



Gender Election Monitoring Mission Tunisia 2014

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Focus Genre sur l'Observation des Elections Tunisie 2014

Final Report – Rapport Final





Mission d'Observation des Élections basée sur l'Approche Genre- Tunisie 2014

Élections législatives et présidentielles

26 octobre, 23 novembre et 21 décembre 2014

Rapport final





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Liste des abréviations

Association Tunisiennes de Femmes Démocrates	ATFD
Association des femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche et sur le Développement	AFTURD
Convention sur l'Elimination de toutes les formes de Discrimination à l'Egard des Femmes	CEDEF
Gender Concerns International	GCI
Instance Supérieure Indépendante pour les Élections	ISIE
Ligue Tunisienne de défense des droits de l'homme	LTDH

PRÉFACE ET REMERCIEMENTS

Sabra Bano, Chef de Mission

L'organisation Gender Concerns International est heureuse d'assister, en Tunisie, à l'instauration de la future démocratie inclusive, et ce, avec les électrices et les dirigeantes élues, lesquelles sont déjà devenues une réalité aujourd'hui. Ainsi, c'est avec un immense honneur que nous avons saisi l'occasion de soutenir les femmes en Tunisie dans leur participation aux élections parlementaires et présidentielles de 2014 et d'observer leur impact crucial.

Notre collègue chargée de la Mission conjointe d'observation des élections basée sur l'approche Genre a travaillé avec les Tunisiens qui ont prouvé à la région ainsi qu'au reste du monde que leur pays est prêt à poursuivre son développement démocratique pour tous les citoyens. En tant que composante de la communauté internationale, nous partageons la responsabilité de soutenir les Tunisiens durant cette phase de développement, notamment les femmes tunisiennes qui ont transformé, avec bravoure, leurs notions d'inclusion démocratique pleine et entière en actions dédiées à ouvrir davantage la voie aux futures générations de femmes leaders.

Nos évaluations pré-électorales ont souligné le caractère critique d'une approche globale de la participation des femmes avant, pendant et après ces élections historiques. En partenariat avec trois organisations éminentes des droits de la femme et des droits de l'Homme, la Ligue Tunisienne de défense des Droits de l'Homme (LTDH), l'Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates (ATFD), l'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFTURD), nous avons lancé en Tunisie notre mission GEM en octobre 2014 pour observer et documenter, à partir d'une perspective de genre, les processus ayant lieu pendant le vote et les périodes postélectorales. La femme tunisienne a fièrement démontré sa valeur et son poids dans la reconstruction démocratique de la Tunisie en tant que masse électorale, personnel de l'administration électorale et candidate à un processus électoral exceptionnel.

Tout d'abord, je tiens à exprimer ma profonde gratitude à nos organisations partenaires et à leurs dirigeants : M. Abdelssatar Moussa, président de la Ligue Tunisienne des Droits de l'Homme (LTDH), Mme Salwa Kennou, présidente de l'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFTURD) et Mme Saida Rached, présidente de l'Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates (ATFD) pour leur dévouement et leur enthousiasme, lesquels ont contribué à la grande réussite de cette mission.

Je voudrais adresser un message particulier de remerciements à l'Instance Supérieure Indépendante des Élections (ISIE) pour sa coopération et son aide ainsi qu'à la Haute Autorité Indépendante de la Communication Audiovisuelle (HAICA) pour leurs rôles clé dans les élections. Nous exprimons également notre gratitude aux peuple, gouvernement, partis politiques et institutions tunisiennes pour leur hospitalité et leur volonté d'aider dans les différents volets de notre mission. La coopération avec d'autres missions internationales d'observation et d'autres organisations de la société civile était la bienvenue à plusieurs reprises au cours de notre travail. Cette mission, bien évidemment, n'aurait pas été possible sans le précieux soutien du Ministère allemand des Affaires étrangères.

Comme le Chef de la mission GEM, je suis également heureuse de souligner le dévouement et le travail inlassable de l'équipe entièrement féminine chargée de la mission, laquelle comprenait 10 observatrices internationales venant d'Australie, de Belgique, de Libye, des Pays-Bas, de Pologne, de Tunisie, du Pakistan, du Royaume-Uni, des États-Unis ainsi que les 100 femmes tunisiennes ayant reçu une formation en matière d'observation des élections sur la base de genre, puis qui ont été intégrées comme composante de notre équipe de GEM. Ces équipes d'observatrices ont largement bénéficié de l'appui constant du personnel du bureau de Gender Concerns à Tunis et du siège à La Haye.

L'Organisation Gender Concerns jouit d'une expertise particulière dans l'observation des élections sur la base du genre, et ce, avec notre initiative unique GEM en Tunisie en 2011 et dans des pays comme le Pakistan (2008 et 2013), le Maroc (2011) et la Libye (2012). Nos organisations partenaires chargées de la mission GEM en Tunisie et nous-mêmes étions dans une position distinguée pour offrir un soutien précieux aux femmes tunisiennes pour faire valoir leur droit d'être représentées en 2014 dans les processus de prise de décision en Tunisie. Cette mission établit les conclusions et recommandations de ce rapport de façon indépendante et en conformité avec la Déclaration de principes pour l'observation internationale des élections de l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'octobre 2005. Il est à noter que, pour mieux refléter la nature des objectifs de notre mission, à partir de 2015 cette initiative sera connue comme la Mission d'Observation Électorale de Genre (MOEG).

Sabra Bano,

Chef de mission

Observation des élections selon l'approche de Genre- Tunisie 2014

La mission d'observation des élections tunisiennes de 2014, basée sur une approche Genre (GEM), a été menée en collaboration avec la Ligue Tunisienne des Droits de l'Homme (LTDH), l'Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates (ATFD), l'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFTURD) et le Gender Concerns International. Cette initiative, qui a bénéficié du soutien de l'Office Fédéral Allemand des Affaires Étrangères, s'est inscrite dans la poursuite de notre collaboration qui a débuté avec notre mission commune d'observation des élections basée sur le Genre en 2011.

Le concept de la mission d'observation des élections basées sur le genre a été créé par Gender Concerns International a été mis en œuvre pour la première fois lors des élections parlementaires au Pakistan en 2008. Cette mission Tunisienne constitue un lien solide entre le mouvement international des femmes et le fort mouvement féministe militant dans la région, en particulier en Tunisie. La coopération entre partenaires internationaux et locaux a démontré la solidarité entre ces mouvements féministes. Elle vise à soutenir la participation des femmes aux processus démocratiques et la promotion de la vision d'une société égalitaire. Nous sommes convaincues que les femmes sont un catalyseur pour le changement positif, capables d'occuper des postes clés de décision.

La mission a déployé 10 observatrices internationales et 100 observatrices nationales des élections, dans les bureaux de vote à travers tout le pays. Cette mission vise à mettre en lumière la participation effective des femmes au processus électoral, en focalisant particulièrement sur les zones rurales. Cette mission d'observation des élections basées sur le genre a été la mission d'observation des élections la plus étendue en Tunisie en 2014 et a été substantiellement plus importante en termes de son objectif et son ampleur qu'en 2011.

Cette action est spécifique, non seulement en ce qui concerne sa focalisation exclusive sur les aspects de genre dans le processus électoral, mais aussi par sa gestion et sa mise en œuvre par les femmes. La collaboration entre la LTDH, l'ATFD, l'AFTURD et le Gender Concerns International a permis de renforcer les capacités au sein de chaque organisation. Soulignons enfin que les équipes d'observation des élections se sont beaucoup entretenues avec les parlementaires, les institutions gouvernementales, les organismes indépendants et les organisations nationales et internationales de la société civile.

C'est grâce à ce type d'initiative GEM que plus de femmes peuvent apporter des contributions cruciales que les dirigeants et les décideurs politiques. Ce changement positif que les femmes peuvent apporter de la communauté au niveau national commence par la coulée libre d'une seule voix.

Les Organisations partenaires de la mission d'observation des élections tunisiennes basée sur l'approche Genre

La Ligue Tunisienne de défense de Droits de l'Homme (LTDH)

La Ligue Tunisienne de défense des Droits de l'Homme est la première ligue de défense des droits humains dans la région arabe et africaine à militer pour défendre les droits humains et les libertés fondamentales garantis par la constitution tunisienne et les conventions internationales..

Créée en 1976, LTDH n'a pas cessé, malgré toutes les pressions exercées contre ses militantes et ses militants dans tout le pays, d'observer, de mener des actions contre les violations des droits humains à travers la réception des plaintes des victimes, l'accompagnement et le suivi auprès des autorités concernées pour trouver des solutions.

LTDH a entrepris de nombreuses actions pour combattre la répression, les différentes formes de discriminations, de violences ou de fanatisme. De ce fait, c'est l'une des organisations nationales qui défendent les libertés individuelles et publiques ainsi que les droits socio-économiques et culturels, car ses références sont: l'indivisibilité, l'interdépendance et l'inaliénabilité des droits humains.

Son implication en faveur des droits des femmes a toujours été concrétisée par son engagement auprès des associations féministes indépendantes, la principale fut la féminisation des structures de LTDH ainsi que l'inclusion des droits des femmes comme partie intégrante des droits humains. LTDH s'est toujours intéressée au processus électoral, cet intérêt émanant de sa conviction qu'aucun processus démocratique ne peut aboutir en l'absence d'élections libres, transparentes et intègres.

Si, avant le processus révolutionnaire et durant les années de l'hégémonie du parti unique, l'observation des élections menée par la LTDH servait à dénoncer les pratiques antidémocratiques du régime et attirer l'attention sur les crimes électoraux et l'instrumentalisation de l'administration – qui était à la solde du parti et surtout de son chef. Pour ces raisons et compte tenu de son expérience antérieure, la LTDH était l'une des premières organisations et composantes de la société civile à revendiquer une instance indépendante pour les élections.

L'association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates (ATFD):

L'Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates (ATFD) est une association féministe laïque, autonome et pluraliste qui œuvre pour l'égalité entre les sexes, l'égalité des droits et des chances, et la citoyenneté pleine et entière des femmes ainsi que pour l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination et de violences dont elles sont victimes.

Fondée en 1989 par un groupe de femmes issues du mouvement féministe tunisien, ATFD est active dans différentes commissions qui militent pour les droits humains des femmes dans plusieurs

secteurs, dont la violence, l'égalité successorale, le logement, la liberté, la démocratie, la citoyenneté et la vie professionnelle.

L'association œuvre à la diffusion d'une culture féministe et à l'éducation en matière de droit de l'Homme. Son action est également portée sur la formation des militantes.

Dans sa charte, l'ATFD se propose essentiellement de lutter contre toutes les formes de discrimination à l'égard des femmes et d'œuvrer pour l'instauration de l'égalité entre les sexes au niveau des textes de lois, mais aussi dans les faits.

ATFD organise des rencontres de débat sous forme de tables rondes, des séminaires et des colloques ainsi que des campagnes de sensibilisation aux formes de discriminations subies par les femmes. En outre, ATFD publie des livres et des rapports sur les différents domaines ayant trait à la femme. Tout en reconnaissant les acquis juridiques et les conquêtes sociales remportées au cours de ces 50 ans de la République dans les domaines de la famille, de l'éducation, de la santé et du travail, elle met en lumière « les déficiences » du système.

Consciente de son rôle indéniable dans la défense de l'égalité des droits et des chances entre les sexes et l'édification d'une société démocratique, et forte de son expérience réussie, qui a mis un terme au projet réactionnaire de la constitution de juin 2013, ATFD continue à œuvrer à côté des autres partenaires pour défendre les principes fondateurs que sont la liberté, l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, la non-discrimination et le respect de la dignité humaine tels que posés par les normes internationales en matière de droits humains et celles plus spécifiques aux femmes.

ATFD est convaincue que le combat pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes dans tous les domaines est un élément déterminant pour l'accès à une citoyenneté réelle et effective, fondement de toute démocratie.

L'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFTURD)

Dès sa création en 1998, AFTURD milite contre la marginalisation économique et sociale des femmes, contre le déséquilibre régional, contre le chômage et ses effets discriminants sur les femmes et les jeunes. L'organisation travaille aussi, contre les voix réactionnaires qui cherchent à revenir sur les acquis historiques des femmes sous prétexte des spécificités identitaires et culturelles.

En 2011, les activistes et le Bureau directeur de AFTURD ont eu l'honneur de se trouver au cœur des événements historiques à travers la Tunisie. Ces activités ont eu lieu à travers le processus de transition en s'engageant dans tous les espaces de concertation et de proposition, institutionnels et de la société civile, auxquels elle a été invitée pour faire valoir l'angle spécifique des femmes : la Haute Instance pour la Réalisation des Objectifs de la Révolution, l'Instance Supérieure Indépendante pour les Élections (ISIE), la Coalition Nationale pour la Justice Transitionnelle, la Consultation nationale sur le projet de constitution.

AFTURD milite également pour mettre fin à l'exclusion des femmes des processus de décision, des structures politiques, des postes-clés de l'État et c'est pour cela qu'elle a déployé sa vigilance à tous les

rendez-vous électoraux nationaux de 1989 jusqu'à 2014. Compte tenu des valeurs de l'AFTURD, la nature de ses approches et de ses stratégies d'intervention, l'expérience de l'observation des élections selon l'optique du genre, en partenariat avec le Gender Concerns International, l'ATFD et la LTDH, n'est pas la première expérience dans l'observation des élections, mais la première en ce qui concerne la spécificité de l'angle d'attaque qui nous a permis de mesurer les possibilités et les limites de la participation politique de la femme tunisienne.

Gender Concerns International

Gender Concerns International est une organisation internationale de développement basée à la Haie, la Hollande. Elle a été constituée en 2004 par un groupe d'experts avec une expérience étendue en matière de genre et de développement. Les idéaux centraux de la mission de l'organisation concernent ; établir une société basée sur un équilibre entre les genres nécessite une action dans l'inclusion démocratique, la réduction de la pauvreté, le développement durable, l'autonomisation économique et la mise en place de politique.

Gender Concerns International encourage les femmes en tant qu'agents de changement et de développement. Les activités de ce programme se concentrent sur le renforcement des capacités, le lobbying et la promotion, la facilitation de la formation, le soutien des organisations des femmes et des organisations importantes de la société civile. L'organisation a mis en évidence la dimension genre des démocraties en développement et le rôle clé des femmes en tant qu'agents du changement, soutenant la pleine intégration des femmes dans les processus électoraux, les positions de décision et dans d'autres processus vitaux pour déterminer l'avenir de leur pays.

Le programme unique d'observation des élections basée sur le Genre (GEM) créé par Gender Concerns International aborde la participation démocratique des femmes avant, pendant et après les élections – en tant qu'électrices, candidates et agents électoraux. Les missions d'observation des élections basée sur l'approche Genre ont été menées en Tunisie, au Pakistan, au Maroc et en Libye.

Observateurs International



Sabra Bano

Chef de la Mission GEM Tunisie 2014 et directrice de Gender Concerns International



Magda De Meyer

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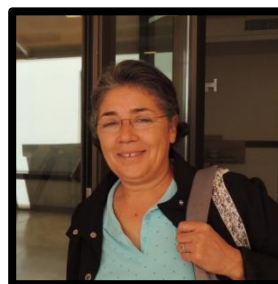
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1. Résumé

1.1 INTRODUCTION

La Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme énonce que chacun a le droit de faire partie du gouvernement de son pays. Néanmoins, bien que les femmes constituent au moins la moitié de l'électorat dans plusieurs pays, elles continuent d'avoir un accès inégal aux structures politiques et économiques de prise de décision.

1.2 OBJECTIFS DE LA MISSION

Conscient de l'importance du rôle que les femmes peuvent jouer en tant que catalyseur du changement, Gender Concerns International vise une meilleure participation des femmes dans la vie publique et l'accès des femmes aux postes de décision. Cette mission d'observation des élections basée sur le genre avait pour objectif la participation libre et équitable des femmes dans les processus démocratiques- de l'éducation de l'électeur avant les élections et la couverture médiatique, jusqu'aux procédures à suivre le jour des élections ainsi que la formation et le soutien des femmes leaders nouvellement élues.

1.3 CONTEXTE

Les élections législatives et présidentielles de 2014 sont le couronnement d'un processus politique qui a commencé après le départ du président Ben Ali en janvier 2011. Ce processus a conduit à l'organisation d'élections des membres d'une Assemblée Nationale Constituante (ANC) chargée de doter le pays d'une nouvelle Constitution. Durant cette période de transition démocratique, la Tunisie a connu une action citoyenne continue marquée par un souci de défense des droits humains et particulièrement des droits humains des femmes et de consolidation de la démocratie.

Dans ce processus, les femmes ont été bel et bien les artisanes et les gardiennes de la démocratie et de la paix puisque, même si elles ont pu imposer la parité et l'alternance dans les listes électorales, des menaces pesant sur leurs droits sont apparues et se sont renforcées avec l'arrivée des islamistes au pouvoir après les élections du 23 octobre 2011.

1.4 SYSTEME ELECTORAL

Concernant les élections législatives, la Tunisie est divisée en 27 circonscriptions pour le territoire national et 6 circonscriptions à l'étranger, dirigées par 33 Instances Régionales Indépendantes pour les Elections (IRIE). Le système électoral adopté par la loi électorale est la représentation proportionnelle. La loi s'est contentée de consacrer la parité verticale dans les listes et n'a pas retenu la parité horizontale. Ceci a suscité des réactions de certains députés du bloc démocratique qui ont présenté un

recours en inconstitutionnalité¹ de cet article pour non-conformité aux dispositions de la Constitution, notamment l'article 21 relatif à l'égalité en droits et devoirs de tous les citoyens, dans l'article 34 relatif aux droits politiques, et la garantie de la représentation des femmes dans les assemblées élues et l'article 46 consacrant la parité.

Quant à l'élection Présidentielle, la Constitution et la loi électorale prévoient que les femmes et les hommes peuvent présenter leur candidature et que le président soit élu pour un mandat de cinq ans au suffrage universel, libre, direct, secret et transparent par une majorité absolue des voix. Si aucun candidat n'obtient une telle majorité au premier tour, un second tour sera organisé au cours des deux semaines suivant l'annonce des résultats définitifs du premier tour.

1.5 ADMINISTRATION ELECTORALE

L'administration électorale tunisienne est établie en décembre 2012. Cette loi a créé une autorité publique indépendante permanente nommée « Instance Supérieure Indépendante pour les Elections » (ISIE) dotée de la personnalité morale et de l'autonomie financière. Le siège de l'ISIE est à Tunis.

La mission d'observation des élections basée sur le genre a observé un nombre élevé du personnel féminin qualifié travaillant au siège de l'ISIE et qui a travaillé dans le centre de vote pendant les jours d'élection. Néanmoins, la parité dans l'administration centrale et dans les bureaux régionaux n'était pas évidente. Pour garantir une parité diffuse, la création d'une unité de genre au sein de l'ISIE reste nécessaire pour une meilleure représentation d'une approche d'équité basée sur le genre.

