



Ahfad University for Women

**The Regional Institute of Gender, Diversity,
Peace and Rights**



**Project Title: The Introduction of the Quota System in Sudan and its Impact in
Enhancing Women's Political Engagement**

Impact of Quota on Candidates: Beyond Numbers

Prof. Balghis Badri and Dr. Samia El Naggar

August 2013

This paper is part of a research titled ‘The Introduction of the Quota System in Sudan and its Impact in Enhancing Women's Political Engagement’, implemented during the period 2011-2013 by RIGDPR, Sudan and sponsored by Canada’s International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

Acknowledgement

On behalf of Ahfad University for Women and the Regional Institute of Gender, Diversity, Peace and Rights avails this opportunity, to convey our sincere gratitude to Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) for the generous grant and for the vision and foresight which had inspired us to achieve this project.

It is also my duty to record my thankfulness to Dr. Samia El Nagar, Prof. Wani Tombe, and Dr. Ahmed Gamal who had to bear a heavy load of responsibility and concern in bringing this project to a successful end, indeed in selfless spirit.

Finally, I take this opportunity to acknowledge the services of the total team and everyone who collaborated and contributed in producing this work.

Balghis badri

1. Introduction:

Since independence in 1956 Sudan has been ruled by several military governments with very short periods of democracy. The political situation remained characterized by instability due to long years of war in the Southern parts of the country and recurrent conflicts in other regions. Administratively the country was divided into states and localities but decentralization of power and resources has not been functioning adequately. The economic resources of the country have been mismanaged for inadequate planning, bad governance spread of poverty despite the oil production and export of agricultural products. Accordingly the expansion in educational, health and transportation services remained limited in accessibility, quality and affordability specifically in rural areas¹. Socially the Islamism and secularism have become bases of demarcation among people and the growing number of civil society organizations and political parties. Culturally there emerged tremendous challenges generated by growing migration and displacements, expansion in education and growing urbanization and global interactions through improved means of communication and media. However, there are changes and challenges in male-dominance culture and gender inequality² prevalent in all ethnic groups. Sudanese women got their political and main economic rights decades ago but values and customs that restrict their movement and participation in decisions and public activities remained restricted to a great extent. The Islamist government that has been ruling Sudan for last two decades contributed to opening spaces for women but keeping main cultural boundaries despite growing loud voices of activists and feminists for women equity and equality³.

The political participation of women has been lagging behind the progress that women made in education, economic professions and activism. The women number remained limited in political parties and historically their percentage in legislative assemblies remained less 10% even when selection was done by appointment. The under-representation of women in politics is related to cultural values that restricts political domain to men and thus remained dominated by them. Due to the absence of democracy for long years and sterilization of political parties for a long time, the political space remained limited to the Islamist ruling party and their allies. But the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended the long standing war, carried with it hopes for building democracy. That encouraged women activists and politicians to mobilize for more gender- sensitive laws. They succeeded in the adoption of 25% quota in 2008 Election Law. The discourses on quota used during the campaigns emphasized importance of quota for reducing gender inequality in representation and promoting feminists agenda in legislations and development.

In many countries quota helped in increasing the number of candidates tremendously. (Krook, 2006). Quota debates assert that it is important to identify variance or compare quota candidates with men candidates and with previous election candidates for evaluating if

¹ See El Naggar etal, 2012 for details on population and economic situation of Sudan.

² See El Naggar, etal, 2012 for detailed of dynamics of gender inequality situation in Sudan with consideration to age and regional differences.

³ For analysis of women and feminists movement see, El Naggar, 2003; and Badri, 2006.

once quotas are introduced, political recruitment practices experience meaningful changes or emulate previous patterns. (Franceschet Krook, Piscopo, 2009).

Research on quota remarks positive and negative impacts. Quota may promote the predominance of high levels of education among candidates (Sater 2007; Srivastava 2000), presence of young women (Britton 2005; Burness 2000; Murray 2012); and inclusion of women candidates from marginalized groups (Mehta 2002) or women working in low earning occupations (Bird 2003). Thus quota promotes diversity among elected candidates. But the quota in some cases may lead to recruitment of women with ties to powerful groups/men (Bird 2003; Chowdhury 2002; Rai, Bari, Mahtab, and Mohanty 2006) or women with close loyalties to political parties (Cowley and Childs 2003; Tripp 2006) and these are not women who would seek influencing decisions for women interests but would just follow male or party decisions. Women elected may through quotas may have less political experience, and in some cases- different kinds of political experience, when compared with men and non-quota women', (Kolinsky 1991; Franceschet and Piscopo 2012). The parties may select a 'slate of women candidates who are decidedly non-feminists' (Krook, 2008:358). The variations in qualification of quota candidates selected is related to the dynamics of context in which it is introduced, the election system, and situation of political parties and effectiveness of women movement. The question is how post-conflict context of Sudan confirm or diverge from these various patterns of impacts?

