voters. Under a PR List system, on the other hand, party lists will contain both men and women (especially if a quota system, used in many PR List systems throughout the world, is employed in conjunction with the PR List system) and therefore voters do not face the same either/or choice when it comes to women candidates.
3. **SNTV will allow only well-organized and disciplined parties to do well, forcing parties to pick a limited number of candidates to support; women candidates will likely not be amongst these priority candidates.** Aside from the challenges facing those women choosing to run as independent candidates, under SNTV there exists problems for those women candidates within political parties. As mentioned above, SNTV disadvantages political parties due to the complexity of the strategies required by parties to be successful under SNTV. For parties to be successful under SNTV, they must do several things well. First, they must have an accurate estimation of their potential support in a certain province. Second, they must field the number of candidates which will maximize the seats they will receive from that estimated support base. In other words, if a party fields too many candidates, they risk splitting up their voter base amongst their candidates, with the result that none (or a small amount) will actually win seats. If a party fields too few seats relative to its support base, it runs the risk of not winning seats it could have with its voter base. Third, once a party does indeed arrive at the appropriate number of candidates to run, it must somehow instruct and discipline its supporters to divide their votes amongst all its candidates in a way which will maximize its seats. It is clear that for political parties SNTV is extremely complex, and it is likely no parties – with the exception of those parties which are regionally concentrated and can

rely on a high level of intimidation (that is, warlords and those with militias) – will be even moderately successful under this system. Because it requires substantial investment in candidates, it is not likely women party members will be given opportunities to be candidates under this system by the parties who understand the complex strategies required under SNTV.

4. **SNTV will make public the votes each individual candidate receives and therefore the women who do enter into the Wolesi Jirga will suffer from the lack of comparable mandates to their male colleagues.** The regulation ensuring that an average of two women from each province will return a total of 68 women to the Wolesi Jirga. However there exists the very real problem that under SNTV those women can be marginalized due to the transparency of the results; in other words, the number of votes each individual candidate receives is known. In some areas – especially those areas where voting will be along traditional, male-oriented lines – male candidates receiving sufficient votes to win seats for the Wolesi Jirga will find themselves ‘bumped’ by women who receive far less support in the province. This is due to the fact that under SNTV the top two women will win seats to the Wolesi Jirga, regardless of how low their support is. In a province large enough to have 20 seats in the Wolesi Jirga, for example, the situation could easily arise wherein the 19th and 20th male candidates (who should be successful in their quest for a seat) will be bumped by the top two women, who could be, for example, the 42nd and 53rd place candidates on the ballot. This type of situation will bring into disrepute the results of the election, especially in those areas where attitudes are such that women will not naturally win a seat without the quota regulation. Under a PR List system, the number of votes for each candidate, man or woman, are unknown, as the voter chooses an entire list composing of both men and women. Women candidates successful under a PR List system will enjoy the same perceived legitimacy in the Wolesi Jirga as their male colleagues.

Conclusion. Employing an SNTV system would unfortunately most likely result in the minimum number of women being elected to the Wolesi Jirga (68). Furthermore, as a result of the transparency of the results of SNTV, the women who do find themselves in the Wolesi Jirga could find themselves marginalized as a result of their weak popular mandates as compared with both those male members of the Wolesi Jirga, and, equally importantly, those males who find themselves not in the Wolesi Jirga due to getting bumped off the list by the quota for women. Therefore, to ensure that there is public trust in the system while at the same time ensuring women have an appropriate level of representation in the Wolesi Jirga, the SNTV is not optimal.

Furthermore, there is – due to the obscurity of the SNTV system (it is used by only three countries in the world, two are tiny Islands in the Pacific and the Kingdom of Jordan, which is not a democracy) there is little data on the system, and none at all relating to women’s political participation. PR List, on the other hand is used by a majority of developed and developing nations throughout the world, and is the system of choice in Europe. Indeed, of the countries with some of the highest percentages of women’s participation in parliament, almost all use a PR List system.

Percentage of Women in Selected Parliaments

• <u>SWEDEN</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	157 of 349	45.0%
• <u>DENMARK</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	68 of 179	38.0%
• <u>NETHERLANDS</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	55 of 150	36.7%
• <u>NORWAY</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	60 of 165	36.4%
• <u>BELGIUM</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	53 of 150	35.3%
• <u>COSTA RICA</u> <i>southamerica -</i>	List PR	20 of 57	35.1%
• <u>AUSTRIA</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	62 of 183	33.9%
• <u>GERMANY</u> <i>europa -</i>	MMP	194 of 603	32.2%
• <u>ARGENTINA</u> <i>southamerica -</i>	List PR	79 of 257	30.7%
• <u>ICELAND</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	19 of 63	30.2%
• <u>MOZAMBIQUE</u> <i>africa -</i>	List PR	75 of 250	30.0%
• <u>SOUTH AFRICA</u> <i>africa -</i>	List PR	119 of 400	29.8%
• <u>SPAIN</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	99 of 350	28.3%
• <u>SWITZERLAND</u> <i>europa -</i>	List PR	53 of 200	26.5%
• <u>EAST TIMOR</u> <i>asia -</i>	Parallel-List	23 of 88	26.1%