1.6 INSCRIPTION DES ÉLECTEURS

En 2014, seule l'inscription volontaire au registre électoral a été retenue. Le nombre total d'électeurs est de 5.285.136, dont plus que la moitié sont des femmes avec 50,5 % contre 49,4 % pour les hommes.

Ceci marque une évolution par rapport aux taux d'inscription en 2011, le nombre total des inscrits au registre électoral était de 4.200.000. en 2011, le pourcentage des femmes enregistrées était : 37,27 % contre 62,73 % pour les hommes.

Le processus d'inscription des électeurs a connu plusieurs problèmes. Premièrement, la nouvelle administration électorale n'a pas fait une révision du registre électoral utilisé pour les élections de 2011. Ainsi, la décision de l'ISIE de prolonger la période d'inscription initiale et ensuite de consacrer une période d'inscription supplémentaire a été à l'origine d'une grande confusion, d'autant plus que de nombreux électeurs, qui ont voté en 2011 avec une inscription automatique, ont cru qu'ils pourraient voter sans un acte volontaire d'inscription.

¹ Recours pour inconstitutionnalité du projet d'article 24 a été intenté devant l'Instance Provisoire de Contrôle de Constitutionnalité.

1.7 LA CANDIDATURE DES FEMMES

En 2014, 1327 listes ont participé aux élections législatives, les candidates représentent 47 % de l'ensemble des candidats, mais seulement 148 des listes furent présidées par des femmes, soit 12 %. En dépit du respect, par tous les partis, de la parité sur les listes électorales, l'absence d'obligation de placer des femmes en tête de liste n'a pas permis une augmentation sensible de la proportion de femmes au sein du conseil législatif. En 2011, il y a eu 5502 femmes candidates soit 47 % du total des candidats dont le nombre était 11 686 ; 128 listes étaient présidées par des femmes, seulement 7 % des listes furent donc présidées par des femmes.

1.8 CAMPAGNE ÉLECTORALE

Lors de la campagne électorale de 2014, tout comme celle de 2011, les femmes candidates étaient largement marginalisées par les médias. Elles ont été rarement appuyées et encadrées par leurs partis. Cette marginalisation lors de la campagne électorale a même affecté les candidates têtes de listes.

Les femmes candidates ont parfois été sujettes à des actes de violence. Elles ont parfois été la cible de propos de stigmatisation et de dénigrement touchant à leur bonne moralité et à leur réputation dans le monde réel et dans l'espace virtuel (réseaux sociaux).

1.9 OBSERVATION DES ÉLECTIONS

L'observation révèle beaucoup d'enthousiasme et beaucoup de dévouement de la part des citoyens tunisiens et en particulier les femmes. La force de la société civile tunisienne a été illustrée par un grand nombre d'observatrices tunisiennes qui ont été accréditées pour observer les trois élections. La société civile tunisienne a joué un rôle considérable dans la sensibilisation des électeurs en matière de genre. Toutefois, ces efforts ont été concentrés davantage les zones urbaines alors que les zones rurales sont celle qui ont besoin le plus d'une telle prise de conscience.

1.10 JOURS DES ÉLECTIONS

Dans la majorité des centres de vote observés dans tout le pays, le vote législatif et présidentiel a eu lieu dans une atmosphère organisée et paisible. La sécurité des trois élections a été assurée par les forces militaires et policières. Les forces de sécurité étaient partout : aux entrées des centres de vote, à l'intérieur des centres de vote et même à l'intérieur de certains bureaux de vote. En outre, cette sécurité a été renforcée pour le second tour de l'élection présidentielle.

Dans l'ensemble, les files d'attente étaient mixtes, néanmoins quelques files d'attente séparées ont été observées en particulier dans les zones rurales et même dans certaines grandes villes². La priorité a été accordée aux femmes âgées, aux femmes enceintes, aux femmes handicapées et aux femmes avec enfants. Dans certains centres de vote, le personnel accueillait les enfants accompagnant leurs parents lors du vote, mais malheureusement cette attitude n'était pas commune à tous les bureaux de vote observés.

Nos observatrices de la mission d'observation des élections basées sur le genre ont également relevé des cas d'agressivité envers certaines électrices : femmes âgées, les analphabètes, celles qui ont des difficultés à comprendre le processus de vote, et occasionnellement celles accompagnées par leurs enfants. Cette attitude pourrait décourager ces femmes de voter et peut affecter l'ensemble de l'opération électorale vu que cette catégorie d'électrices est particulièrement importante dans les zones rurales observées. Mais le dévouement et la persistance des femmes âgées ont fait qu'elles ont pu faire face à ces contraintes en votant massivement et en montrant leur solidarité.

Pour les électeurs non-voyants, l'ISIE a fait un bulletin de vote spécial en écriture braille pour faciliter le vote de ces électeurs handicapés. Cette initiative de l'administration électorale démontre la perspective du vote inclusif adopté par l'ISIE. Nos observatrices ont relevé une attitude positive et coopérative envers les électeurs en général.

Les élections de 2014 ont été sans aucun doute caractérisées par un vote massif des femmes. En effet, l'électorat féminin était issu de toutes les catégories sociales et a confirmé son implication dans ce processus électoral long et sophistiqué. Il est important de noter que ce sont les femmes âgées et d'âge moyen qui ont le plus voté, les jeunes électrices étaient moins présentes aux trois échéances électorales. Ce phénomène peut s'expliquer par le fait que, pour les zones rurales, les jeunes femmes constituent la majorité de la main-d'œuvre agricole. Or, les trois échéances électorales ont coïncidé avec la saison de la cueillette des olives. Il faut aussi noter un certain désintéressement de la politique chez cette catégorie de femmes.

La couverture médiatique du vote a été fréquemment observée aux bureaux de vote. Au deuxième tour de l'élection présidentielle, une tendance à interviewer l'électorat féminin a été remarquée, et certaines électrices ont profité de leur passage sur les ondes pour lancer l'appel à d'autres électrices pour se présenter et voter pour l'avenir du pays.

Les observateurs nationaux et internationaux étaient présents dans les centres de vote de la quasi-totalité du pays, à l'exception des bureaux de vote où, pour des raisons de sécurité, l'ISIE a prévu des horaires de vote restreints. Leur nombre varie d'une zone à l'autre, nos équipes ayant remarqué la présence d'un grand nombre d'observatrices nationales et internationales à Nabeul 2 et à Bizerte.

² Kairouan, Monastir, Ben Arous, Sousse, Tunis!

1.11 ANALYSE DES RÉSULTATS

Les résultats des élections législatives n'ont pas donné lieu à une assemblée parlementaire paritaire comme souhaitée par la société civile féministe indépendante ayant milité pour la parité depuis son apparition à la fin des années 80.

En revanche et grâce à la mise en pratique de la parité verticale (dans la composition des listes), 31 % des élus à l'Assemblée des Représentants du Peuple issue des élections législatives en octobre sont des femmes, avec 68 sièges sur un total de 217, et ce nombre a augmenté à 74 sièges après la nomination de certains ministres parmi les députés. C'est le taux de représentation le plus élevé qu'a atteint les Tunisiennes depuis 1956 et les femmes dans le monde arabe.

Bien que la candidate femme (Kalthoum Kannou) n'ait obtenu qu'un nombre limité de voix au premier tour, au deuxième tour, les femmes ont décidé des résultats en appuyant massivement le candidat Beji Caid Essebsi en raison de son discours inspiré de la pensée « Bourguibiste » favorable à l'émancipation des femmes et à la promotion de leurs droits égaux. Les résultats des deux scrutins témoignent du rôle croissant que jouent les femmes tunisiennes dans la sphère publique.

1.12 CONCLUSION

Atteindre l'objectif d'organiser les étapes historiques du processus de transition en Tunisie a représenté un grand défi pour le gouvernement et pour le peuple. Une démocratie s'est enracinée et la Tunisie a prouvé à tous les pays qui ont été témoins de la dynamique du Printemps arabe que les femmes tunisiennes sont habilitées à prendre part au processus de prise de décision en tant que citoyennes actives. Le rôle des femmes tunisiennes a été décisif dans le processus électoral parce qu'elles ont façonné les résultats des élections et c'est une grande réussite pour les femmes en Tunisie. Néanmoins, la responsabilisation des femmes réalisée à ce jour est un objectif à atteindre et non un seuil à maintenir. En effet, il y a beaucoup de travail à faire. Bien que les femmes aient une assez bonne représentation au parlement, elles doivent continuer à être soutenues dans le réseautage et le renforcement de leur influence. Il faut assurer aux femmes l'accès à toutes les voies traditionnelles et nouvelles du pouvoir. Le changement en Tunisie a une condition sine qua none : l'encouragement des femmes à être le catalyseur du changement positif et à réaliser les meilleures applications de leur vaste potentiel.

Les résultats des deux scrutins témoignent du rôle croissant que jouent les femmes tunisiennes dans la sphère publique. À cet égard, l'équipe de la mission d'observation des élections basée sur le genre a le plaisir de présenter ce rapport, observations et recommandations clés afin de galvaniser le travail déjà accompli et de soutenir d'avantage l'autonomisation des femmes tunisiennes.

2. CONTEXTE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme énonce que toute personne a le droit de prendre part à la direction des affaires publiques de son pays. Une gestion et une administration transparente et responsable et un développement durable dans tous les domaines ne seront possibles que si les femmes ont plus de pouvoir d'action et plus d'autonomie et que si elles jouissent d'une meilleure situation sociale, économique et politique. Les rapports de force qui empêchent les femmes de s'épanouir existent à tous les niveaux et dans tous les domaines de la société, du plus privé au plus public. Une participation égale des femmes et des hommes à la prise de décision établira un équilibre qui correspondra mieux à la composition de la société, ce qui est nécessaire au renforcement de la démocratie et à son bon fonctionnement. L'égalité dans la prise de décision donnera aux femmes un poids qui, seul, permettra l'intégration d'une perspective égalitaire dans l'élaboration des politiques. La participation égale à la vie politique sera donc déterminante pour la promotion de la femme. L'égalité de participation aux prises de décisions n'est pas seulement une simple question de justice et de démocratie ; on peut y voir aussi une condition nécessaire pour que les intérêts des femmes soient pris en considération. Sans une participation active des femmes et la prise en compte de leurs points de vue à tous les niveaux de la prise de décision, les objectifs d'égalité, de développement et de paix sont impossibles à réaliser.

Programme d'action de Beijing, la quatrième conférence mondiale sur les femmes, 1995.

Selon la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme (DUDH), tout citoyen a le droit de faire partie du gouvernement de son pays, directement ou par l'intermédiaire de représentants choisis³. Ces droits politiques sont communément reconnus comme universels, inaliénables et indivisibles. Néanmoins, même si les femmes constituent généralement la majorité de la population d'un pays donné, et malgré le mouvement généralisé vers la démocratisation dans la plupart des pays, les femmes sont largement sous-représentées dans la plupart des espaces politiques et économiques de prise de décision.

En 1995, la déclaration et le programme d'action de la conférence de Beijing ont appelé les États à atteindre l'objectif consistant à avoir 30 % des femmes dans les postes de décision. Ce programme a reconnu les droits des femmes en tant que droits humains, en les plaçant dans le cadre des priorités des politiques publiques.

Même avec la reconnaissance des droits des femmes, du progrès ces dernières années, le pourcentage moyen des femmes qui sont actuellement représentées de par le monde dans les instances politiques est encore faible, soit 20 %. La moyenne de la participation politique des femmes est encore moindre dans les pays arabes et est la plus faible dans le monde.

De nombreuses solutions ont été adoptées pour remédier à la sous-représentation des femmes dans la sphère publique. Les quotas ont été utilisés avec succès notamment dans de nombreux pays en

³ Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, Article 21 (<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>).

transition démocratique. En réalité, les obstacles à l'implication de la femme dans la sphère politique sont variés ; les plus importants concernent les normes sociales et culturelles ou les traditions dans les sociétés patriarcales. Les femmes représentent une force de travail, mais doivent participer à la vie publique, car elles ont fait preuve de leadership dans la communauté et les organisations informelles. Les soulèvements du « printemps arabe », et dans lesquels les femmes ont joué un rôle déterminant, ont raté l'occasion de renforcer la présence des femmes dans les instances de prise de décision et de démontrer que le changement doit être effectué à travers la redéfinition des priorités politiques, l'inscription dans l'agenda des politiques de nouvelles questions – dont les questions féminines – qui reflètent les préoccupations, les valeurs et expériences spécifiques de genre pour les femmes, étant entendu que la construction d'une démocratie inclusive ne peut être atteinte sans l'implication des femmes dans les affaires politiques et publiques.

2.2 GEM MISSION OBJECTIVES

Sur le plan international, il y a une reconnaissance croissante que la participation représentative des femmes dans la prise de décision est une condition fondamentale de l'égalité entre hommes et femmes et une caractéristique d'une société inclusive qui valorise et capitalise les contributions de tous ses membres.

La deuxième République tunisienne qui aspire à plus de liberté et de dignité ne peut pas réussir sans l'égalité entre femmes et hommes. Une approche exhaustive de suivi et d'analyse des progrès réalisés à ce jour et visant la réalisation de la gouvernance inclusive, y compris l'autonomisation des femmes, contribuera certainement à construire une démocratie inclusive dans le pays et dans la région.

La participation des femmes dans le processus électoral est diversifiée et varie de la participation en tant qu'électrices, candidates, en tant qu'observatrices et même comme juges lors de la résolution du contentieux électoral. Une analyse complète devrait inclure une évaluation de la participation des femmes au processus électoral et devrait mettre en évidence le rôle qu'elles ont joué dans la gestion et l'administration de ce processus. Cette évaluation peut confirmer si les femmes tunisiennes ont joué, ou non, un rôle effectif dans le succès du processus. Les recommandations qui en découleront permettront d'améliorer la participation des femmes aux futurs processus électoraux sur tous les niveaux, nationaux, régionaux et locaux.

Gender Concerns international, avec les organisations partenaires, ont mené des sessions intensives de formation, concernant l'observation des élections basée sur une approche de genre, pour tous nos observateurs de la mission d'observation des élections basées sur le genre, avec un focus particulier sur les zones rurales où il reste beaucoup à faire afin de soutenir une meilleure présence des femmes aux élections.

La spécificité de la mission c'est qu'elle correspondait à une équipe formée exclusivement d'observatrices assurant que les élections seront observées uniquement selon une approche genre. La

grande équipe formée de 10 observatrices internationales et 100 observatrices nationales était chargée de l'observation des élections Tunisiennes législatives et présidentielles de 2014.



Figure : Formation de l'équipe de Gender Concerns International et de ses partenaires avant les élections



Figure : Mme Reem Obeidat experte internationale assurant une session de formation des observatrices



Figure : Mme Sabra Bano (au milieu), avec des représentantes de la mission annonçant le déploiement des observatrices lors d'une conférence de presse à Tunis

2.3 PLAN D'OBSERVATION



Figure : Deployment map

Notre mission composée de 100 observatrices locales et 10 observatrices internationales a été répartie sur presque toute la Tunisie. Les observatrices nationales sont représentées par des numéros bleus et les observatrices internationales sont représentées par des numéros rouges.

2.4 CONTEXTE



Figure : Ballot box

Si les femmes tunisiennes n'ont pas pu voter lors de l'élection de la première Assemblée constituante en 1956, elles ont pu le faire à partir des élections municipales de 1957. Toutefois, les femmes tunisiennes sont restées sous-représentées dans la vie publique et politique. Le pouvoir est resté avec les hommes appartenant au parti hégémonique.

La réglementation de mai 2011 relative à l'élection de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante (Art. 16) instaure la parité de candidature entre

hommes et femmes, avec une alternance de candidats hommes et femmes sur les listes électorales. Les élections de l'ANC d'octobre 2011 ont été les premières élections démocratiques, libres et transparentes en Tunisie, 59 femmes ont pu être élues à l'Assemblée constituante tunisienne. Elles représentent 27 % des 217 élus.

La parité est désormais un principe constitutionnel prévu dans l'article 46 de la Constitution qui prévoit que « *L'État œuvre à réaliser la parité entre la femme et l'homme dans les conseils élus* ». Pour mettre en œuvre cette disposition constitutionnelle, une loi de mai 2014 relative aux élections et aux référendums prévoit que « Les candidatures sont présentées sur la base du principe de parité entre femmes et hommes et à la règle d'alternance entre eux sur la liste. Cette disposition est critiquable parce qu'elle se contente de la parité verticale ce qui rend l'objectif constitutionnel de réaliser la parité au niveau de la composition des conseils élus.

Dans ce processus électoral assez complexe, les femmes peuvent être considérées comme les promotrices de la démocratie et de la paix puisque, même si elles ont pu imposer la parité et l'alternance dans les listes électorales, des menaces à leurs droits sont apparues et se sont renforcées avec l'arrivée des islamistes au pouvoir après les élections du octobre 2011.

Ces menaces se sont exprimées de différentes manières. Les déclarations de quelques élu(e)s comme celles de madame Souad Abderrahim (députée du parti Ennahdha) après son élection à l'ANC, elle s'est attaquée délibérément aux statuts de mères célibataires. Elles furent suivies par la répression des manifestations populaires et la vague de violences ciblant les femmes, l'émergence du mariage coutumier dans les rangs des étudiants salafistes et dans les milieux islamistes, l'appel à la remise en cause de l'abolition de la polygamie et les abus sexuels des enfants et des petites filles.

Toutes ces pratiques ont constitué des expressions claires de ces menaces aux droits des femmes et elles ont eu lieu dans une ambiance de blocage des institutions de l'État, d'impunité, d'insécurité et

d'assassinats politiques. Mais elles ont traduit surtout la volonté de remise en cause de la modernité de l'État dont le statut des femmes constitue une pièce maîtresse depuis l'indépendance.

Dans ce climat, la rédaction de la Constitution s'est aussi heurtée à beaucoup de résistance de la part de certains députés, représentant le parti Ennahdha qui ont inscrit la complémentarité entre les hommes et les femmes au lieu de l'égalité en droits et en devoirs entre les hommes et les femmes. Toutes ces menaces envers les droits de la femme, aux droits humains et de la citoyenneté en général, ont contribué à une mobilisation croissante de la part de la société civile qui a fait feront à ce mouvement d'inégalité et qui a aidé l'établissement de l'égalité de la femme comme citoyenne à part entière.

Soucieuses de ne pas perdre leurs acquis, les femmes tunisiennes ont non seulement marqué la nouvelle Constitution, mais elles ont été parties prenante dans toutes les batailles politiques et leur rôle dans les élections de 2014 a été une preuve de leur détermination à participer à la vie politique et à la démocratie égalitaire.

Durant les élections législatives de 2014, 31 % des membres de la chambre des représentants du peuple sont des femmes, soit 69 des 217. Au premier tour des élections présidentielles de 2014, madame Kalthoum Kennou, la seule femme parmi les 27 candidats, a été la première femme à se présenter aux élections présidentielles en Tunisie.