The aim of this paper is to discuss the quota impact on women descriptive representation, considering specifically women candidates and the transformation that occurred to them in numbers and qualifications. The questions raised are: what are the changes generated by quota on the candidates' selection process? ; what kind of women benefited from quota?; and how quota influences women 'representativity' and commitment to feminists agenda?

The paper argues that quota has caused tremendous increase in the number of candidates from different states. The candidate- selection processes of political parties demonstrated slight changes in criteria of selection but unlikely to be gender-sensitive in selection practice as most political parties remained patriarchal and the leaders have their own strategic/political compromises that generate different pathways for women and may bring candidates with limitations of competence or no dedication to feminists concerns. It is concluded that quota helped in ensuring representation of women from the neglected categories such as housewives, and conservative groups as well as religious minorities. As the candidates from these groups have sought to overcome their lack of political experience by seeking to build their knowledge and capacity for political engagement, they have agency and likely to be role models for the women of their groups.

The **methodology** for writing the paper included group discussion, and semi-structured interviews conducted with 27 candidates from eight political parties: Umma National Party(UNP, Democratic Union Party (DUP), National Congress Party (NCP), Popular Congress Party (PCP), Communist Party (CP), Umma Reform and Development Party (URDP), and Sudan People Liberation Movement Party-North Sector (SPLM/N). The

candidates interviewed were from different regions of Sudan. Many of those interviewed have not made it to parliament as their parties had boycotted election after they had been formally registered as candidates at the National Election Commission.. The group discussion included candidates from different parties and as commented by one participants of them: ‘these discussions sessions were enlightening to us as we very rarely communicate with each other as women in different political parties and with academicians’. Three workshops were also organized, each including at least 40 participants, to discuss context findings of the research on quota adoption, implementation and challenges for candidates.

The paper is divided into five sections. Following the introduction section two discusses the impact of the quota on candidates and selection process; section three presents the qualification of candidates selected by different parties, their commitment to feminist agenda, challenges and lessons learned. Section four includes the concluding remarks and section five presents the recommendations.

2. Impact of Quota on Candidates

2.1. Increase in number of women candidates:

The impact of the quota is evident in the number of women candidates. In the previous elections very few women candidates were elected and many political parties gave no or very limited opportunities for women as candidates. The 25% women quota compelled the parties to consider women mobilization. The participation of many women in political parties was encouraged and the parties accepted the nominations of women to secure seats for the party. The impact of the quota is evident as the number of women candidates within the fifteen states and the national parliament in the North were at 2,897. In addition, four women from the North and three from the South ran for governor and one for president seats. “It is worth stating that two of the seven running for governor position are independent, which indicates women are not only empowered through their parties but capable of being empowered enough to stand as independent.”(Badri 2010:1) This is also found in some geographic constituencies.

The table below demonstrates how the quota impacted the participation of women. There are thousands of candidates as compared to two in 1968 election and ten in 1986 election. The table shows the predominance of Khartoum State in the number of candidates. This is related to the fact that there are many political parties which are Khartoum- based with no branches at other states, besides that, the capital, Khartoum, has been the base of women activists who lead the quota campaign. Furthermore, the Khartoum State has the highest population than any other state and was given more geographic constituencies and women seats in parliament.

It is evident from the above table that state –based list enrich representation of regional diversity at the national level. But the question is why there is high representation from states known to have most conservative ethnic groups who still resist women education and their public interaction. This can be partially attributed to the quota and concern of all political parties to compete for 25%. This influence is evident in the case a very conservative group/tribe who though had no women engaged in politics insisted on including one of their women in the list. This is a move by the group to benefit from opportunity given to women

for their own (economic and social) advantages and this is similar to the case of small tribes in Jordan. (Sabbagh,2005). Moreover, the candidate of this group made it to office, and during the interview she confirmed how she benefited her group and worked hard to empower herself politically and socially and thus would be a model for other women in their groups/communities. In addition, the privileges that her community would get are likely to broaden their understanding for the gender roles and capacities. This is an achievement of the quota to be noted.

Table 3: Women Candidates in 2010 Election

Name of state	Women in Quota list		Women in geographic consistency		Women in party list		Total
	*NA	**SA	*NA	**SA	*NA	**SA	
Khartoum	206	423	36	14	10	21	710
Gezira	110		2		1		113
S. Darfur	111	131	3	3	3	3	254
Red Sea	38	156	3	2	3	9	211
Blue Nile	15	90	0	3	3	0	111
White Nile	51	110	10	10	2	1	184
Gadaref	46	149	0	3	0	2	200
Northern	11	77	0	0	0	0	88
N. Darfur	44	108	3	8	0	4	167
Sinar	25	119	2	3	0	4	152
S. Kordofan	34	110	3	1	1	2	151
River Nile	8	12	0	1	0	1	22
Kassala	46	139	0	2	0	11	199
W. Darfur	34	115	3	3	0	2	157
N. Kordofan	57	118	3	0	0	0	178
Total	836	1857	68	53	23	60	2887