Bien que la Tunisie affiche des taux relativement élevés de participation des femmes au parlement, les pratiques sociales et les stéréotypes sexistes à l'égard des femmes dans le leadership politique persistent. Beaucoup d'hommes et de femmes ne conçoivent pas encore la direction au féminin et la femme n'est pas considérée tout à fait à sa place dans l'espace public. L'enjeu est majeur compte tenu du mode de scrutin retenu : la proportionnelle au plus fort reste. Ce dernier, s'il permet une expression plurielle, est difficile pour le deuxième de la liste à moins de remporter deux fois le quotient électoral.

3. CADRE GENERAL DES ELECTIONS TUNISIENNES

3.1 CONTEXTE JURIDIQUE

Après la révolution de janvier 2011, la Tunisie a commencé un long processus de transition afin de construire une démocratie. Les élections constituintes organisées en octobre 2011 étaient la première étape de rupture définitive avec l'ancien régime dictatorial. L'adoption de la nouvelle Constitution en janvier 2014, a structuré les processus électoraux de 2014.

Cette nouvelle constitution consensuelle consacre l'égalité des droits et des devoirs entre les citoyens et les citoyennes sans discrimination. Elle appelle l'État à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour éradiquer la violence contre les femmes et à s'engager à protéger les droits acquis des femmes et à œuvrer pour renforcer et développer ces droits. L'État garantit également l'égalité des chances entre les femmes et les hommes d'avoir accès à tous les niveaux de responsabilité dans tous les domaines.

Les autres éléments importants du cadre juridique du processus électoral de 2014 sont les règlements de l'ISIE. En effet, l'administration électorale a travaillé sur l'application de la Constitution et la loi électorale pour encadrer toutes les étapes du cycle électoral. L'ISIE produit, avec la Haute Autorité Indépendante de la Communication Audiovisuelle (HAICA), une armada de textes juridiques considérés parfois trop compliqués, pour les parties concernées. Les décisions du financement de la campagne électorale est un exemple de la complexité et de la ramification des règles qui peuvent influencer sur leur applicabilité.

3.2 CONTEXTE POLITIQUE

Dans la région MENA, la Tunisie constitue une référence en raison de son œuvre législative de protection des droits humains des femmes. Depuis l'indépendance du pays, la femme tunisienne a obtenu un statut distingué grâce à Bourguiba qui lui a reconnue des droits d'avant-garde dans le domaine de la famille. Cette émancipation l'avait préparée à entreprendre un rôle important dans le processus de transition, malgré une vague de régression qui a touché les femmes après la révolution, la Tunisie aspire à la construction d'un État démocratique qui a commencé par les élections des membres de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante en 2011.

En 2014 aussi, les femmes tunisiennes ont pu faire entendre leurs voix dans le processus électoral ; tel que constaté au second tour de l'élection présidentielle. Les femmes tunisiennes ont aidé à façonner l'histoire de leur pays. Néanmoins, les femmes tunisiennes ont encore des difficultés au niveau socio-économique, en particulier dans les zones rurales. En effet, le pourcentage des femmes analphabètes en Tunisie reste élevé⁴. Ces obstacles restants affectent l'intégration de la femme tunisienne dans la scène politique.

Cet engagement et cette ferveur ne sont pas sans contraintes, en effet, et pour plusieurs raisons, la représentation de la femme tunisienne en tant que candidate était faible : il n'avait que 47 % des femmes candidates aux élections législatives. Il y avait seulement 12 % tête de liste (+ 5 % en comparaison avec l'élection de 2011). Les femmes tunisiennes ont besoin d'une propulsion plus significative sur la scène politique afin qu'elles atteignent leur place méritée au niveau parlementaire.

Concernant l'élection présidentielle, la candidature d'une femme a été un signe d'une forte volonté d'implication de la femme tunisienne dans le processus politique et est un indicateur d'un avenir pour une meilleure inclusion des femmes dans la politique de haut niveau. La candidature de Mme Khalthoum Kennou a eu un effet symbolique significatif. Cette candidature confirme que les femmes tunisiennes sont prêtes pour la fonction suprême de l'État. Cette seule candidature féminine était une candidature indépendante, ce qui prouve que les femmes ont encore un long chemin à parcourir pour obtenir la place qu'elles méritent au sein des partis politiques.

Il est à indiquer que le contexte politique a été caractérisé par une polarisation qui a affecté les résultats en divisant le pays. Heureusement, toutes les institutions, en particulier l'ISIE, ont déployé des efforts dans le cadre du soutien de l'unité nationale. Le rôle du dialogue et de concertation était d'une grande

⁴ 28 % selon le Profile des Genres de la Tunisie (2014).

aide pour l'apaisement des tensions politiques. La construction politique du pays a besoin des efforts collectifs d'hommes et de femmes pour souder le sentiment d'appartenance nationale.

3.3 SYSTEME ELECTORAL

En ce qui concerne les élections législatives, le système électoral adopté par la loi électorale est la représentation proportionnelle. La loi passée en mai 2014 relative aux élections et au référendum a identifié l'électeur comme étant tout citoyen ou citoyenne inscrit dans la liste des électeurs, âgé de 18 ans révolus, jouissant de tous ses droits civils et politiques et ne se trouvant dans aucun des cas de privation du droit de vote prévus par la loi.

En matière d'élections législatives, le chapitre 3 a déterminé les conditions d'éligibilité dans des listes paritaires et alternées entre hommes et femmes.

Cependant, l'article 24 de la loi a simplement consacré la parité verticale dans les listes et n'a pas retenu la parité horizontale. Ce qui a suscité des réactions des députés du bloc démocratique qui ont présenté un recours en annulation de cet article pour non-conformité aux dispositions de la Constitution.

Cependant, l'Instance Provisoire de Contrôle de la Constitutionnalité des Lois, a refusé d'admettre l'inconstitutionnalité de cet article 24 et l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante a entériné la parité horizontale. Cela a eu pour effet de ne pas avoir autant d'hommes que de femmes dans les têtes de liste puisque cela relève de la seule volonté des candidats et des partis politiques.

Le système constitutionnel prévoit que le Président soit élu pour un mandat de cinq ans par un suffrage universel, libre, direct, secret et transparent, avec la majorité absolue des voix. Si aucun candidat n'obtient une telle majorité au premier tour, un second tour sera organisé pendant les deux semaines suivant l'annonce des résultats définitifs du premier tour. Seuls les deux candidats ayant remporté le plus grand nombre de voix lors du premier tour se présentent au second tour.

La Constitution donne un droit égal avec des conditions aux citoyens tunisiens, hommes et femmes, de présenter leur candidature. Le candidat doit être musulman et doit avoir la nationalité tunisienne par naissance, et dans le cas d'une double nationalité, un engagement de l'abandon de l'autre nationalité doit être présenté lors de la soumission de la candidature. En outre, chaque candidat(e) doit déposer, auprès de la Trésorerie générale de la République Tunisienne, une garantie de 10.000 dinars (4,360 EUR approximativement) qui ne seront restitués que si il/elle obtient au moins 3 % des votes valables. Ce seuil ne peut pas garantir que des candidats non sérieux entrent dans la course. En outre, les conséquences de cette procédure sont qu'un candidat peut également perdre une importante somme d'argent. Cela peut être un problème, surtout pour les candidats indépendants.

Le « parrainage » a été également l'une des nouvelles procédures et conditions de candidature à l'élection présidentielle. Chaque candidat doit être soutenu par 10 députés ou 10.000 électeurs inscrits. Dans la pratique, cette condition a causé plusieurs problèmes, car elle nécessite beaucoup d'efforts pour

vérifier l'authenticité de chaque signature. Ce système peut causer, si non-maîtrisé, un risque énorme de fraude qui peut affecter l'intégrité de l'ensemble du processus électoral.

L'administration électorale

La loi portant création de l'ISIE a été adoptée par l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante en Décembre 2012. Cette loi a fixé les compétences de l'ISIE, mais aussi sa composition, avec un Conseil constitué de 9 membres représentant les différents corps constitués et des compétences.

Contrairement à l'ancienne ISIE, la société civile n'est pas représentée dans l'Instance centrale et la parité n'a pas été retenue dans la composition de l'ISIE. Pourtant, en 2011, un article de loi disposait expressément que « l'instance supérieure pour la réalisation des objectifs de la révolution, de la réforme politique et de la transition démocratique » veille au respect de la parité entre hommes et femmes. Il est vrai que malgré la consécration de la parité dans ce décret-loi, seules deux femmes ont été élues au sein de l'Instance sur un total de 16 membres alors qu'actuellement il y a 3 femmes sur 9 membres. Les trois femmes qui ont été élues sont chargées l'une de la représentation des étrangers, l'autre de la magistrature et la troisième est spécialiste en communications; ce qui constitue un recul par rapport à 2011 où une femme occupait le poste de vice-présidente. De même, tant au sein de l'instance nationale qu'au sein des instances régionales qui existent au niveau des 33 circonscriptions électorales, il n'existe pas de département femmes voire de division genre.

Pour l'accomplissement de sa mission et la mise en œuvre des dispositions de la loi électorale, l'ISIE a adopté un nombre de décisions concernant la procédure électorale, le calcul des résultats et l'observation internationale. Cependant, aucune de ces décisions ne s'est focalisée sur les problèmes spécifiques que les femmes pourraient rencontrer durant le processus électoral.

Les tâches à la charge de L'ISIE:

- Tenir le registre des électeurs et l'actualiser de manière continue ;
- Établir les listes électorales pour chaque élection ou référendum,
- Garantir le droit de voter pour chaque électeur et l'égalité de traitement pour tous les électeurs et les candidats;
- Contrôler l'intégrité et la transparence des élections y compris le compte des votes et des résultats ;
- Préparer les codes de conduite et l'accréditation des représentants des candidats et autres parties prenantes,
- former le personnel des bureaux de vote et les responsables en charge des élections.
- faciliter l'éducation des électeurs, superviser le financement des campagnes et publier les rapports des élections et des activités de l'ISIE

ISIE était réactive et a respecté tous les délais du cycle électoral. En effet, durant le second tour présidentiel, l'ISIE a établi une méthode pour identifier des électeurs selon le genre, en réponse aux

recommandations faite par Gender Concerns International et ses partenaires pour établir de telles statistiques des électeurs incluant le genre.

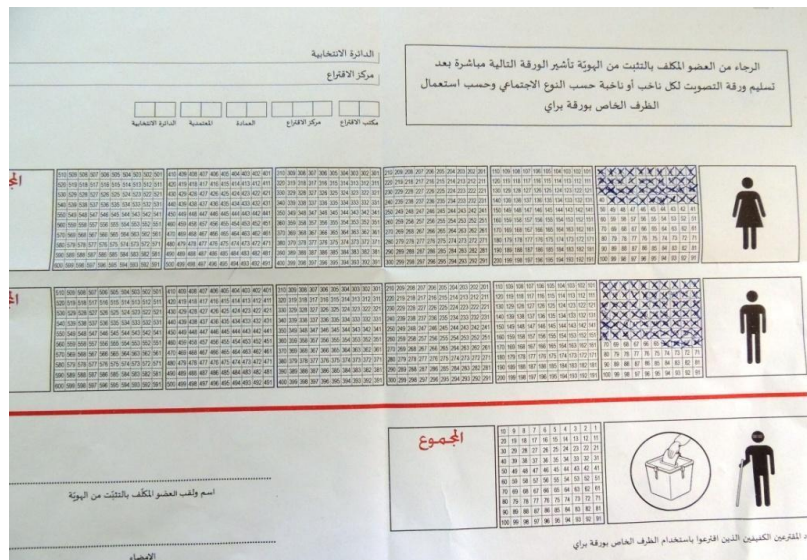


Figure : Les électeurs ont été identifiés selon le genre lors du second tour de l'élection présidentielle

3.4 LES FEMMES DANS L'ADMINISTRATION ÉLECTORALE

ISIE est composée de neuf membres indépendants et impartiaux; l'Instance se renouvelle par tiers tous les deux ans. Actuellement, l'ISIE est composée de trois femmes et six hommes. Pour concrétiser cet objectif constitutionnel, plus d'attention devrait être accordée à la parité entre les sexes lors du renouvellement de l'instance.

Dans les départements de l'ISIE, il y a près de 50 % des femmes, y compris une femme chef de département juridique et une femme responsable de formation. Les observations ont montré qu'au sein de l'administration centrale, nous avons identifié 64 agents femmes et 102 agents hommes. Au niveau régional, et selon les statistiques officielles produites par l'ISIE, la parité est atteinte en ce qui concerne les agents d'inscription, car il y avait 1422 femmes sur 2618. Dans les instances régionales les femmes n'ont pas été bien représentées, il n'y avait que 13 femmes membres sur 90. Les coordinateurs régionaux étaient majoritairement des hommes. Selon les statistiques de l'ISIE, il n'y avait que 5 coordinatrices femmes sur un total de 27 coordinateurs.

Ainsi, pour obtenir la parité, des efforts restent à faire en ce qui concerne le personnel des bureaux de vote.

3.5 Inscription des électeurs



L'étape cruciale de l'inscription des électeurs a rencontré plusieurs problèmes et constitue de ce fait un point faible du processus électoral. Premièrement, la nouvelle administration électorale n'a pas révisé le registre électoral relatif aux élections de 2011. Ensuite, la décision de l'ISIE de prolonger la période d'inscription initiale et de consacrer une période d'inscription supplémentaire a semé la confusion, d'autant plus que de nombreux électeurs, qui ont voté en 2011 avec une inscription automatique, ont cru qu'ils pourraient voter sans devoir s'inscrire au

préalable ou confirmer leur inscription.

La totalité des Tunisiens nouvellement inscrits pour les élections de 2014 est de 993,696 dont 50,5 % étaient des femmes. Le nombre total de tous les citoyens tunisiens inscrits, à la fois pour les élections législatives et présidentielles est de 5.285.136 avec 359.530 électeurs à l'étranger.

Environ 300.000 femmes démunies de cartes d'identité ont été privé d'exercer leur droit de vote, même si 5000 parmi elles ont pu acquérir leurs cartes d'identité nationales à temps et voter grâce aux efforts de l'ISIE et du Secrétariat d'État chargé des questions de la femme et de la famille.

Malgré tous ces efforts, la participation des femmes dans les zones rurales, comme durant l'élection de 2011, n'est pas satisfaisante. Dans ces régions, les femmes souffrent de beaucoup de problèmes notamment les difficultés économiques. Les électrices analphabètes ont demandé parfois à être assistées par un membre de la famille, ce qui était illégal, donc malheureusement, elles ont rencontré des difficultés à voter.

L'ISIE a établi un fichier d'identification des votes réalisés par des femmes lors des élections législatives et du premier tour de l'élection présidentielle. L'administration électorale a identifié un vote sensible au genre dans chaque centre de vote, et nous remarquons que le pourcentage des suffrages des femmes le plus bas, soit 4,6 %, était dans un centre de vote avec des horaires restreints en raison de la situation sécuritaire (Ouchtata-Jendouba). Le pourcentage le plus élevé des suffrages des femmes est enregistré à Tataouine et a atteint 62 %.

Selon la documentation de l'ISIE, nous avons trouvé une égalité absolue entre le pourcentage des suffrages des femmes et des hommes à Tozeur (50 % d'hommes / 50 % de femmes). À Tunis 2 et à Kébili, le pourcentage des suffrages des femmes a dépassé celui des hommes (52 % de femmes et 48 % d'hommes pour Tunis 2) (51 % de femmes et 49 % d'hommes pour Kébili).

Nos équipes ont observé un faible taux de participation des jeunes en général et des jeunes femmes en particulier. Plus d'efforts doivent être consacrés pour atteindre les jeunes femmes électrices en particulier dans les zones rurales.

3.6 EDUCATION DE L'ÉLECTEUR ET RÔLE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE

De nombreuses campagnes portant sur l'inscription des électeurs ont été menées par l'ISIE. Les organisations de la société civile ont, elles aussi, organisé des campagnes pour inciter les Tunisiens à s'inscrire ou à voter. En effet, les organisations de la société civile, en particulier les organisations des femmes, ont participé à la sensibilisation des électeurs. Le temps d'assurer la sensibilisation des électeurs a été comprimé en raison du court délai des différentes étapes du cycle électoral et des délais serrés pour mettre en œuvre les trois élections. Malgré les délais restreints, la participation à ce processus électoral complexe était enthousiaste, surtout pour les élections législatives et, dans certains cas les femmes, avec un sens civique inné et un grand patriotisme, se sont vraiment investies pour la réussite du processus électoral.

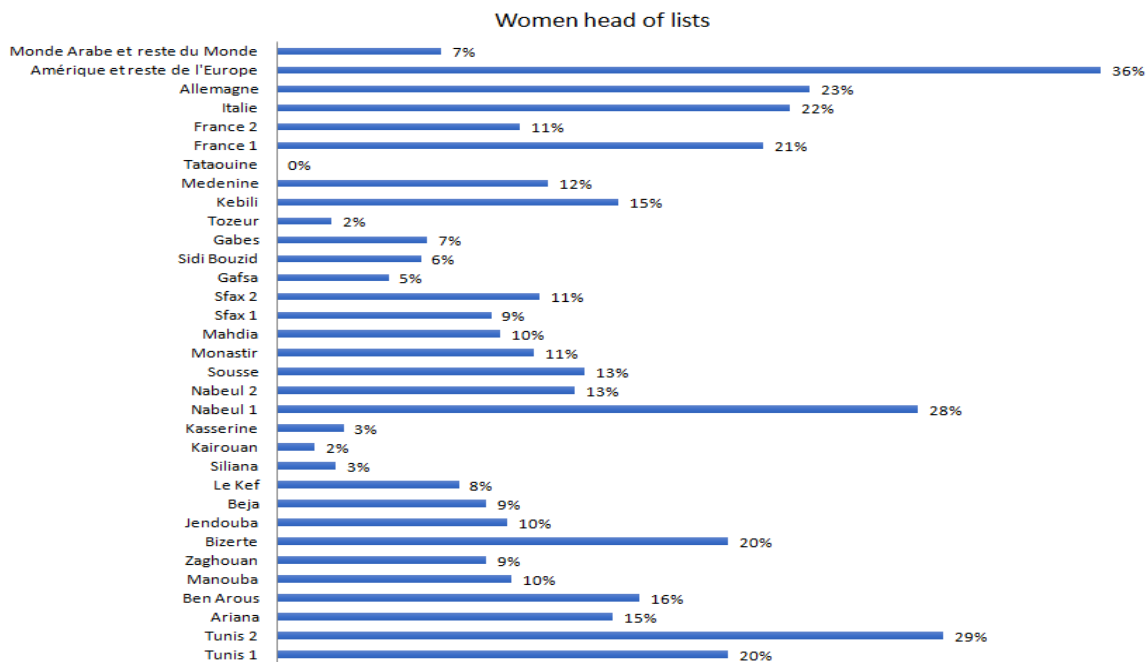
L'ISIE a produit de nombreux manuels et a lancé des programmes d'éducation des électeurs qui ont ciblé les femmes. Même si le matériel ne respectait pas toujours le principe de neutralité, diverses affiches et vidéos ont été créées afin d'encourager la participation des femmes aux élections. Malheureusement, la propagation et la diffusion de ces outils ont été limitées par le temps et n'étaient pas bien programmées. En outre, le fait que la Tunisie ait organisé ce processus électoral spécial, avec 3 opérations électorales dans un délai de 3 mois, a fait que les électeurs se sont lassés car ils cherchaient avant tout des solutions immédiates à leurs problèmes socio-économiques. La complexité du cycle électoral explique que sa compréhension ne soit pas évidente pour les électeurs. La pérennisation de l'expérience électorale de 2011 explique l'enthousiasme général de la Tunisie pour les élections perçues comme le seul moyen de terminer la construction démocratique du pays, mais, parfois, de nombreuses femmes, en particulier les plus âgées, ont rencontré des difficultés pour voter et ont demandé de l'aide. Ce problème est particulièrement évident dans les zones rurales. Les femmes âgées ont connu des problèmes de compréhension du processus électoral, comme, par exemple, comment voter, en particulier la façon de remplir le bulletin de vote.

3.7 CANDIDATURES DES FEMMES

Étant donné que seule la parité verticale a été retenue, il n'y avait pas beaucoup de femmes à la tête des listes puisque 148 femmes seulement étaient à la tête des listes sur les 1.326 listes retenues, soit 12 %. Ceci représente une avancée timide par rapport au 7 % en 2011, mais insuffisante pour aboutir à une représentation égalitaire des hommes et des femmes. Comme l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante, l'Assemblée des Représentants du Peuple (ARP) sera dominée par les hommes.

En moyenne, sur les 33 circonscriptions, les partis ne présentent que 3, 4 ou 5 femmes en tête de liste. "C'est trop peu", reconnaît Emna Ben Othmane, en première position sur une liste d'Al-Joumhour (Parti

républicain). “La femme fait encore peur ici. Certains pensent qu'elle ne sera pas à la hauteur pour mener une campagne”.



Graph 1: Percentage of women head of lists

La seule formation qui se distingue réellement : l'Union pour la Tunisie (UPT), une coalition de gauche qui présente 13 femmes. “Nous avons toujours milité pour une parité poussée”, explique Nawel Achour, doctorante en droit âgée de 26 ans. Elle-même est candidate, derrière un élu de l'Assemblée constituante qui se représente. “Je n'ai pas beaucoup hésité. C'est le moment ou jamais pour participer à la construction de la nouvelle Tunisie. Les femmes et les jeunes doivent avoir leur mot à dire!”.



Figure

Les femmes têtes de listes étaient très peu nombreuses à l'intérieur du pays, en particulier dans le sud. En effet, le nombre de femmes têtes de liste est très faible dans de nombreuses circonscriptions telles que Kairouan, Tozeur (seulement 1 femme tête de liste), Kasserine, Siliana, (deux femmes têtes de liste), Gafsa, Zaoughan, (3 femmes têtes de liste).

La situation en 2014 n'est pas meilleure que celle de 2011. En effet, en 2011, les candidates femmes étaient têtes de listes des candidats

dans seulement 7 % des circonscriptions avec un maximum de 17 % à Tunis 2 et avec un pourcentage inférieur à 5 % dans les deux tiers des 27 circonscriptions à l'intérieur du pays. Il y a même des régions où il n'y a pas de femme tête de liste d'un parti politique régional. Par exemple, à Tataouine, sur 31 listes, il n'y avait pas de femme candidate.

3.8 CAMPAGNE ELECTORALE



Figure : Meeting with newly-elected Members of Parliament from Ennahdha

Lors de la campagne électorale de 2014, tout comme celle de 2011, les femmes candidates étaient largement marginalisées par les médias. Elles ont été rarement appuyées et encadrées par leurs partis. Cette situation lors de la campagne électorale a touché même les candidates têtes de listes.

En outre, les femmes candidates ont été sujettes parfois à des actes de violence physique et à travers les réseaux sociaux. Ce qui a porté atteinte à leur réputation et à leur sécurité.



Figure : Discussion entre l'équipe du mission et une députée de Nidaa Tounes

La décision commune en Juillet 2014 entre ISIE et la Haute Autorité Indépendante de la Communication Audiovisuelle, annonce que les listes des candidats feront l'objet d'une couverture médiatique

proportionnelle au nombre de listes des candidats dans la circonscription (exemple, les listes des candidats dans 26-33 circonscriptions doivent avoir de 30 à 40 % des programmes médiatiques de la campagne distribués équitablement entre eux. Un temps de diffusion gratuite de 3 minutes sur les stations de radio et de télévision nationales a été accordé à chaque liste des candidats.



Figure : Dynamique électorale et sensibilisation : matériaux de la campagne à Tunis

Concernant l'élection présidentielle, la campagne électorale du premier tour a commencé le 1er novembre pour finir le 22 novembre, la campagne du second tour a commencé le 9 décembre et s'est terminée le 19 décembre. Pour le premier tour, et selon une perspective de genre, la campagne de l'unique femme candidate était intéressante à suivre. Nous avons remarqué que la campagne électorale de Mme Kennou s'était étalée sur toute la période avec une activité accélérée lors de la dernière semaine. Au cours de ses visites et réunions, elle était accueillie par les femmes et les hommes. En tant que candidate indépendante sans le soutien d'un parti politique, il était difficile pour la candidate d'organiser de grandes réunions. Pour cette raison, une couverture médiatique égale était extrêmement importante pour Mme Kennou.

3.9 OBSERVATION DU JOUR DU SCRUTIN

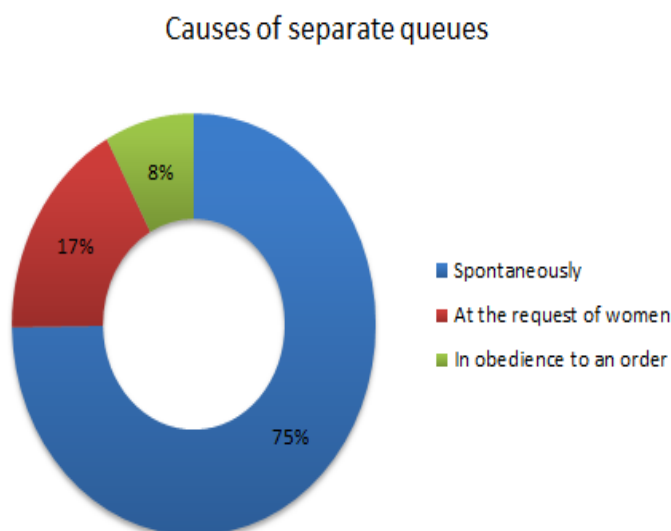
L'observation selon une perspective genre a révélé beaucoup d'enthousiasme et beaucoup de dévouement de la part des citoyens tunisiens et en particulier des femmes. Quant à l'élection présidentielle, pour les deux tours, et surtout pour le second tour, on n'a pas observé de longues files d'attente. Dans la plupart des cas, ces rangées étaient mixtes, sauf dans les zones sensibles et rurales telles que Soliman. Les femmes handicapées et les femmes enceintes ont eu la priorité et les enfants accompagnant leurs parents ont été accueillis dans certains bureaux de vote. Dans la plupart des centres

de vote observés dans tous les tours d'élections, à part quelques rares exceptions, le vote s'est déroulé d'une manière fluide et dans une ambiance plutôt calme.

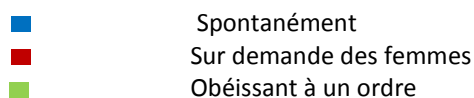
La majorité des files d'attente étaient mixtes. Cela n'empêche que des files d'attente séparées sur la base du sexe ont été observées surtout dans les zones rurales et même dans certaines grandes villes. Ainsi, les observatrices ont constaté dans certains centres de vote situés à Kairouan et à Monastir que les électeurs et les électrices s'organisaient dans des files d'attente séparés. La séparation des files d'attente fondée sur le sexe a été observée dans des centres de vote à Ben Arous, Kairouan et Sousse. Si cette distinction s'est faite de manière spontanée dans des régions où la population avait une préférence pour la non-mixité, « elle a été parfois exigée par des agents des IRIE et même par des personnes étrangères à l'équipe de l'administration électorale dans d'autres centres de vote » (école « la poste » à Mseken-Sousse).

Dans certains bureaux de vote (Rue de Marseille, Bab Jedid, etc.) les citoyens ont décidé de se séparer en deux files l'une pour les femmes l'autre pour les hommes. Un comportement qui a fortement déplu à certains, dont une femme notamment, au bureau de vote de la rue de Marseille, qui a fait un scandale dénonçant cela et le considérant comme rabaisant pour la femme, comme en témoigne une vidéo de la radio Mosaique Fm.

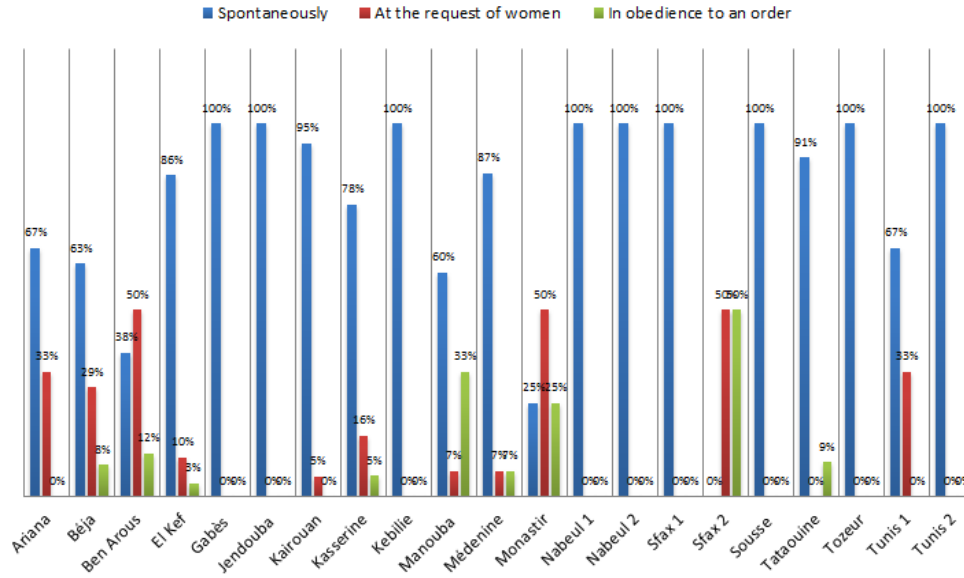
Causes des files d'attente séparées



Graph 2: Causes of separate queues



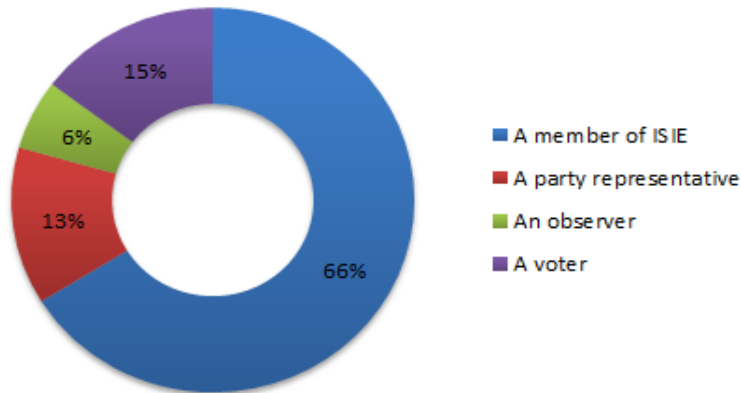
Causes of separate queues by constituency



Graph 3: Causes of separate queues by constituency

■ Spontanément ■ Sur demande des femmes ■ Obéissant à un ordre

Pour “En obéissant à un ordre”, l’ordre a été donné par un :



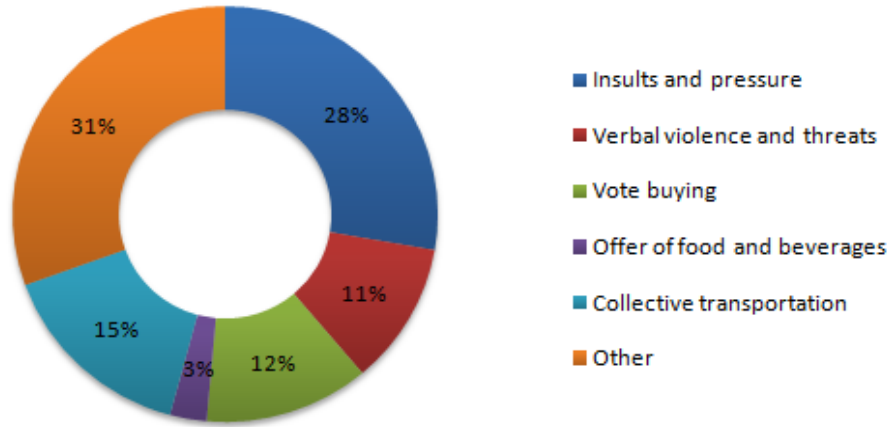
Graph 4: Order responsibility

■ Membre de l’ISIE
 ■ Représentant d’un parti
 ■ Observateur
 ■ Electeur

Formation des files mixtes le plus souvent paru spontané, mais dans certains cas, la séparation semblait être une sorte d’intimidation. Polling personnel de la station, dans certains cas imposées files d’attente

séparée. Sur la question d'influencer des électeurs, même si quelques cas d'influence des femmes électeurs ont été remarqués, il était intéressant de voir les différentes techniques d'influence.

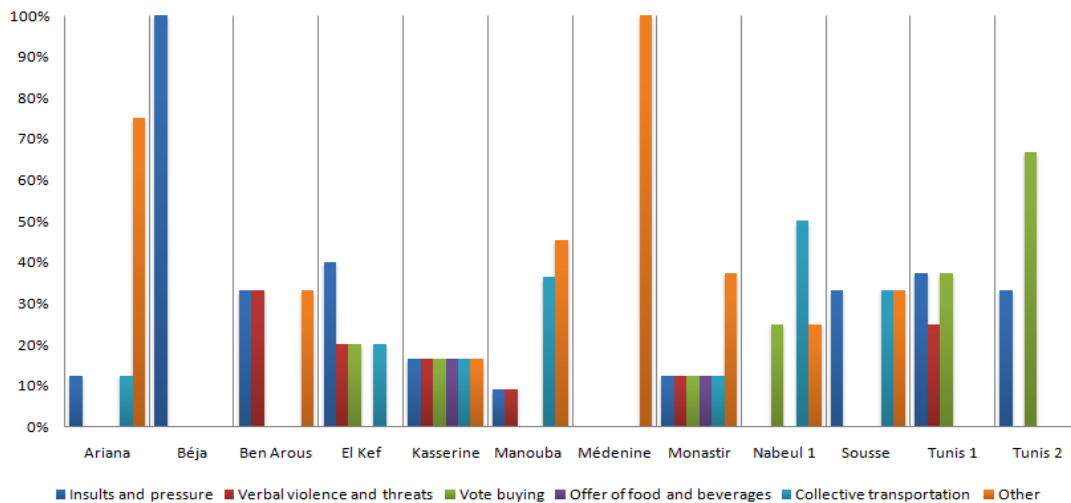
Techniques to influence women's votes



Graph 5: Techniques to influence women's votes

- Insultes et pression
- Violence verbale et menaces
- Achat de vote
- Offre de nourriture et de boissons
- Transport collectif
- Autres

Techniques to influence women's votes by constituency



Graph 6: Techniques to influence women's votes by constituency

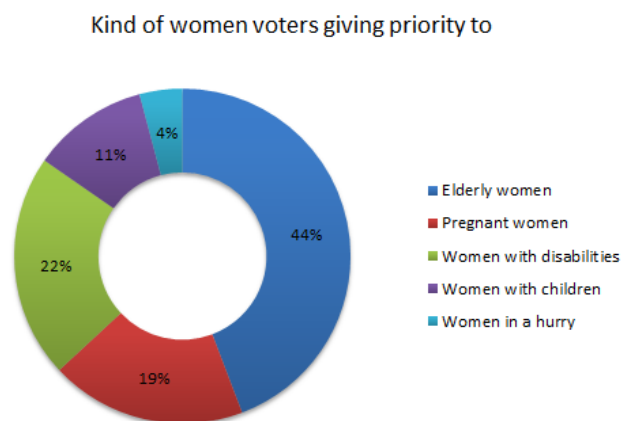
La priorité accordée à certaines catégories de femmes

Dans la majorité écrasante des centres de vote observés, une attention particulière et une assistance ont été accordées aux femmes âgées, enceintes ou accompagnées par leurs enfants. Toutefois, dans certains centres de vote situés à Tunis 2 et à Sousse par exemple, les femmes accompagnées par leurs enfants n'ont pas bénéficié d'aide ou de traitement prioritaires. Cette difficulté n'a pas empêché les électrices de voter puisque le temps d'attente n'était pas très long (moins d'une heure) et donc pas contraignant pour elles.

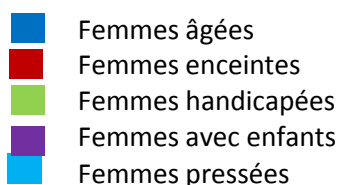
S'agissant des femmes illettrées, les observatrices ont rapporté que dans certains bureaux de vote, les directeurs avaient un comportement assez "agressif" vis-à-vis de cette catégorie importante d'électrices. Celles-ci demandaient souvent l'avis des autres pour faire leur choix.

Un certain nombre de bureaux de vote observés n'étaient pas très accessibles aux personnes handicapées. Les observatrices ont souvent mentionné l'absence de bureaux de vote adaptés pour les personnes handicapées. La priorité et l'assistance ne leur ont pas été toujours accordées.

Concernant certaines personnes handicapées non voyantes, et à défaut de listes en Braille, notamment pendant les élections législatives, devant le refus des membres des bureaux de vote de permettre à leurs frères ou proches de les aider, elles ont été obligées de choisir quelqu'un dans la file pour pouvoir voter.



Graph 7: Priority for women



4. L'OBSERVATION DURANT LES JOURS DES ELECTIONS

Notre équipe de mission d'observation des élections selon le genre, a eu l'occasion d'assurer la mission d'observation dans une zone sensible où les bureaux de vote avaient des horaires d'ouverture limités (10h00-15h00). Cependant, dans les zones proches de la frontière algérienne, ces observatrices ont été avisées par les forces de l'armée de ne pas continuer pour des raisons de sécurité. Voir des observatrices nationales et internationales dans cette zone n'est pas courant et nos équipes d'observation ont été chaleureusement accueillies.