Source: The National Election Commission February 2010 [*National Assembly ** State Assembly]

The table also demonstrates that some parties took the quota as a ceiling for women participation as women were not given opportunities in geographical constituencies or in party list. This comparison of women low members in geographic or parties' lists compared women exclusive lists clearly indicates this. This is very serious as it challenges the main purpose of quota as temporary measure to increase and add to the number of women and not to deprive them from other opportunities. Reviewing detailed parties' lists demonstrated that women in party or geographic ones are found in parties that have an agenda for women. These included mainly the NUP, NCP, SPLM/N and URDP.

2.2. Women candidates: Changing path to office

Candidates' selection process: The information from candidates confirmed that quota promoted changes in candidates' selection process. Some parties put general criteria for eligible candidates and used it for selection of both men and women such as performance and effectiveness within the party, the relationship with and recognition of the constituents, leadership roles within the party, skills for communication and dialogue and political competence. Other parties emphasised representation of the diversity of age, ethnicity and geographical regions. The separate list of quota encouraged political parties such as the Democratic Union Party to add gender-related criteria for selection of women candidates such as commitment to women issues and women rights and experiences of participation in decision-making within the party. Other political parties, such as the National Umma Party, widened conceptualization of political activism and effectiveness to include participation in public voluntary activities and commitments to democratic principles and freedoms. The representation of different religious groups Islamic and non-Islamic was not mentioned as criteria although it was evident when the profile of some candidates was examined.

The political parties differed in the selectorate composition and selection process. For some parties the selectorates were members of the party election committee; but with quota some parties formed a women's committee to act as selectorate at local levels. The selection was mostly a process, for example in case of the National Congress Party, each local sector identified two candidates and all the candidates were put in a list to be presented to the party higher authority for final selection process. For many parties the selection at local level was done based on criteria identified by women sector at different levels as the case of Democratic Union Party and the Sudan People Liberation Movement. Then the party election committee refined the selection. In all cases the women sectors within the parties prepared the preliminary list, the party election committee deleted or added some names or changed the order in the list, as for them the representation of the party constituencies remained the most important criteria that guarantee greater opportunity for winning. Some party leaders added female candidates who had no history of political engagement but were women from influential groups/tribes and strong constituencies of the party. The decisions of party leaders were accepted by the majority of women party members, however, some were concerned and critical. One candidate explained that 'domination of men and their concern for representation of certain groups brought unqualified candidates, women with no previous

political engagement and practically they remained as liability and not addition or merit'. Some noted this as weakness of the quota.

However, we can note some positive effects for selection of unqualified women. First if women of such groups, specifically exclusive housewives category, are not selected they would remain neglected as there is dominance of elite 'working' women on the political scene. One educated housewife who was elected noted 'we are aware of our shortcomings as candidates but being selected, I accepted responsibility and worked hard to build my knowledge and gain needed skills for the office'. The other housewife, with low education, explained: 'I was forced to accept nomination by my group and since my nomination I sought assistance from some activists and friends in politics to help me learning the basics for political participation and parliament responsibilities. I think I am doing well'. Therefore it is not easy to generalize on the impact but to understand the dynamics of nomination of such candidates and how they respond to the opportunity given to them. Some of these women have recognized their needs, worked for it and soon gained agency. Thus they are likely to influence other housewives to follow their path. However, they are likely to remain with limitations of being party loyalists and with no commitment for feminists' agenda, if ever they get opportunity to get exposed to it.

"Quota policies have been charged with promoting party loyalists in selecting candidates not for their competence but for their loyalty to the party".(O'Brien, 2012). Considering that all political parties have patronage-based systems, with authority based on traditional or charismatic leadership rather than legal –rational authority, loyalty to those in power would then be one of the basic criteria for selection for men and women and at all levels. The selection of party loyalists was noted in quota debates as affecting negatively the effectiveness of quota as these loyalists would be non-feminists and supporters of status quo. Historically, party loyalty had proved to be an important influencing factor in divisions that happened in the history of women movement. In the campaign for quota, women of the ruling party sided with their party decision and against all women activists and politicians to support closed list despite its shortcoming in representation of women and despite their feminists stand for equity and equality. The party loyalty comes before any other commitments and thus even candidates with feminists' orientation may forgo their commitment to women question if that is demanded by party leaders.

The selection process was not without conflict and confrontation between women party members who competed not only for being included in the list but to be at the top of the list. That was a sensitive issue as it may create cleavages among women in the party. To overcome conflicts for position in list and to compete with other political parties, some parties used a strategy to nominate some women in geographic constituencies in joint part lists and to nominate female candidates from Khartoum mainly to be at the top of the lists of other states. This is a practice known as exporting candidates, mainly party loyalists, from their states to other states.