Les candidats, les partis politiques et les organisations nationales ont pleinement exploité le potentiel des femmes à nommer comme agents politiques et observatrices. En effet, en ce qui concerne l'observation des trois élections, il y a eu une mobilisation de toutes les forces féminines engagées dans la société civile. Dans notre champ d'observation, nous avons constaté que, d'une manière générale, les observatrices nationales ont constitué 44 % des observateurs nationaux. Dans certaines circonscriptions, la majorité des observateurs nationaux déployés était des observatrices femmes. Aussi paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, le sud et les régions intérieures ont mobilisé un potentiel considérable de femmes en qualité d'observatrices : à Tozeur 54 % des observateurs étaient des femmes, 52 % à Kasserine. Dans d'autres régions, le pourcentage d'observatrices femmes et celui des observateurs hommes étaient proches de la parité : Ben Arous 47 %, Tunis 1 et Tunis 2, 46 %. Sur un total de 2394 observés par nos équipes dans toutes les régions, 1332 étaient des femmes.

4.1 LES JOURS DES ELECTIONS

Les élections de 2014 ont été marquées par une participation massive des femmes. À titre d'exemple, le taux national de participation des femmes au premier tour des élections présidentielles a été de 50,5 % contre 47 % à l'occasion des élections de l'ANC en 2011.

Lors des élections législatives, plusieurs femmes inscrites n'ont pas retrouvé leurs noms sur les listes d'électeurs. Tenant à leur droit de vote, elles ont protesté dans les centres concernés. Ce qui ne relevait pas seulement d'une défaillance de l'ISIE, mais de leur ignorance de la nécessité de vérifier l'enregistrement de leurs noms sur les listes électorales.

Cette présence a remarquablement augmenté à l'occasion du deuxième tour de l'élection présidentielle. Contrairement aux difficultés observées lors des élections législatives, nos équipes d'observatrices ont constaté que les illettrées n'ont trouvé aucune difficulté pour voter du fait que le bulletin de vote ne comportait que les deux photos des deux candidats. Les électrices étaient de toutes les générations et de toutes les catégories sociales et socioprofessionnelles.

Les femmes accèdent aux centres de vote sans aucune entrave ou discrimination. Elles arrivent principalement seules aux centres de vote ou en groupe de femmes et moins en groupe mixte. Malgré la difficulté d'établir une tendance générale concernant l'arrivée des femmes, certaines observations sont pertinentes :

Aux bureaux de vote observés à Béja lors des élections législatives et présidentielles, les femmes sont arrivées principalement seules ou dans des groupes de femmes. Peu de femmes sont arrivées dans des groupes mixtes.

Les jeunes femmes étaient moins présentes notamment dans le deuxième tour des présidentielles et surtout dans le milieu rural parce qu'elles étaient occupées par la cueillette des oliviers et pour certaines parce qu'elles étaient totalement désintéressées par la vie politique.

Les électrices venaient du milieu rural comme du milieu urbain. Elles se déplaçaient vers les centres de vote seules, en couple, en groupe de femmes, et souvent accompagnées par leurs enfants. Les hommes allaient aux centres de vote généralement accompagnés par d'autres hommes de leur âge.

Dans plusieurs circonscriptions, on a constaté que les femmes étaient ramenées aux centres de vote dans un transport collectif. Elles venaient dans des voitures portant la photo d'un candidat à l'élection présidentielle. Dans d'autres circonscriptions, les observatrices ont enregistré que des groupes religieux ramenaient les femmes et les accompagnaient aux centres de vote. Le risque d'influencer le choix des femmes est très présent du moment où le transport public n'a pas été suffisamment assuré en particulier dans les régions de l'intérieur et les petits villages frontaliers. L'intensité de la participation des femmes a été plus importante durant l'après-midi. Une fois les travaux domestiques terminés, les femmes venaient voter.

Les femmes entraient seules dans l'isoloir. Elles ont voté le plus souvent à titre individuel contrairement aux élections de 2011 où certains responsables des bureaux de vote ont toléré l'accompagnement jusqu'à l'isoloir.

4.2 LA SECURITE

Durant les trois jours du scrutin, la sécurité a été assurée par l'armée et la police. Les militaires et les agents de l'ordre siégeaient devant les centres de vote et même à l'intérieur des bureaux de vote. Cette présence a été renforcée à l'occasion du deuxième tour des élections présidentielles avec l'augmentation des menaces terroristes.

En grande majorité, les agents des forces de l'ordre étaient des hommes. Dans les zones rurales et les quartiers populaires, la présence des femmes parmi les agents de sécurité était importante sauf dans les régions du sud. À Tataouine, tous les agents de sécurité étaient des hommes, rares étaient les femmes dans quelques circonscriptions de Médenine et de Gabès.

Cette présence des femmes parmi les agents de sécurité s'est progressivement réduite entre le premier tour et le deuxième tour des élections présidentielles. On suppose que cette diminution du nombre de femmes a été décidée par mesure sécuritaire.

Pendant les élections, la présence de femmes représentant les forces de l'ordre variait. En effet, nous avons observé que pour les élections législatives, les femmes représentant les forces de l'ordre étaient

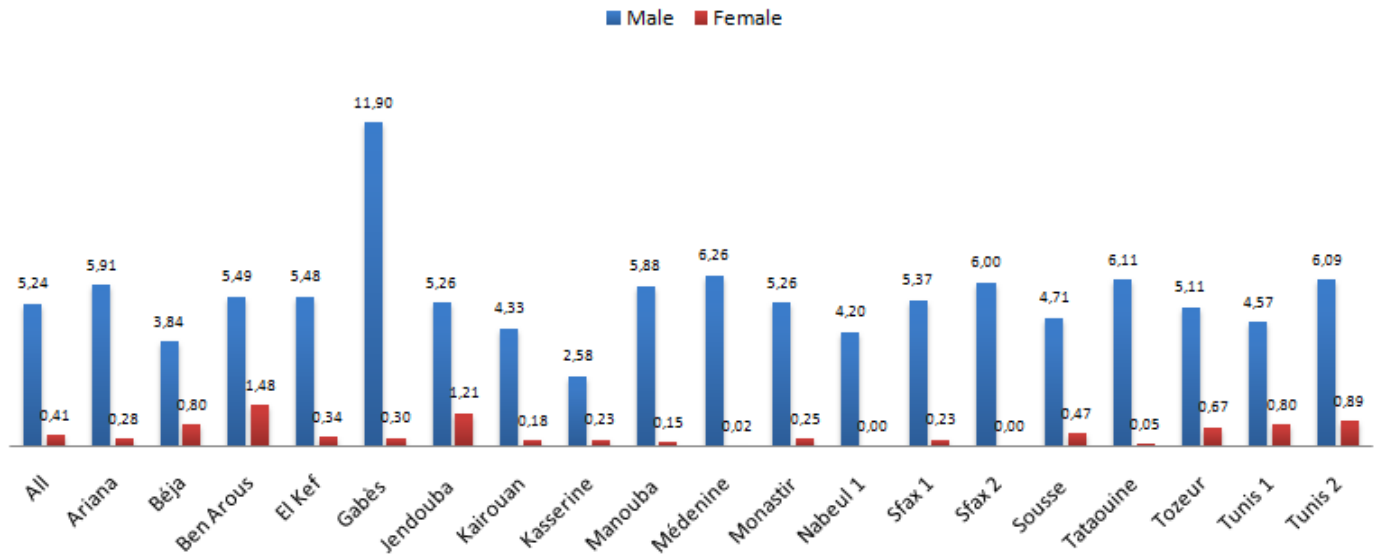
plus nombreuses par rapport à l'élection présidentielle. En réalité, le déploiement des femmes des forces de l'ordre variait d'une région à une autre. Dans les zones rurales, dans les régions présentant un risque de sécurité et dans les régions du sud, les femmes des forces de l'ordre étaient moins nombreuses. Les femmes des forces de l'ordre constituaient 47 % des forces de l'ordre déployées pour assurer des conditions sécurisées pour les élections. À Tunis et dans les régions voisines, le nombre de femmes représentant les forces de l'ordre était plus élevé.



Figure : Le nombre de femmes représentant les forces de l'ordre observées dans les bureaux de vote à Tunis était supérieur à celui des zones rurales

Les observatrices ont enregistré qu'aucune différence de comportement à l'égard des électrices n'a été constatée. En revanche, croyant qu'elle est journaliste, un agent des forces de l'ordre a tenté d'intimider une observatrice devant un centre de vote situé à Djerba-Midoun en l'insultant d'être dans la catégorie des journaux à la solde de l'ancien régime.

Average number of security forces by gender and constituency



Graph 8: Nombre moyen des représentants des forces de l'ordre par genre et par région

4.3 L'ACCÈS AU BUREAU DE VOTE



Figure : Les instructions de vote étaient visibles dans presque tous les centres de vote

L'accès aux centres de vote était fluide et les instructions de vote étaient généralement affichées à l'entrée du bureau. L'accès au centre de vote a été conditionné par la présentation d'une carte d'identité et l'accès au bureau de vote a été strictement refusé aux non-inscrits à ce centre.

4.4 LES CENTRES DE VOTE



Figure : Female polling centre member

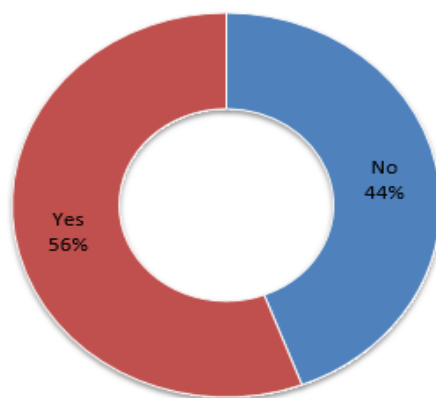
Les centres de vote étaient généralement gérés par des enseignants et des directeurs d'écoles, qui avaient tous reçu une formation du département de formation de l'ISIE. Les procédures d'ouverture et de fermeture ont été respectées dans tous les bureaux de vote visités et nos observateurs ont estimé que le respect des procédures a été bon et même excellent. Les femmes occupaient le poste de président de centres de vote dans 56 % des centres de vote visités. Les femmes tunisiennes étaient également actives en tant

que membres des bureaux de vote qui ont travaillé dur pour gérer toutes les opérations

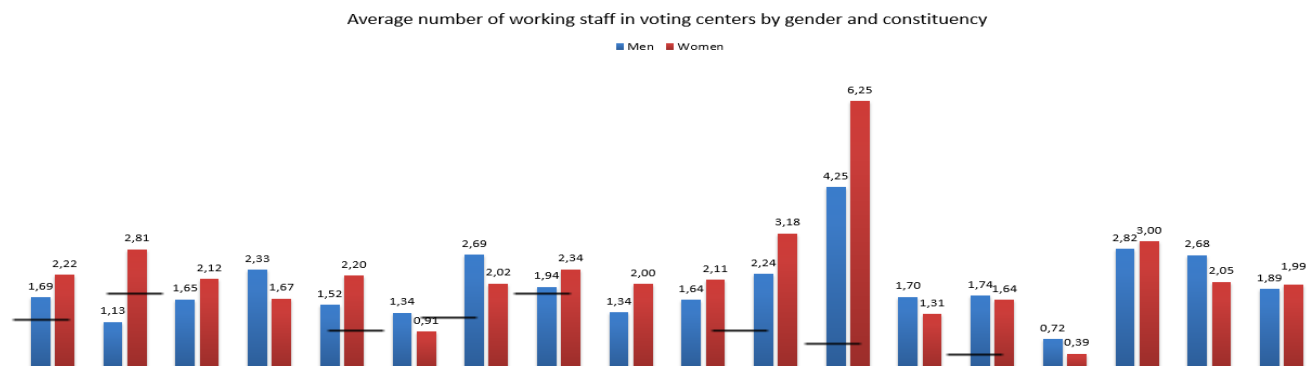
techniques et logistiques dans les centres de vote. C'est à Tunis que les femmes membres d'un centre de vote étaient le plus nombreuses. En effet, elles représentaient 77 % des membres des bureaux de vote visités à Tunis 1 et 73 % du personnel des centres de vote à Tunis 2.

Number of women in polling centre

Woman president of polling center



Graph 9: Femme présidente d'un centre de vote



Graph 10: Nombre moyen d'employés travaillant dans les centres de vote par genre et par région

4.5 PRESENCE DES OBSERVATRICES

Une forte mobilisation pour observer les élections tunisiennes de 2014 a été constatée. Que ce soit pour les législatives ou pour les présidentielles, dans la plupart des centres de vote observés, les observateurs de la société civile nationale et internationale étaient fortement représentés.

Les femmes observatrices étaient présentes dans la quasi-totalité des centres observés. Les observateurs mandatés par les partis politiques sont en majorité des hommes. Par contre, les missions d'observation menées par les composantes de la société civile comme ATIDE, Mourakiboun, LET et autres sont prédominées par les femmes.

La présence des observateurs internationaux était beaucoup plus importante dans les grandes villes. Ainsi, «aucun observateur international n'a été présent dans l'un des centres de vote que j'ai visités à Nefta. Par contre, j'ai compté neuf observateurs nationaux, dont six femmes».

Certains observateurs et observatrices internationaux n'ont pas pu observer les présidentielles du second tour à cause des risques d'attaques terroristes, notamment dans les régions frontalières avec l'Algérie.

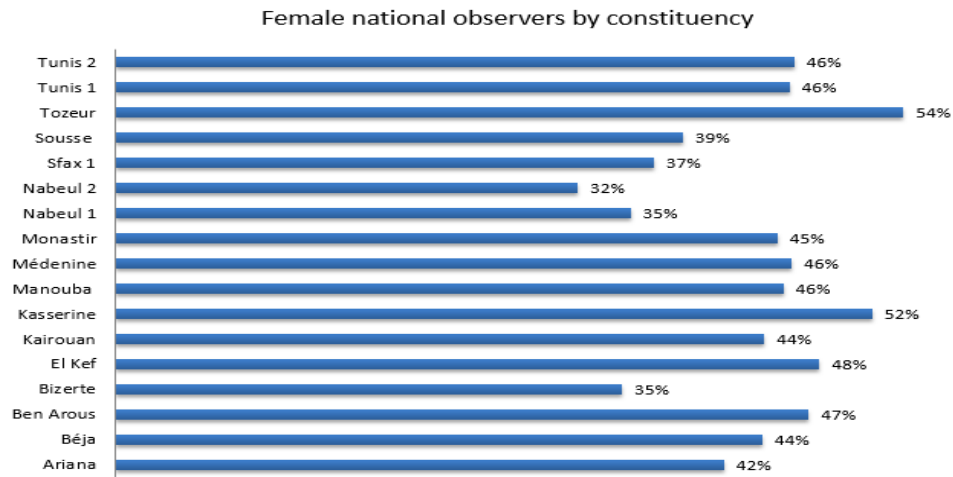
Pendant les élections législatives, les observateurs et observatrices de la société civile ont eu des difficultés à obtenir des accréditations des IRIES à temps. Cela a créé une frustration à la veille des élections. Au deuxième tour des élections présidentielles, une mauvaise interprétation des consignes de l'ISIE, par certains chefs de centres de vote, a empêché certaines observatrices de se déplacer entre plusieurs centres ou encore d'assister au dépouillement.

« Sous prétexte d'avoir eu des instructions strictes de l'ISIE, le chef du centre m'a refusé le travail dans ce centre et la collecte des données nécessaires. Sa condition était que je reste dans un seul bureau pour toute la journée. Je n'ai pas souhaité prolonger une dispute et je me suis retirée ».

En dehors de sa participation dans l'observation des élections, les observatrices ont noté que les responsables des bureaux de vote ont fait souvent recours aux représentants de la société civile (en

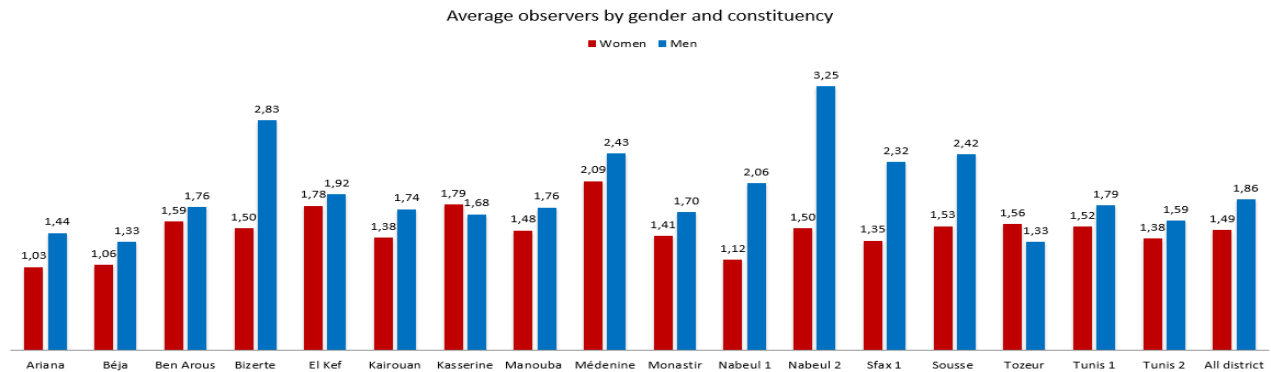
particulier la LTDH) pour jouer la médiation quand il y a eu des accrochages entre les représentants des candidats (circonscriptions de Ben Arous, Tozeur et Sfax) et pour les aider à éclaircir les procédures de vote aux personnes non enregistrées avant (circonscription de Sfax)

Observateurs et observatrices



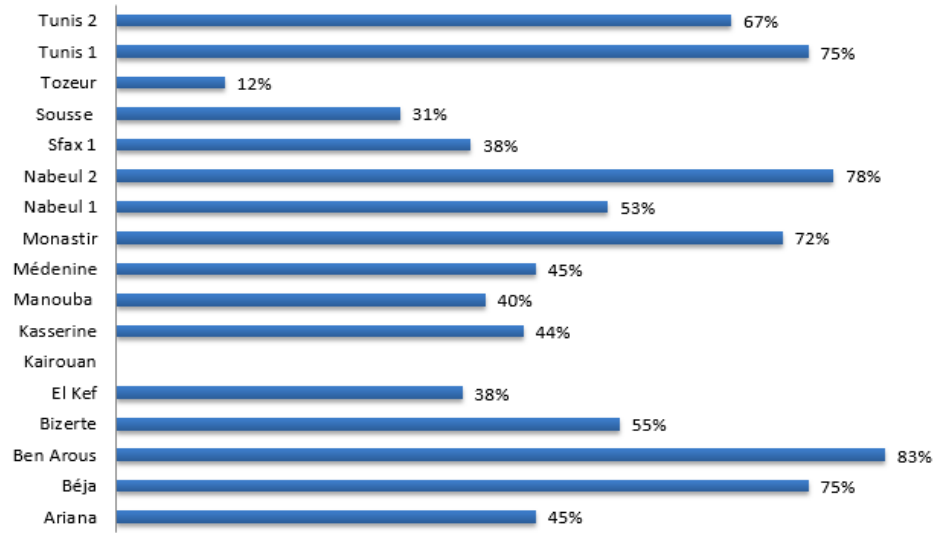
Graph 11: Observatrices nationales par région