3. Socio-economic background of the quota candidates:

It was not possible to present a profile for quota candidates and compare them with male candidates as information systems in Sudan are very non-existing or dubious and political parties do not have data base. However from the candidates interviewed and limited documents⁴ available on them we can have a highlight on the profile of the candidates.

Age: The majority of quota candidates were in the age group 35-45 years and few candidates in their 70's and the later are women with long history in politics. There are younger ones in the 20s. Evidently there are new and old entrants into political arena. The young candidates demonstrate impact of quota as no party would take risk to nominate a young lady in any geographical constituency, despite the growing interest and noticeable increase in the participation of youth in political parties.

Educational background: Most candidates had university and advanced degrees some with secondary school degree and very few with basic education. This is expected regarding profound increase in the number of women in higher education. However, the candidates emphasized that to enhance 'representivity, the party leaders selected women with low level of education in some of the lists. These are mostly women selected to represent an influential constituency. The education level demonstrated no differences compared to women candidates in previous election during 1968 and 1986 as the latter included as well candidates with university and secondary school education.

Marital status: From available sources, it was evident that there are many married candidates as well as single ones and many middle-age mothers of children of different ages. Thus domestic commitment⁵ is not a hindrance to women political engagement (Bird, 2003). Compared to candidates in previous elections, the selection of unmarried relatively young women indicates a change in political parties; attitudes and the attributes of candidates more significantly it reveals the agency of this group.

Religion: Among the candidates in the ruling party list there were women representing diverse Islamic groups such as Ansar Al Sunna (fundamentalist religious party). Furthermore, among those interviewed there were candidates representing different churches in Sudan. Thus quota promoted religious diversity in representation of women and enabled representation of minority groups greatly neglected even by women movement in their activities. .

Occupational background: Many of the candidates were employees in the civil service; and this confirms findings of Badri, et al. 2009, on political participation of women in Eastern Sudan. Old women entrants into politics were from teaching, nursing and medicine professions. While middle-age and young candidates mainly work as managers in private sectors, university lecturers, engineers and lawyers. There are also women farmers and traders, two of low paid occupations. The professions and occupations of candidates reflected important structural changes that promoted women economic engagement in areas traditionally dominated by men. We noted as well the presence of housewives whom we

⁴ See Salam Resource Center, 2010 and Khalifa, 2009.

⁵

considered as an economically active category contributing through domestic services to national income. There are as well unemployed university graduates among candidates. This is an important category that demonstrates a changing path to politics and a difference between generations in agency and activism.

Engagement in public/voluntary work: The majority of women candidates had experience in public voluntary work⁶. They have their own organizations or are members in civil society organizations which work mainly on women issues. It is very rare that men follow such a path to political career. Activists in civil society organizations in last decade engaged on debates on women issues and reached local communities for raising awareness or giving help in time of crisis and some have organized demonstrations against government discriminatory practices, war and their voices remained high for rights of marginalized and poor people. Such activities have brought many of them in confrontation with ruling party. Thus women activists were exposed to some political experiences that may have motivated some of them to extend their desire to engage and become members of the political parties. But engagement in public work is definitely a different route to political engagement from most common pattern of building political career at party level. Yet the interface between the two remains evident and one can lead to the other as we found from what some of the candidates revealed.

Political engagement: In the discussion of this aspect, we considered two aspects the history of political engagement and the leadership positions occupied within the party. There are some candidates who have been active in politics for a long time, some since secondary school for more than 25 years; the young ones have short history and many of them started their political engagement in the university. Some candidates have had no previous experience and started their political career as candidates. As to the leadership positions most candidates from different political parties, interviewed, confirmed that women lead women sectors but men dominate all the leadership positions. One candidate explained: 'we, women, are working hard for long years but relegated to women sector, not allowed to compete with men for leadership positions in the party'. In most parties, candidates who are over 60 years old are still not in leadership positions despite long years of service in the party. However, some women reached leadership positions in few parties. Some have even become leaders of parties. From amongst the over eighty registered political parties five small ones are headed by women. This new phenomenon since 2008 indicates that when democratic context is enhanced women can fight for more space and leadership. It is worth mentioning that those heads of parties were also candidates except one whose party did not participate in the election. Further, all except one have fathers or family members in leadership positions of their parties. But all them, have a long history of political engagement. Therefore women are unlikely to compete if the leadership position is one of the main criteria and their prospects for competition in geographical constituencies is rather limited whatever their years of political engagement.

⁶This is because when the political parties were sterilized in 1989, some of the women politicians formed or worked in voluntary organizations.

Political skills and capacities: The candidates have diverse capacities and skills. There are those experienced as they were in previous parliaments and most of these groups were exposed to capacity building by national organizations and UN agencies programs conducted as part of mobilization for quota. But these are mainly Khartoum-based candidates. Relatively few from state candidates have had opportunities for training for election processes and parliamentary responsibilities. But some candidates noted these skills and capacities are not yet demonstrated at party level.

The profile of elected women demonstrates a mixture of change and continuity. The majority are relatively middle-age and young women, highly educated and with diverse professions. It seems that quota benefit the elites. Some of the candidates have history of political positions, served in previous parliaments and had had training for the office and thus the presence of this group negates the claims that quota women are unprepared and unqualified (Murray, 2010). This result is somewhat similar to the case of Argentina and Uganda. (Francheschet and Piscopo,2012 and O'Brien, 2012). But there are as well a substantial number of candidates who have good educational background but limited/no political experiences and some have low education and no political experience. This represents opponents' argument against quota that it brings low qualified women. The variation in case of Sudan is related to the fact that parties were concerned about 'representivity' of diverse groups and some of the latter had had no qualified women. The type of electoral law based on states and the diversity complexity in Sudan compels for managing diversity representation even if at the expense of qualification and experience.

Quota candidates: feminist agenda

'The presence of quota does not always preclude the ability of women to represent women concerns' (Krrrok, 2008: 358); Zetterberg, 2009, argued that representation of women entails that women elected through the quota should exercise a diversity of mandates, should be autonomous, not representing only their party. As quota opened opportunities for women candidates they are expected to be committed to women interests and rights in their programs and campaigns and in parliament for those who made it to office. The discourses during the advocacy campaign for quota confirmed importance of feminists' agenda for quota candidates and future legislators. In addition one outcome o quota mobilization was the confirmation of commitment to women minimum agenda agreed upon in quota campaign process among actors for quota. However, many candidates confirmed their commitment and interest in working for women issues. Some mentioned issues of poverty (micro-finance) education (female adolescents' drop-outs) and health and very few noted strategic needs such as changes in laws specifically family law and quota at executive bodies. One explained: 'I had my program for women and the party allowed me to advocate for it with one condition that it should not conflict with party policies and interests' Even those who participated in quota campaign have not mentioned minimum common agenda as focus of their program.

The majority of candidates who made to legislative assemblies at national and states levels were from one party. They have been for more than two years in office they were given training, regional and international exposure but their voices are very rarely heard by women.

They claim their contribution to the availability of micro-finance services to poor women but that came without changes in procedures to make it women friendly. Although the women legislators in some states (Gadaref, Red Sea, South Kordofan, West Darfur) had made success in collaborating with CSOs for advocacy for FGM abandonment law and for approval of law in legislative council, those in the National Assembly failed to initiate or give support to CSOs and government efforts for considering abandonment of FGM law in the Child Act. Although many of them are very supportive for its abandonment, yet few of them are for continuity of sunna (believed to be mild form) forms⁷. It is evident that they are not for challenging gender- based violence or revisiting the dominant patriarchal ideology behind women/girls subordination and oppression.. Sagot, 2010, discussing Costa Rica quota experience, concluded that ‘the quota system guarantees access of women to positions of political representation but does not guarantees the quality of their actions in office nor the type of decisions they are going to make. Hence quotas encourage the descriptive participation of women but not necessarily their substantive participation.’ (32).

It is crucial to indicate as well that most of the candidates outside the national and states’ legislative assemblies have not formed a type of shadow parliament nor have they maintained the alliances and coalition created during mobilization for quota and election. This is expected as work of most political parties and CSOs remained seasonal or in reaction to certain situation.

5.1. *Challenges of the Quota for Candidates:*

- Gender insensitivity of the party members and their resistance to women voices in political debate.
- There was resistance to the nomination of young women (below 35 years).
- Weak institutions within the party and dominance of few to decision making process.
- Lack of economic institutions for fund raising promote dominance of individuals who provide financial support.
- The political environment is not conducive for challenging parties to achieve gender mainstreaming.
- Women elites dominate political parties’ activities and thus ordinary member of the party have to struggle within the party to be elected or to reach to leadership within the party. .
- Being politically active in a secular party in a context dominated by Islamic parties expose woman candidates to challenges not related to competence but to being not true/good Muslim women.
- Being young and unmarried is taken by most family members as a justification to continue to resist public involvement and long hours of absence from home or travel demanded by political work.
- One candidate stated: ‘It is not easy to become a woman politician in a community that do not recognize women rights in public life’.
- The link to media was very weak and women were given very limited opportunities.

⁷ Liv, and Samia El Naggar , 2013

5.2. Lessons learned:

- ✓ Candidates need to continue build your knowledge and capacity if they intend to be effective legislature.
- ✓ Political parties are totalitarian with no internal democratic institutions and thus the quota would remain greatly with limited effects beyond increasing numbers..
- ✓ It is important for women candidates to mobilize women in political parties for changing the culture of male dominance and building women friendly/supportive attitudes and practices.
- ✓ Not getting to office should not stop candidates' interaction with constituencies.
- ✓ Sustaining cooperation and interaction with activists in CSOs is very crucial for candidates during and after election.
- ✓ We should not resist unqualified women selected for loyalty of their group but work to empower them to be model for marginalized women and for promoting political participation in general.