Observateurs nationaux



Graph 12: Moyenne des observateurs par genre et par région

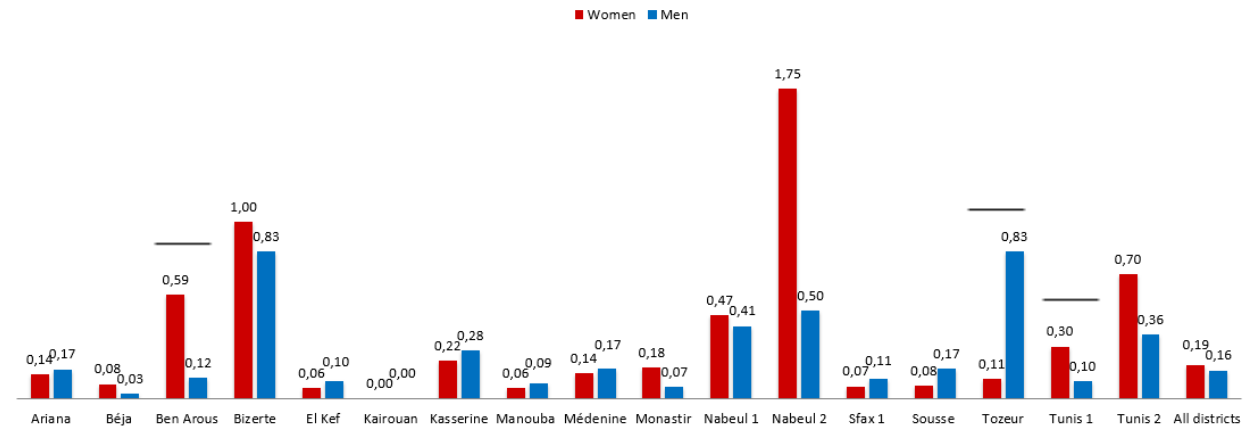
Female international observers by constituency



Graph 13: Observatrices internationales par région

Observateurs Internationaux

Average observers by gender and constituency



Graph 14: Moyenne des observateurs par genre et par région

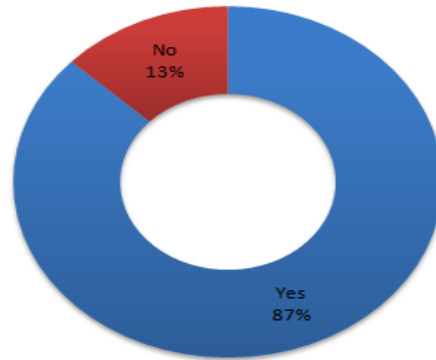


Figure : Membres de mission durant le jour du deuxième tour des élections présidentielles

Représentants des listes électorales et des candidats

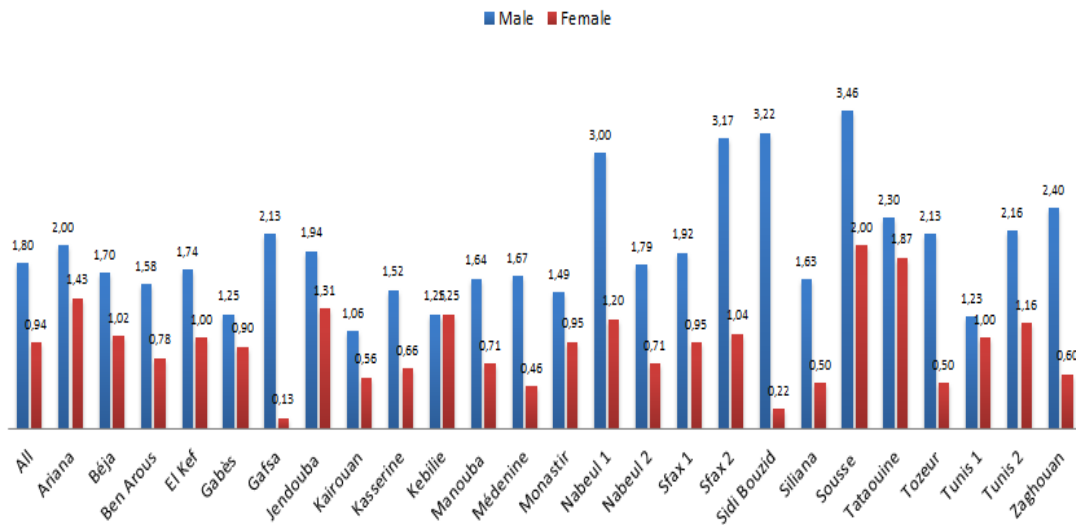
Concernant les représentants des candidats, nos équipes se sont entretenues avec des représentants des candidats dans presque tous les bureaux de vote visités, et un nombre considérable d'entre eux étaient des femmes. Malheureusement, pour le premier tour de l'élection présidentielle, aucun représentant de la candidate n'a été vu par nos observateurs. Dans certaines zones rurales, certains candidats étaient surreprésentés tandis que d'autres étaient sous-représentés, voire même non représentés. On a également observé que certains candidats avaient nommé des représentants uniquement dans leur région natale.

Presence of representatives of electoral lists and candidates



Graph 15: Présence des représentants des listes électorales et des candidats

Average number of representatives of electoral candidates

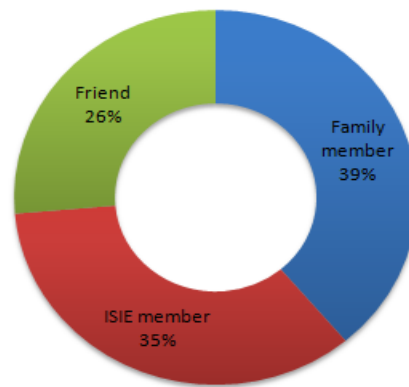


Graph 16: Nombre moyen des représentants des candidats aux élections

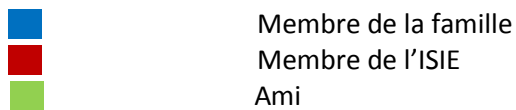
4.6 L'ASSISTANCE LORS DU VOTE

La législation électorale interdit d'assister une personne lors du vote. Dans de nombreux bureaux de vote observés, de nombreuses femmes, en particulier les femmes âgées, ont eu besoin d'assistance quant à la manière de voter. Les femmes analphabètes et les femmes âgées qui avaient des difficultés à bien voir ou à accomplir leur vote, ont demandé à être assistées par un membre de leur famille, mais la seule solution était que le président du bureau de vote désigne une personne des électeurs dans la rangée afin qu'elle puisse assister ces femmes

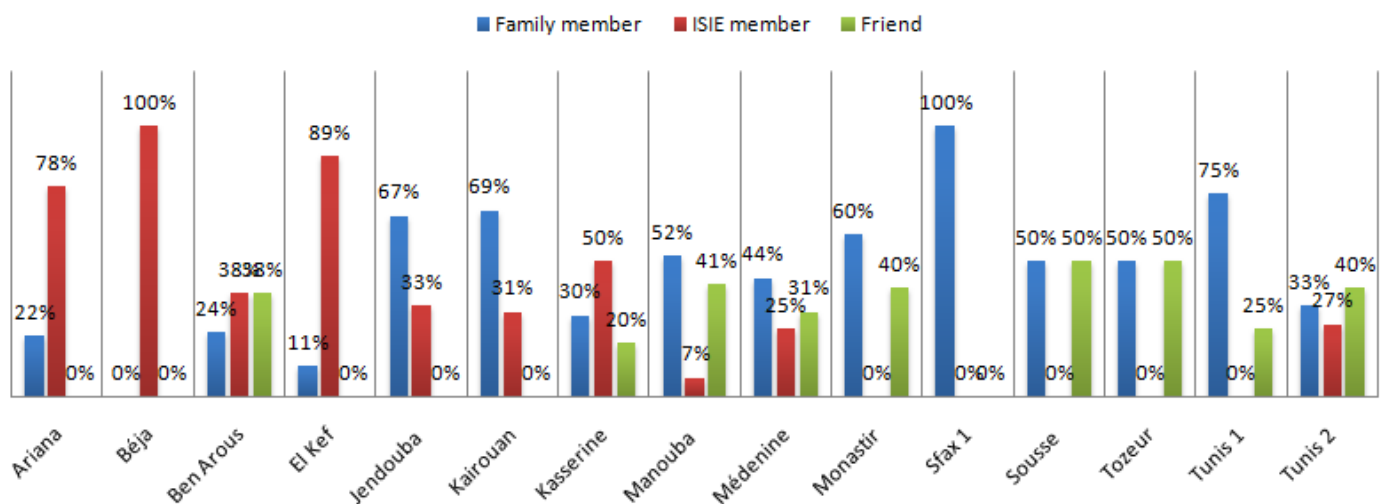
Women asking the opinion of another person



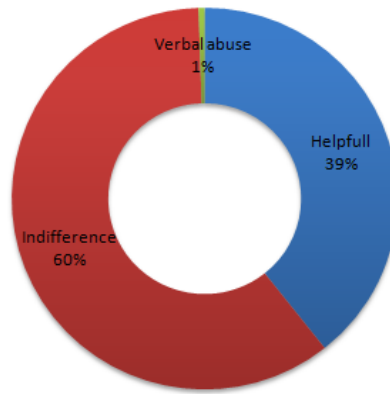
Graph 17: Femmes demandant l'opinion d'une autre personne



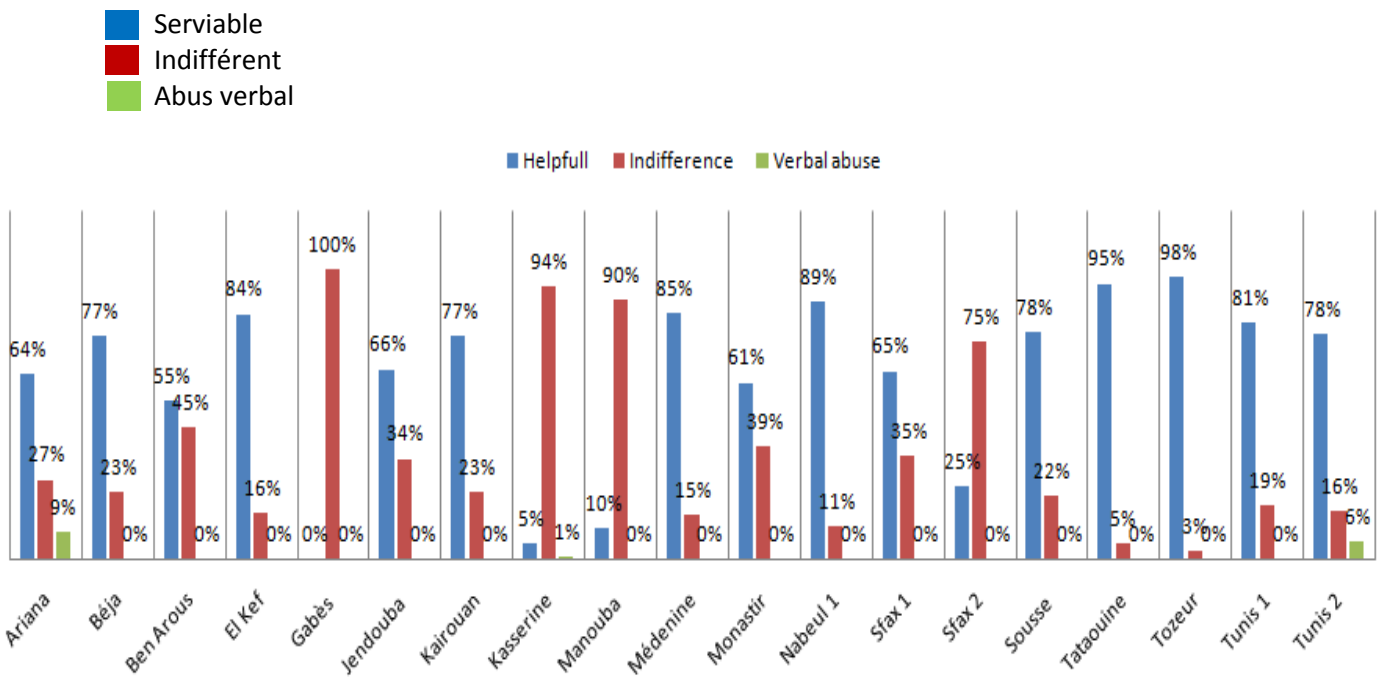
Woman asking the opinion of another woman by constituency



Graph 18: Femmes demandant l'opinion d'une autre femme par région



Graph 19: Comportements des agents du bureau de vote envers les femmes illettrées



Graph 20: Comportements des agents du bureau de vote envers les femmes illettrées par région

5. RESULTATS

5.1 ANALYSE DES RESULTATS

Le processus électoral tunisien de 2014 est une histoire de succès des femmes par excellence. Pour les élections législatives et présidentielles, les voix des femmes étaient déterminantes pour les résultats. En effet, les femmes ont façonné les résultats des élections. « Nous avons observé que le nombre de femmes dans la file d'attente a dépassé de loin le nombre des hommes. Nous avons remarqué également que les femmes sont déterminées à exercer leur droit de vote avec confiance. Les femmes, qui avaient rencontré des problèmes d'inscription sur les listes électorales, s'adressaient directement au président du bureau de vote contestant l'absence de leurs noms et revendiquant leur droit de vote. Lorsque cette initiative s'avérait vaine, elles se tournaient vers l'IRIE5 ». Dans la région de Tozeur, des femmes sont allées voter le jour de leur mariage, « elles sont venues au bureau de vote avec leurs robes de mariée, leur maquillage et leur henné6 ». Pour les femmes tunisiennes, ce processus électoral était comme un festival dans lequel elles ont œuvré pour montrer leur enthousiasme et leur dévouement pour l'avenir de leur pays et elles sont fières d'être Tunisiennes !

Lors des élections présidentielles du premier tour, en l'absence quasi totale des jeunes dans la majorité des bureaux de vote, la correspondante de l'Économiste Maghrébin a rencontré, dans un bureau de vote à la Soukra (Tunis), une vieille dame âgée de 89 ans. Vêtue en Safsari (habit traditionnel tunisien), Mme Chrifa a voté pour la première fois dans sa vie. Dès sa sortie du bureau de vote, Mme Chrifa a lancé des you you, pour exprimer sa grande joie. Elle s'est dite fière de voter pour l'avenir des futures générations. « J'ai tant attendu ce moment ! J'ai pu enfin exercer mon droit de citoyenne libre. J'ai enfin pu voter dans des élections libres et démocratiques en Tunisie. Vive la Tunisie ! ». Il a été observé qu'un grand nombre de femmes âgées ont participé au vote. En outre, la femme la plus âgée qui a voté était centenaire (114 ans).

Le même jour, et sur une radio privée (Shems FM), une femme se disputait avec son mari à la sortie du bureau de vote parce qu'il voulait choisir pour elle le candidat sous prétexte qu'elle est analphabète.

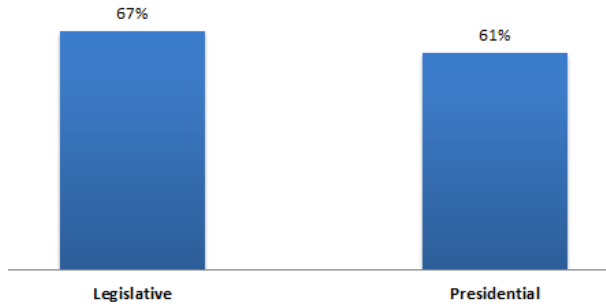
Ces réussites observées dans le déroulement et les résultats des élections de 2014 ne peuvent que consolider les démarches entreprises par la Tunisie afin de renforcer la participation politique des femmes et de soutenir leur potentiel citoyen. Un objectif qui n'est pas sans défis.

⁵ Equipe d'observateurs de Ben Arous.

⁶ Equipe d'observateurs de Tozeur

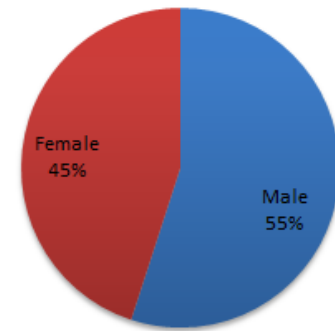
Parliamentary and presidential elections

Percentage of vote in legislative and presidential elections



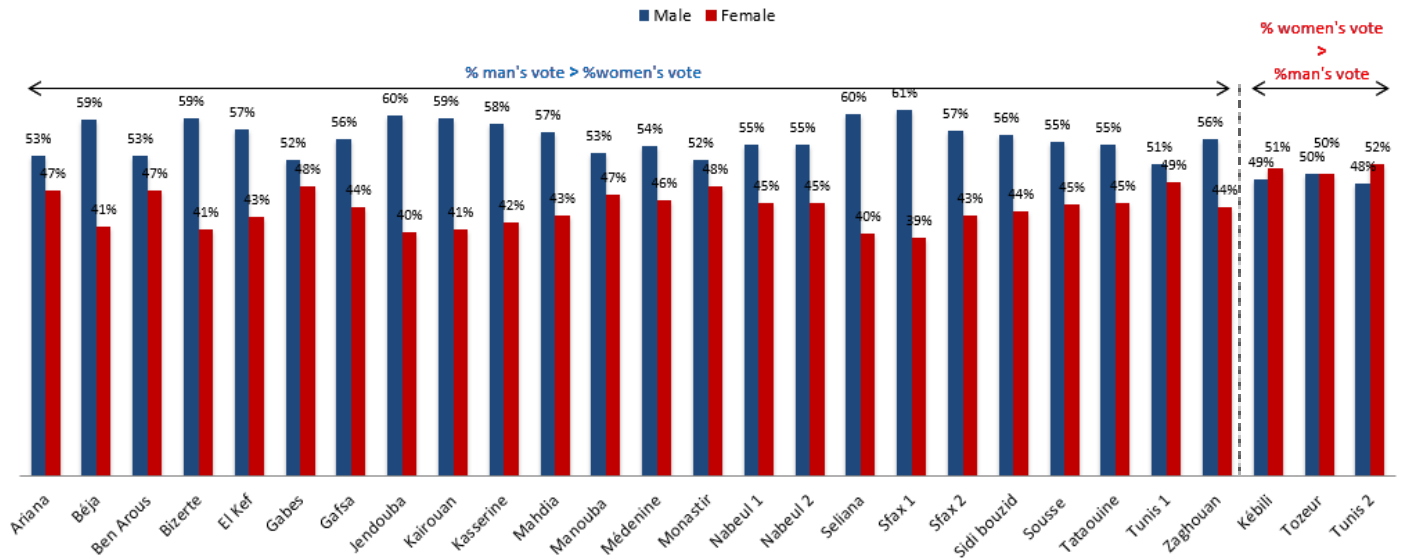
Graph 21: Pourcentage des votes dans les élections législatives et présidentielles