5. Concluding Remarks:

The gender quota in Sudan succeeded in increasing the number of candidates tremendously from a handful of candidates in previous elections to thousands of them. The quota impact is evident also in mobilizing candidates from states rather than previous concentration at the capital. We noted the noticeable participation of women even from states with most conservative groups as regarding women rights and public participation.

Beyond the increase in numbers, there are changes in candidates' selection process as some political parties added feminists' orientation and commitment to human rights and democracy as criteria for selection. Furthermore, the quota candidates profile showed mixed attributes and orientations. Many candidates were educated, elites, professional and activists with feminists' orientation. Some of the candidates had previous experiences in legislative assemblies. Few of female heads of political parties and some of candidates are with strong feminists' agenda and political experience. Quota included party loyalists including elite politicians as well as women with low education and with no previous political history but they were selected to represent groups loyal to the political parties. The quota helped to include candidates from minority religious groups who are neglected even by women activists and politicians. These later two groups have no feminists' orientation. It is evident that the quota brought qualified and unqualified women. But we noted that reaching unqualified women in the context of Sudan, is an added value for quota as they represent neglected groups and the candidates from such groups would definitely influence some changes in attitude of their communities for political participation specifically that it being a parliamentarian is rewarding socially and economically for those who made it to office. But these conservative inexperienced women are not expected to support progressive women agendas such as lobbying for changes in laws that oppress women. .

The mixed impact of quota is expected as progress in women political, economic and social roles happened in a non-democratic context with prevalence of socio- cultural obstacles

within society and political parties and under a regime upholding some conservative religious agenda. Thus women candidates are not yet freed from male- dominance within their parties and all of them are not able to balance their commitment to women question with their loyalty to their parties.

It is evident that the quota experience in Sudan confirms quota patterns noted in debates and research on quota in Africa, Arab world and Latin America. Our research emphasizes not only increase in number and changes in qualifications of candidates but transformations that occur to candidates, specifically to the unqualified ones, as result of the election dynamics.

6. Recommendations:

On the basis of above discussion of increase in number of candidates, their qualifications and changing roles and relationships several strategies are recommended to increase not only women descriptive representation but also substantive representations.

Promote gender sensitivity of women and men at local levels, in political parties.

To address the cultural factors constraining women being elected, there is need to change mindsets of politicians, and men and women at local level towards women rights for freedom, participation and the impact of their political role development. This is important to ensure effectiveness of quota in selection of competent candidates.

Increase knowledge on politics and promote skills for political participation:

Active universities in quota issues should design programs for capacity building of women politicians and potential candidates starting with candidates who are currently outside legislative assemblies. Capacity building process should be inclusive, continued and sustained to candidates at state level and potential leaders among poor and minority groups.

There should be a capacity building program that equip women in political parties and potential candidates within the party and at all levels with needed knowledge and skills that help them to have their own opinions and express it clearly in a relevant manner and with strong argumentation to influence women-friendly decisions within legislative councils. They should be able to understand the rules of the political game and participate in the political debate.

The civic education should be integrated in school curriculum at all levels to form women and men who are well versed in political issues. That would in turn help to promote political participation of young people and ensure that practice of politics in university is done without violence as is currently happening in universities. That would encourage young women to stand for election and for being elected.

Women should organize inside and outside political parties:

Recognizing the gap between women elites and ordinary members of political parties noted above, it is important for women inside political parties to work together and build solidarity with women sectors in other political parties for sharing information, experiences and update

on women citizens' challenges and needs. That would strengthen women potential candidates and ensure collaboration of women candidates rather than their competition.

A shadow parliament is a good strategy to create solidarity, sustain activism, link with media and civil society organizations as well as a mean for enhancing further parliamentary skills besides linking candidates with future election campaigns.

Women candidates should consider having a strategy to work with media.

Women should urge political parties to set clear and gender- sensitive rules and transparent selection processes for candidates' selection

This would be effective in selecting qualified and competent candidates provided that mobilization and education of political parties' members have been undertaken. That may entail advocating for some changes in internal parties' institution to be democratic and with good governance.

The activists and women politicians should strengthen their coalition for mobilizing and building capacity of women at the local level and in rural areas specifically the housewives to consider electing themselves and having an effective role in expected election of locality legislative councils.

The housewives as well as women in the markets, in farming in rural areas remained greatly as excluded categories. The opportunity is considering empowering them for election of locality legislative councils and this would be in the future a path to state and national parliaments. .

Setting up fund to support women political participation and for the candidates' campaigns. .

This is important to help poor educated competent women to be elected.

Further research is needed on: a) constraints to women in poor and rich communities in urban areas; b) on women candidates' linkages to local constituencies.