Percentage of vote by gender

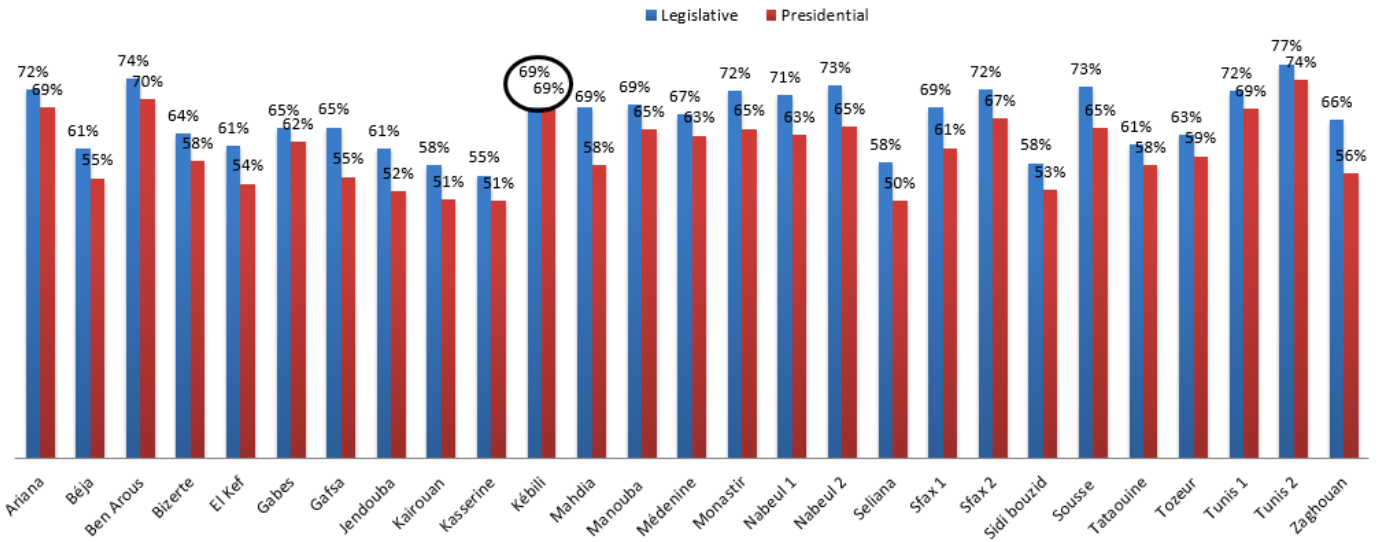


Graph 22: Pourcentage des votes par genre

Vote by constituency and gender



Graph 23: Vote par région et par genre



Graph 24: Vote aux élections législatives et présidentielles par région

Les résultats définitifs de l'élection législative ont été officiellement annoncés par l'ISIE, après la résolution des litiges électoraux. La décision de l'ISIE, le 21 novembre, a révélé la composition de la nouvelle Assemblée des Représentants du Peuple tunisien. Sur 217 élus, 68 sont des femmes et 149 sont des hommes. Le pourcentage de représentation des femmes est de 31,3 %. Cette représentation des femmes est légèrement inférieure au tiers de la nouvelle Chambre élue. La décision officielle de l'ISIE concernant la proclamation des résultats définitifs des élections législatives détaille la représentation des femmes dans la nouvelle Chambre élue des représentants comme suit :

- 1- 35 femmes élues pour Nidaa Tounès ;
- 2- 27 femmes élues pour Ennahdha ;
- 3- 2 femmes élues pour l'Union Patriotique Libre (UPL) ;
- 4- 2 femmes élues pour le Front Populaire ;
- 5- 1 femme élue pour le Courant de l'Amour ;
- 6- 1 femme élue pour le Courant Démocratique.

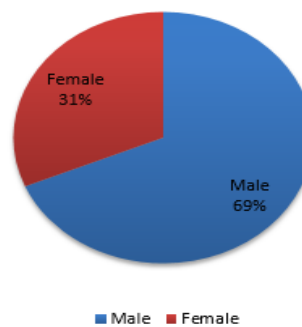
	Nom	Parti Politique	Commentaires
1	Leila Hamrouni	Nidaa Tounés	
2	Sabrine Ghbantni	Nidaa Tounés	
3	Najla Saadaoui	Nidaa Tounés	
4	Wafa Makhlouf	Nidaa Tounés	
5	Olfa Sokri	Nidaa Tounés	
6	Hayet Kbir	Nidaa Tounés	
7	Lamia Mlayeh	Nidaa Tounés	Tête de liste
8	Khaoula Ben Aicha	Nidaa Tounés	
9	Najia Ban Abdelhafidh	Nidaa Tounés	
10	Asma Bouhana	Nidaa Tounés	
11	Jihene Aouichi	Nidaa Tounés	
12	Ouns Hatab	Nidaa Tounés	
13	Ikram Moulahi	Nidaa Tounés	
14	Al Hasnaa Ben Haradh	Nidaa Tounés	
15	Souad Zaouali	Nidaa Tounés	
16	Rebha Ben Hassine	Nidaa Tounés	
17	Houda Takia	Nidaa Tounés	
18	Hela Omran	Nidaa Tounés	
19	Sameh Bouhaouel	Nidaa Tounés	
20	Salma Elloumi	Nidaa Tounés	Tête de liste
21	Nadia Zanguer	Nidaa Tounés	
22	Mariem Boujbal	Nidaa Tounés	

23	Sana Salhi	Nidaa Tounés	
24	Sameh Damak	Nidaa Tounés	
25	Hajer Aroussi	Nidaa Tounés	
26	Fatma Mseddi	Nidaa Tounés	
27	Abir Abdelli	Nidaa Tounés	
28	Zohra Edriss	Nidaa Tounés	
29	Leila Awled Ali Bahri	Nidaa Tounés	Tête de liste
30	Ibtissem Jbabli	Nidaa Tounés	
31	Bohra Belhadj Hmida	Nidaa Tounés	Militante féministe
32	Leila Hedia Bougategf	Nidaa Tounés	
33	Leila Zahaf	Nidaa Tounés	
34	Ibtihej Ben Hlel	Nidaa Tounés	
35	Nawel Tayech	Nidaa Tounés	
36	Yamina Zoghlami	Ennahdha	Élue à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante et présidente de commission
37	Arwa Benabbès	Ennahdha	
38	Jamila Dabbech	Ennahdha	
39	Latifa Habechi	Ennahdha	Élue à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante
40	Hela Hammi	Ennahdha	Élue à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante
41	Emna Benhmid	Ennahdha	
42	Boutheina Ben yaghlène	Ennahdha	
43	Meherziya Labidi	Ennahdha	Tête de liste et vice-président de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante

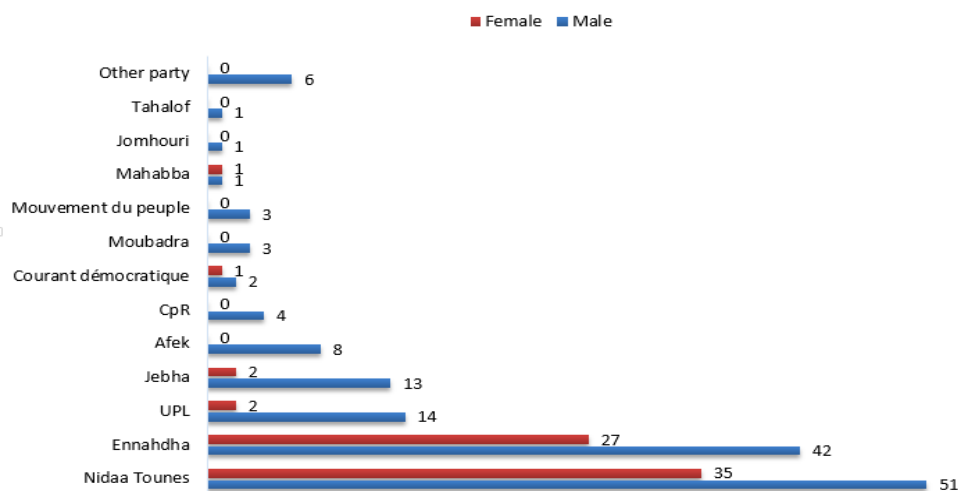
44	Sana Mersni	Ennahdha	Élue à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante
45	Ferida Labidi	Ennahdha	Élue à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante
46	Monia Brahim	Ennahdha	
47	Leila Al ousleti	Ennahdha	
48	Safia Khalfi	Ennahdha	
49	Hayet Omri	Ennahdha	
50	Zayneb Brahmi	Ennahdha	
51	Soulef Kssantini	Ennahdha	
52	Khaltoum Badreddine	Ennahdha	Élue à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante et présidente de commission
53	Amel Soud	Ennahdha	
54	Radhia Toumi	Ennahdha	
55	Basma Jbebli	Ennahdha	
56	Hager Bouzemi	Ennahdha	
57	Jamila Jouini	Ennahdha	
58	Mahbouba Ben Dhifallah	Ennahdha	
59	Assayda EL wenissi	Ennahdha	Tête de liste
60	Dalila El Baba	Ennahdha	Élue à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante
61	Imen Ben Mohamed	Ennahdha	Tête de liste
62	Chahida Fraj	Ennahdha	
63	Souad Biouli	Front Populaire	Tête de liste
64	Mbarka Aouinia Brahmi	Front Populaire	Tête de liste / Veuve de Mohamed Brahmi député

			assassiné le 25 juillet 2013
65	Rim Thayri	Le Courant de l'Amour	Tête de liste
66	Dorra Yakoubi	Union Patriotique Libre	Tête de liste
67	Faouzia Ben Fadha	Union Patriotique Libre	Tête de liste
68	Samia Abbou	Le Courant Démocratique	Tête de liste/ Élu(e) à l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante

Post-élections législatives



Graph 26: Pourcentage de femmes députées après les élections législatives



Graph 27: Nombre de députés par genre et par parti politique

La représentation des femmes a sensiblement évolué par rapport aux élections de 2011. Cette représentation a été renforcée depuis la constitution du nouveau gouvernement.

Ainsi, le départ de 8 élus appelés à assurer des fonctions au sein du gouvernement légitime issu de la nouvelle majorité a permis à 6 autres femmes d'accéder à l'Assemblée. Ainsi, le nombre total de femmes députés est 74.

Sur ces 68 femmes élues, 12 d'entre elles sont têtes de liste, les autres (56 femmes) ont été élues grâce au principe de la parité verticale imposée par la loi électorale. Ces 56 femmes élues appartiennent à deux partis politiques (Nidaa Tounès et Ennahdha qui ont recueilli suffisamment de voix pour élire leur deuxième et même leur quatrième candidat sur la liste électorale, dans plusieurs circonscriptions). Ainsi, plus de 12 candidates étaient têtes de listes, 32 femmes ont été élues sur les listes de Nidaa Tounes et 24 sur celles d'Ennahdha.

Afek Tounes, le parti qui a remporté huit sièges à l'Assemblée ne compte aucune femme élue. En 2011, sur les 4 élus de Afek Tounes, 2 étaient des femmes, parmi lesquels Rim Mahjoub qui a cédé sa place à Yassine Brahim le premier responsable du parti. Ironie du sort, en 2014, la même Rim Mahjoub prendra la place de Yassine Brahim, élu à l'Assemblée du Peuple et appelé à faire partie du gouvernement.

Il est à noter également que les autres partis qui ont gagné des sièges à l'Assemblée (CPR, Mouvement du Peuple, Al Moubadara) et les autres listes élues avec uniquement un seul représentant (Al Joumhourii et l'Alliance Démocratique) ne comptent pas de femmes parmi leurs représentants élus.

La configuration concrète de l'Assemblée des Représentants du Peuple montre que le nombre de femmes députées est légèrement supérieur au nombre de femmes élues en 2011. À cet égard, en octobre 2011, 58 femmes seulement ont été élues sur 217 sièges, ce nombre a augmenté pour atteindre 67 (démissions, nominations en tant que ministres ...). En 2014, 68 femmes ont été élues sur 217 auxquelles s'ajoutent 6 autres qui ont remplacé des élus appelés à occuper des fonctions au gouvernement. La différence entre le nombre de femmes au parlement en 2011 et en 2014 n'est donc que 7.

Cette progression devrait être renforcée vu que le pourcentage de représentation demeure relativement important par rapport à la moyenne de la représentation des femmes dans les assemblées élues partout dans le monde (Europe 25,3 %, États-Unis d'Amérique 25,6 %, les pays Arabes 17,8 %).

Les résultats définitifs du premier tour de l'élection présidentielle ont été officiellement annoncés par l'ISIE, la candidate Mme Kennou a recueilli seulement 18 287 voix avec un pourcentage de 0,56 %. Ce faible taux peut s'expliquer, entre autres, par le fait que Mme Kennou était une candidate indépendante qui n'a pas tiré profit de la structure d'un parti politique et de ses moyens de propagande. Néanmoins, cette candidature a d'abord une signification symbolique, étant la première candidature de femme à la magistrature suprême en Tunisie depuis l'indépendance, et a laissé un impact favorable dans la société

tunisienne. Seuls deux candidats Béji Caïd Essebsi et Moncef Marzouki étaient en lice pour le deuxième tour avec ces pourcentages respectifs : 39,46 % et 33,43 %.

Lors du deuxième tour de l'élection présidentielle, les femmes tunisiennes avaient décidé de voter massivement pour Beji Caïd Essebsi en raison de son discours électoral dans lequel le statut de la femme tunisienne était une préoccupation dominante vu qu'il revendiquait le modèle tunisien de l'émancipation des femmes et refusait toutes sortes de régression. L'ISIE a annoncé le résultat final, bien en avance de la date fixée dans le calendrier électoral, et ce via une décision en date du 29 décembre. Le candidat du Nidaa Tounes, le parti libéral et majoritaire, Béji Caïd Essebsi, a remporté l'élection présidentielle avec 1.731.529 voix (55,68 %), son concurrent Moncef Marzouki a recueilli 1.378.513 voix (44,32 %). Pour ces résultats, les voix des femmes tunisiennes ont été décisives vu qu'environ un million de femmes ont voté pour Beji Caïd Essebsi contre un peu plus de 300.000 pour son concurrent.

5.2 LA MISE EN PLACE DES NOUVELLES INSTITUTIONS

Après un long processus électoral, la Tunisie a établi ses nouvelles institutions pour la deuxième République. La session inaugurale de l'Assemblée des Représentants du Peuple (ARP) a officiellement eu lieu le 2 décembre 2014. Le Président de l'Assemblée et deux vice-présidents, parmi lesquels une femme, ont été élus le 4 décembre 2014.

Lors d'une assemblée plénière, le Président de la République a prêté le serment constitutionnel le 31 décembre 2014. Une interprétation consensuelle de la Constitution, entérinée par le dialogue national, a fait que le nouveau Président de la République et non l'ancien Président exerce la prérogative de la nomination du chef du gouvernement. Ainsi, le nouveau président, M. Béji Caïd Essebsi, a désigné M. Habib Essid, un indépendant, en tant que chef du gouvernement. La composition du gouvernement a été le fruit d'un accord entre une coalition entre Nidaa Tounès, Ennahdha, l'Union patriotique libre et Afek Tounes. L'équipe gouvernementale a obtenu la confiance de l'Assemblée des Représentants du Peuple lors d'un vote de confiance le 5 février 2014, avec une large majorité de 166 voix. Dans ce nouveau gouvernement, les femmes tunisiennes occupent 11 % des postes ministériels (3 femmes ministres uniquement) et 40 % des secrétaires d'État avec 6 femmes secrétaires d'État.



Figure : Président Beji Caïd Essebsi affirmant son engagement à l'égalité des sexes à Mme Bano lors de sa campagne électorale



Figure : Head of Mission Sabra Bano presenting the presidential first round Preliminary Report to the President of ISIE, Chafik Sarsar

6. CONCLUSIONS ET RECOMMANDATIONS

La tenue de ce processus électoral est une étape dans la construction démocratique de la Tunisie. Le succès des trois élections, organisées dans un court délai afin de respecter la contrainte constitutionnelle, donne à la Tunisie l'avantage d'être le leader de la nouvelle démocratisation dans la région. Étant un facteur de ce changement et jouant un rôle considérable dans cette transition pacifique, les femmes tunisiennes doivent être impliquées davantage dans le processus de prise de décision.

6.1 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR L'INSCRIPTION DES ÉLECTEURS

- A. L'inscription reste un point faible, malgré les grands efforts de l'ISIE, en particulier pour les femmes dans les zones rurales. De nouvelles voies devraient être explorées pour compléter l'inscription, et le coût de 20 dinars pour une carte d'identité devrait être reconsidéré pour les femmes issues de régions pauvres.
- B. Une vérification des listes électorales devrait être faite afin d'avoir un registre électoral fiable pour les futurs processus électoraux.

6.2 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LA SENSIBILISATION DES ÉLECTEURS

- A. Des efforts particuliers doivent être fournis pour atteindre les jeunes électrices.
- B. Un plus grand nombre de campagnes de sensibilisation et une surveillance étroite de la participation des femmes dans les zones rurales demeurent nécessaires.
- C. Les représentations stéréotypées des femmes à travers les campagnes de sensibilisation diffusées dans les médias renforcent la tendance qui fait que la prise des décisions politiques demeure la spécialité des hommes. Les femmes doivent être représentées comme l'égale de l'homme dans tous les domaines.
- D. Plus de coordination entre les associations de la société civile, qui travaillent sur les droits des femmes et leur participation dans la vie politique, et l'autorité électorale pour concevoir des actions d'éducation civique et les organiser, optimiseront les résultats de ces actions.
- E. Former plus de formatrices femmes pour l'éducation civique des électeurs.
- F. Simplifier davantage les procédures de vote est nécessaire en particulier pour les femmes rurales et analphabètes.

6.3 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR L'ADMINISTRATION ÉLECTORALE

- A. Le principe de la parité doit être juridiquement assuré dans la composition de toutes les institutions de l'État, en particulier dans l'ISIE et la HAICA. Une unité relative à la question de

genre est nécessaire afin de garantir un équilibre entre les genres dans la composition de l'administration électorale et son cadre opérationnel et dans d'autres instances concernées.