References

- Abbas, S. 2010. "The Sudanese Women's Movement and the Mobilization for the 2008 Legislative Quota and its Aftermath". *IDS Bulletin*, 41(5):100-108.
- Al Nowrani, T. 2010. "Impact of Quota on Women Political Movement". Paper presented to the Gender Center for Training and Research, Khartoum, Sudan.
- Almahdi, R.S. 2010. "Women's Issues in Women Candidates' Programs". *Women*, 27:7-13
- Badri, Amira. 2011. Overview on the Sudanese Political Parties. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Badri, Balghis. (ed.) (2008), *Sudanese Women Profile and Pathways to Empowerment*. Sudan: Ahfad University for Women, Institute of Women, Gender and Development Studies.
- Badri, Balghis. 2010. "The Impact of the Application of the Women Quota System in the Electoral Law in Sudan, 2010. Unpublished manuscript.
- Badri, Iamyael. 2009. Survey on Women Political Participation in Eastern Sudan: Red Sea Kassala and Gadref). Sudan: UNIFEM and SDA.
- Baldez, Lisa. 2004. "Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24 (2): 231-258.
- Ballington, Julie. 2004. "Strengthening Internal Party Democracy: Candidate Recruitment from a gender Perspective". Paper presented at EISA/NIMD workshop on 'How to strengthen Internal Party Democracy?'. At the World Movement for Democracy? Third Assembly, Durban, South Africa. February.
- Bird, Karen. 2003. "Who are the Women? Where are the Women? And What Difference Can They Make? Effects of Gender Parity in French Municipal Elections". *French Politics* 1(1): 5-38.
- Britton, Hannah. 2005. *Women in South Africa Parliament: From Resistance to Governance* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Burness Catriona. 200. 'Young Swedish Members of Parliament'. *NORA*, 8(2): 930-106
- Caul, Miki. 1999. "Women's Representation in parliament: the Role of Political Parties", pp.79-98 in *Party Politics*, vol.5, no.1.
- Caul, miki. 2001. Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidate Gender Quotas: A cross National Analysis. *The Journal of Politics* Vol 63 , no 4 November 1214-1229
- Childs, Sarah. 2010. "A Missed Opportunity: Women and the 2010 UK General" Election. *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 41, no 5 September.109-115
- Chowdhury, Najuma. 2002. 'The Implementation of Quota: Bangladesh Experience'. Paper presented at IDEA Workshop, Jakarta, Indonesia, September.

Costa, Ane A.A. 2010. "Quotas as a Path to Parity: Challenges to Women's Participation in Politics". *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 41, no 5 September. 116-120.

Costa, Ane A.A. 2010. "A Pathway to Political Empowerment?" *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 41, no 5 September. 18-27

Cowley, Philp and Sarah Childs. 2003. "Too Spinless to Rebel? New Labour's Women MPs". *British Journal of Political Science*, 33 (3): 345-365.

Dahlerup, Drude. 2003. Comparative Studies of Electoral Gender Quota. Paper presented at International IDEA Workshop: 'The Implementation Of Quotas: Latin America Experiences'. Lima, Peru. February.

Dahlerup, Drude. 2007. "Electoral Gender Quotas: Between Equality of Opportunity and Equality of Result." *Representation* 43 (2): 73-92

Dahlerup, D. 2004. "No Quota Fever in Europe: The Implementation of Quotas in European Experiences". Paper presented at the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), and CEE Network for Gender Issues Conference, Hungary, Budapest.

Dahlerup, Drude and Lenita Freidenvall. 2005. "Quotas as a Fast Track to Equal Representation for Women: Why Scandinavia Is No Longer the Model." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (1): 26-48.

Dahlerup, Drude. 2006a. "What Are the Effects of Electoral Gender Quotas? From Studies of Quota Discourses to Research on Quota Effects." Paper presented at the International Political Science Association World Congress, Fukuoka, Japan, July 10-13.

El Naggar, Samia, 2003. "Women Movement in Sudan", Paper presented to ESCWA

El Nagar, Samia, Mahmud, Lamia, and Abdel Atti, Hassan, 2012. "Update on Reproductive Health, Gender and Population Development Situation in Sudan, 2011". Report Submitted To UNFPA, Sudan. .

Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. Gender and Political Backgrounds in Argentina. In Krook, Leena, Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo, (ed) *The impact of Gender Quota*. New York: Oxford University Press. 43-56

Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4 (3):

Hassim, Shireen. 2010. "Perverse Consequences? The Impact of Quotas for Women on Democratisation in Africa." In Shapiro, Ian et al. (eds). *Political Representation*. USA: Cambridge University Press. 211-235.

Htun, Mala N. and Mark P. Jones. 2002. "Engendering the Right to Participate in Decision-Making: Electoral Quotas and Women's Leadership in Latin America." In Nikki Craske and Jones, Mark P. 1998. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Lessons from the Argentine Provinces." *Comparative Political Studies* 31, (1): 3-21.

- Kolnsky, Eva. 1991. "Political Participation and Parliamentary Careers: Women Quota in Germany". *West European Politics*. 14(1): 56-72.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2004. "Gender Quotas as a Global Phenomenon: Actors and Strategies in Quota Adoption." *European Political Science* 3, no 3, 59-65.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. Campaigns for Candidate Gender Quotas: A new Global Women's Movement?. Paper presented at the Women 's Movement Worldwide: Flourishing or in Abeyance. Roundtable, International Political Science Association World Congress, Fukoko, Japan, July 9
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2006a. "Gender Quotas, Norms, and Politics." *Politics and Gender* 2 (1), 110-118.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2006b. "Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide". *Politics & Gender* 2 (3): 303-327.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2008. "Quota Laws for Women in Politics: Implications for Feminist Practice". *Social Politics* 15,(3): 345-368.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Krook, Leena, Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2012. 'Conceptualizing the Impact of Gender Quotas'. In Krook, Leena, Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo, (eds) *The Impact of Gender Quota*. New York: Oxford University Press 3-26
- Matland, Richard. E. 2005. 'Enhancing Women's political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems'. In Bullinmgton, Julie and Karam, A. (eds) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. (A Revised Edition). Sweden: IDEA. 93-111
- Mehta, G.S. 2002. *Participation of Women in the Parchayati Raj System*. New Delhi: Kanishka.
- Murray, Rainbow, Mona Lena Krook, and Katherine A. R. Opello. 2009. "Elite Bias, Not Voter Bias: Gender Quotas and Candidate Performance in France." Paper presented at the First European Conference on Politics and Gender, Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland, January 21-23.
- Murray, Rainbow. 2010. "Second among Unequals? A Study of Whether France's 'Quota Women' Are Up to the Job". *Politics and Gender*, 6.: 93-118
- Murray, Rainbow.2012. "Party and Legislative Competence in France". In Krook, Leena, Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo, (eds) *The impact of Gender Quota*. New York: Oxford University Press. 27-42

- O'Brien, Diana,Z. 2012. Quota and Qualifications in Uganda. Krook, Leena, Franceschet,. In Krook, Leena, Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo, (eds) *The Impact of Gender Quota*. New York: Oxford University Press. 57-71
- Rai, Shirin M. 1999. "Democratic Institutions, Political Representation and Women's Empowerment: The Quota Debate in India." *Democratization* 6, no 3, 84-99.
- Rai, Shirin, Farana Bari, Nazmunnessa Mahtab and Bidyut Mohanty. 2006. "South Asia: Gender Quota and the Politics of Empowerment". In Drude Dahelrup, (ed). *Women Quotas and Politics*. New York: Routledge. 222-245
- Sabbagh, A. 2005.'The Arab States: Enhancing Women 's Political Participation in In Bullinmgton, Julie and Karam, A. (eds) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. (A Revised Edition). Sweden: IDEA. 52-71
- Sachet, Teresa. 2008. "Beyond Numbers". *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 10, no 3, September, 369-386.
- Sagot, M. 2010. "Does the political Participation of Women Mater? Democratic Representation, Affirmative Action and Quotas in Costa Rica". *IDS Bulletin*, 41, (5) September.
- Sater, James. 2007. 'Changing Politics from Below? Women Parliamentarian in Morrocco. *Democratization* 14(4) : 84-99.
- Sater, James,N. 2012. "Reserved Seats Patriarchy and Patronage in Morroco". In Krook, Leena, Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. (eds). *The Impact of Gender Quota*. New York: Oxford University Press. P 72-86
- Sgier, Lea. 2004. "Discourses of Gender Quotas". *European Political Science* 3 (3): 67-72.
- Srivastava, Rashmi. 200. Empowerment of Women Through Political Participation. In Niroj Sinha (ed). *Women in India Politics*. New Delhi: Gyan. p195-217
- Tadros, Martiz. 2010. "Introduction: Quotas-Add Women and Stir?". *IDS Bulletin*, 41,(5) September, 1-10.
- Tonnessen, L., 2011. 'Beyond Number? Women 25% Parliamentary Quota in Post- Conflict Sudan'. *Journal of Peace Conflict and Development*. 17, August.
- Tonnessen, L. and El Naggar, 2013. "Women Quota in Conflict Ridden Sudan: Ideological Battles for and Against Gender Equality". (forthcoming) in Women's Studies International Forum
- Tripp, A.M. 2004. The Changing Face of Africa's Legislatures: Women and Quotas. In Julie Ballington (ed) *The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences*. Quota Report Series Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
- Zetterberg, Pär. 2009. "Do Gender Quotas Foster Women's Political Engagement? Lessons from Latin America. *Political Research Quarterly*, 62:4 p 716-730