- B. Des instructions spéciales devraient être données aux bureaux de vote afin d'aider les femmes analphabètes à voter, en particulier lorsque l'on considère le nombre élevé de bulletins nuls dans les trois élections, nombre qui reste considérable (105 738 au total).
- C. Une étude en profondeur sur l'inscription et la participation des électrices et sur la campagne électorale des candidates est absolument nécessaire. Le paramètre genre devrait être considéré dans toutes les statistiques liées aux élections et devrait être publiée afin de permettre à la société civile de jouer un rôle de veille et d'interpellation auprès des politiques, notamment sur les questions d'égalité de genre. Il serait crucial de disposer de données précises sur le nombre d'électrices pour les élections législatives et présidentielles, et de comparer ces données avec les élections de 2011.
- D. L'ISIE devrait accorder une attention particulière à la promotion de l'égalité des sexes notamment pour tout ce qui concerne le matériel de sensibilisation.
- E. Comme le taux de participation dans le bureau de vote à l'étranger reste très faible, l'ISIE devrait améliorer les procédures électorales dans les circonscriptions à l'étranger pour garantir le droit pour chaque citoyen – homme ou femme – de voter

6.4 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LE CADRE JURIDIQUE DES ÉLECTIONS

- A. La modification de la loi électorale pour inclure la parité horizontale est nécessaire afin d'assurer l'objectif constitutionnel de parité dans toutes les instances élues.
- B. Le cadre juridique électoral devrait être simplifié et vulgarisé pour être compris par tous les citoyens et citoyennes quel que soit leur niveau d'instruction et intelligible en particulier lorsqu'il s'agit de financer la campagne électorale.
- A. La loi électorale prévue pour l'organisation des futures élections régionales et locales devraient prendre en considération la parité dans ses deux aspects verticaux et horizontaux, conformément à la Constitution.

6.5 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LE SYSTÈME ÉLECTORAL

- A. Introduire la parité horizontale avec la parité verticale est nécessaire pour assurer l'objectif constitutionnel de parité dans toutes les instances publiques élues.
- B. Le système électoral des élections régionales et locales devrait être adapté selon les spécificités de ces élections et devrait adopter des mécanismes qui encouragent la candidature de femmes à la gestion des affaires régionales et locales.

6.6 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LES PARTIS POLITIQUES

- A. Les femmes doivent accéder aux postes clefs de la décision publique et être en charge des organismes de la prise de décision des partis politiques.
- B. Les partis politiques devraient mener une méthodologie inclusive relative aux femmes en élaborant des programmes électoraux axés sur les questions touchant les femmes et en développant un discours électoral en ligne avec leurs attentes.

6.7 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LES MEDIAS

- A. Les plaintes relatives à la couverture médiatique inégale des candidates persistent encore. Les règlements (décision conjointe ISIE / HAICA), devraient être révisés pour assurer l'égalité de traitement entre les candidats et les candidates.

6.8 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LE VOTE

- A. L'attitude du personnel des bureaux de vote à l'égard de certaines catégories d'électeurs, en particulier les femmes analphabètes devrait être améliorée.
- B. Mettre en place des moyens pour les besoins spéciaux de vote tels que voter pour les personnes hospitalisées ou les étudiantes qui sont loin de leur lieu de résidence habituelle et celles qui sont incapables de voter les jours d'élection.

6.9 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR L'OBSERVATION

- A. Attirer et former plus d'observatrices.

6.10 RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LE CONTENTIEUX ET LES RECOURS

- A. Fournir plus de clarté et d'intelligibilité aux règles relatives aux plaintes électorales et présenter des conseils clairs sur les procédures spécifiques relatives au dépôt d'une plainte.
- B. Assurer plus de formation pour toutes les parties intervenantes (partis politiques, candidats, observateurs et médias) portant sur qui et comment présenter la plainte.
- C. Prévoir un numéro vert gratuit pour les candidates afin d'accéder aux informations, de faire des plaintes informelles et de recevoir des conseils.

Observatrices Nationales



Sana Belaid



Chahla Ferchichi



Anissa Zarrami



Imen Ben Azzouz



Refka Issaoui



Jamila Naffoussi



Yamina Abdallah



Mariem Azouz



Imen Ben Azzouz



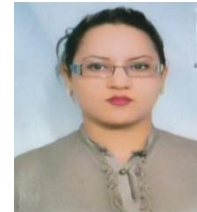
Yosra Othmeni



Rawaa Hlimi



Marwa Sahli



Emna Hlimi



Ghalia Marweni



Rawda Bouazizi



Wafa Boukari



Marwa Boukari



Sarra Dalhoumi



Reem Boughanmi



Ahlem Hlimi



Emna Zouagh



Zoubeida Mouaddeb



Rania Ghozzi



Baya Hasnewi



Imen ben Farhat



Marwa Nasri



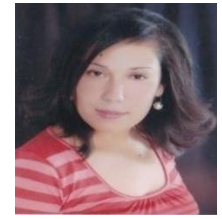
Amel el Merkhi



Dorsaf khaddouji



Ines Dhouibi



RABEB Ismail



Feten hammami



Khaoula Snoussi



Marwa Yaccoubi



Ferdawis Zaiebi



Souad Mahmoud



Amel Ghanmi



Yosra Barrak



Asma Dkhili



Islem Arrak



Siwar Hammami



Rihab Boujmil



Amami Nouha



Kahna Ezzemzmi



Abir Elhadfi



Ayachi Wassila



Lamia Achache



Sonia Harzallah



Wissam Ben Rajeb



Fethia Hizem



Youad Ben Rejeb



Souad Bouattour



Asma Ben saad



Sihem Sassi



Yosra Daaloul



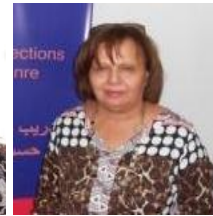
Zeineb Bouzaabiya



Amal Ghadour



Boutheina Sassi



Rachida Hsaieri



Amani Rekik



Amina Ezzeddine



Setra Krei



Dorra Azouz



Amel Jemli



Rim Agerbaoui



Marwa Kraim



Hayet Rbei



Maram Ben Hsine



Moufida Abessi



Naiima Rkik



Essia blhsan



Marwa fkhiih



Nouha Ben Mehrez



Karama Hedfi



Hejer Mahjoubi



Ibticem Boussaa



Fatma jwini



Sayda El Mechri



Hala ben Salem



Olfa Etteiyeb

Afifa Emessi

Rabeb Zamori

Sameh Leffi

Marwa Fayali

Kholoud Chandoul

Sihem Tarhouni

Dalel Hamoudi

Afef abd moulah

Ebticem Ghbara

Souhir Edriss

Intisar El Werghmi

Amina Kasmi

Najet Belkhir

Incaf Fayali

Ebtihel Rahmeni

Sana Ben Fraj

Amal Missaoui

Fatma Mami

Roukaya Nasri

Sabrine Hachachi

Sonia Laswed

Aina Chida

Yamina Cherni

Sondes Elfkah

Malika Hadj -

Monya Chouaib

Charfia Tlik

Fawzia Zamouri

Sarra Hachech

Esmail

ANNEX I: GEM Mission Photos

Mission Préparation



Formation d'observatrices au Kef

15 Octobre 2014



Formation d'observatrices au Djerba

20 Octobre 2014

Jour des élections législatives

26 OCTOBRE 2014



Jour des élections présidentielles

23 Novembre 2014



Jour des élections présidentielles 21 Decemver 2014



ANNEX II: Statistics

For more details on the information and statistics included in this report, please contact info@genderconcerns.org.

ANNEX III: Preliminary Statement Parliamentary Elections



Federal Republic of Germany
Foreign Office



Preliminary statement on the observation of parliamentary elections

October 26th 2014 Tunisia

Gender Election Monitoring Mission

Gender Concerns International

1. Gender Concerns International and partners

Gender Concerns International supports women worldwide in claiming their role as “agents of change”. Currently, the organisation is active in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Middle East-North Africa region. Following Gender Concerns International’s success in the 2011 Tunisian election observation mission, a Gender Election Watch Mission from The Hague based NGO, has monitored the Tunisian elections from a gender lens for the second consecutive time. The mission continued the productive partnership of 2011 with 3 Tunisian partner organisations: The Tunisian League of Human Rights (LTDH), The Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD), and The Association of Tunisian Women for Research and Development (AFTURD). This partnership has proven to be essential to ensure the complete operationalisation of the gender-based election monitoring. This time we managed to send out 110 female observers to monitor the elections with a special focus on the rural areas where still a lot has to be done to promote and ensure women’s presence in elections.

2. Objectives of the mission

The specificity of the mission lies in the fact that this is an exclusive female observation team guaranteeing that the elections will be monitored from an exclusively gender perspective. How many heads of polling stations are female? Are there special facilities for pregnant women? What is the number of female candidates in the elections? Those are the type of questions that a large team of 10 international and 100 domestic female observers have been looking at to observe the Tunisian elections. In other words: are women fully included as voters, polling officials and candidates? If not, what can be done to improve on that in Tunisia’s future democratic process?

These elections provide a significant opportunity for women in Tunisia to participate in the political structures that will shape future economic and social reforms. Based on its extensive experience,

Gender Concerns International recognises the vital importance of mainstreaming a gender perspective into the electoral process. This is not only beneficial for civil society organisations, but also a vital component of capacity building in state institutions.

3. Composition of the mission

Head of the Mission: **Sabra Bano**

Deputy Head of Mission: **Magdalena De Meyer**

Mission Consortium : National Gender Core Experts Team:

- For the ATFD: **Souad Mahmoud/Fetiha Hizem**
- For AFTURD: **Khadija Ben Hacine/ Salwa Kennou**
- For the LTDH : **Halima Jouini/Abdessatar Ben Moussa**

Gender Concerns International team:

- Mission Coordination: **Lucyna De Graaf**
- National Coordinator: **Ahlem Bousserwel**
- Capacity Building and training: **Reem Obeidet**
- Management and logistics: **Gosia Lukasik**
- Legal analyst : **Nadia Akacha**
- Communication officer : **Dylan Jones**
- International observers : **Alba Guitart Galo / Kunza Raja/ Hikmate Mohamed**

4. Political context

Tunisia has always been a model of safeguard of the human rights and specially the women emancipation. This characteristic dates from the time of Bourguiba and the Code of personal statute of 1956 which banned polygamy, consecrated the liberty of marriage and installed the institution of judicial divorce. Although, in reality the situation of women has not changed enough especially in the rural areas. In general women are not well integrated on the economic and political scene.

For the legislative elections of 2014, women represent only 47% of candidates, (same turnout of 2011 elections). There was only 12% as head of list (+ 5% comparing with 2011 election). These figures show that the Tunisian woman has not the place she deserve yet.

In the 2011 elections, 47% of the voters was women, in 2014, 50.5% of the voters are women.

5. Legal Context

- **International and regional norms**

Tunisia had ratified several international instruments relating to Human rights protection. The international convention on civil and political rights, the international convention on socio-economic rights, the international convention on banishing all forms of racial discrimination, the international convention on eliminating all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) since 1985 with the leaving of the reserves officially in 17th April 2014 but the general declaration which obliges state to respect the provisions of the first article of the constitution is still current. For instance, concerning heritage the problem of non-equality between man and woman is still up to date.

- **National legal Framework**

The master piece of the legal framework is the new Tunisian Constitution adopted January the 27th 2014. This fundamental norm kept the safeguards of the Constitution of 1959 and the code of the personal status of 1956 relating to the status of women. The New Constitution, dedicates the equality of rights and duties between male and female citizens, and banishes all forms of discrimination. The state commits to protect women's accrued rights and work to strengthen and develop those rights. The state guarantees, also the equality of opportunities between women and men to have access to all levels of responsibility in all domains. Furthermore, conforming to the Constitution, the state shall take all necessary measures in order to eradicate violence against women. (Article 46 of the Constitution).

The electoral law strengthened this charge since it provides that the presentation of candidatures for the legislative elections must obey to the principle of parity and the rule of alternation between male and female candidates. One of the positive measures in favor of the encouragement of participation of women in the electoral process is the rejection of a candidate list if it doesn't respect parity and alternation.

In reality, the legal framework is convenient for an optimal participation of women in the electoral process; the only concern is that the socio-economic context and the practice do not follow the legal orientations. There is a need of the consecration of the innovative combined principle of parity and rule of alternation in the electoral law to be extended to the designation of heads of candidates lists. Thus, a coherent consequence will be a parliamentary female representation suitable to the number of female candidatures.

6. The electoral system

The electoral system adopted by the electoral law is the proportional representation with the biggest rest. The application of this system with the principle of parity and the rule of alternation, leads to

mixed lists with alternation between women and man. When replacing a removed candidate, a man should be replaced by a man and a woman should be replaced by a woman.

The electoral law imposes also a doorstep of 3 % of votes to win a seat in the chambers of the Representatives. No quotas has been reserved to women, so the configuration of the parliament assembly depends of numbers of seats wined by women candidates. The parity and the alternation on the list combined with the electoral system do not guarantee an optimal representation of women

With a favourable legal context, the challenge was to nominate women as head of candidate list. Nevertheless, in 2014, women represent only 12% of the heads of candidate's lists (there are 148 female head of a candidate list for 1326 admitted list). In Tunis 2 we reach the top with 29% female head of candidate list, but in the others constituencies it's less than 10%.

Women as head of list are very few in the interior of the country especially in the South. The situation in 2014 is not an advance in comparison with situation in 2011. In fact, female candidates were heads of candidate lists in only 7 % of the constituencies with a top of 17 % in Tunis 2 and with a percentage less than 5 % in two third of the 27 constituencies inside the country. There are even some regions where there is no woman at all heading a list of a political party presenting itself in that region. For instance, in Tataouine on 31 lists there was not a single woman as candidate.

7. The electoral administration

The Constitution provides that the Higher Independent Institution for elections (ISIE) is composed of 9 independent and neutral members (article 126 de la Constitution).The third of these members is renewed each 2 years. For the moment, ISIE is composed of 3 women and 6 men. This female presence is not provided by the law although it is a constitutional principle.

In the various departments at ISIE, there is almost 50% of women, among whom we can find chief of department (legal department) or responsible (training department).

Practice of parity in ISIE is highly needed also in the area of its public campaign. For example if we look at 2 the banners that the ISIE used for its awareness raising campaign we did not observe an equal representation between men and women. One showed only men, the other showed 1 woman and 2 men. Moreover the videos produced for awareness raising, we could see 3 men and only 1 woman in a stereotypic position.



- **Women as voters**

The totality of the new registered Tunisians for the electoral process of 2014 is 993.696 in which 50.5% are women. The total number of all registered Tunisian citizens, for both the parliamentary and the presidential elections is 5.285.136 including 359.530 out of country voters.

The electoral administration, in collaboration with the Ministry of the women affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs with many civil society stakeholders has organized several campaigns to incite women especially rural women to have their ID Cards to be able to register as voters. We do appreciate that 300,000 rural women had benefit for these instigations.

Despite all these efforts, the participation of women in rural areas, as during the 2011 election, was again not satisfactory for October 26TH elections. Illiterate women voters found to be asking for assistance from a family member faced difficulties to vote since it was illegal to be helped.

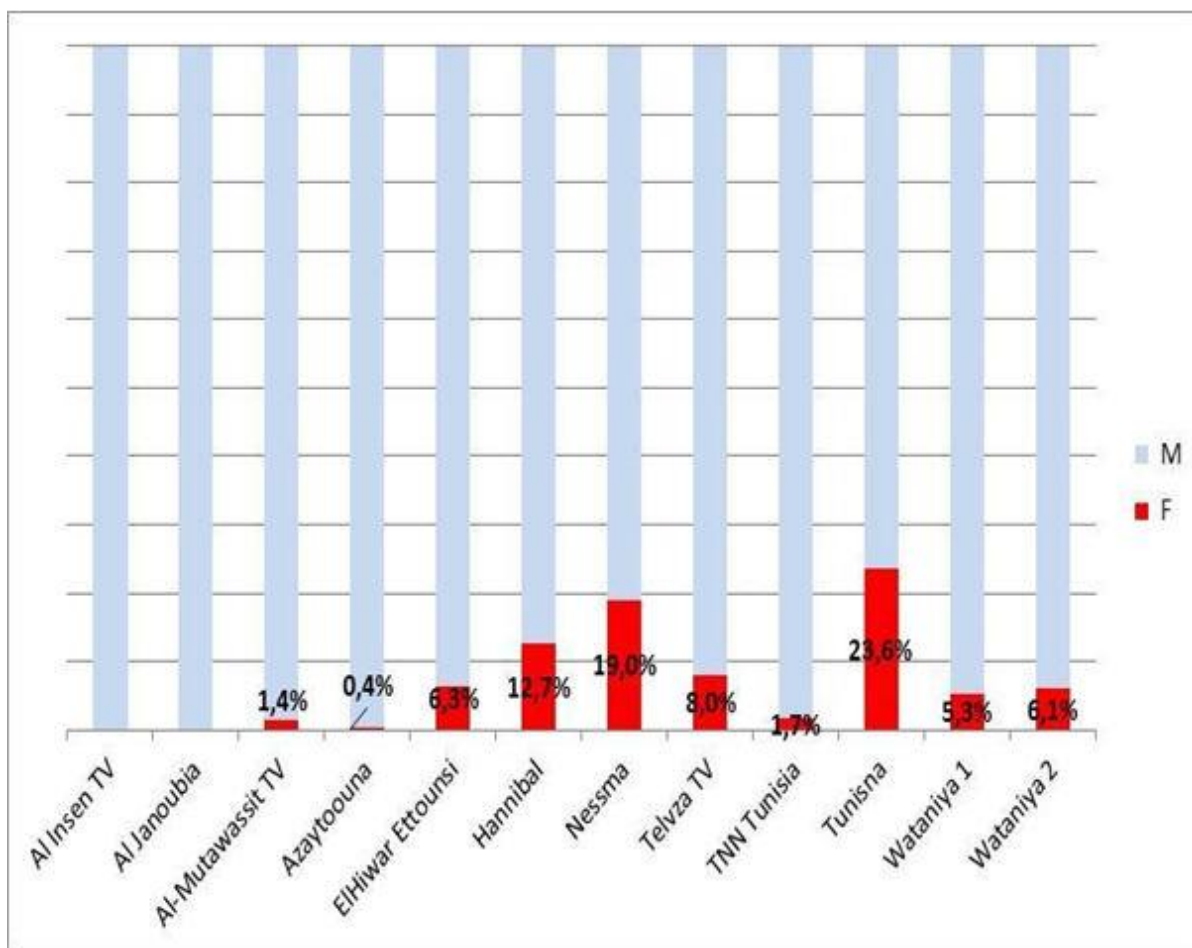
8. The electoral campaign

During the election campaign only the female candidate of the two biggest parties had the possibility to lead campaigns using the means of their respective parties. In the entire electoral campaign, the campaigns of women candidates were modest.

The joint decision between the Independent High Authority for Elections (ISIE) and the Independent High Authority for Audiovisual Communication (HAICA), dated July 5, 2014, decrees that candidate lists will gain media coverage according to the number of candidate lists in the relevant constituency . Candidate lists will each receive three minutes of free broadcast airtime on national radio and television stations.

- **Media coverage of the female candidates**

According to the preliminary report of the HAICA on political pluralism on the audio-visual media, the media coverage for the female candidates needs much more attention especially on the public media. In fact, private media (Nesma TV and Mosaique FM) are doing a considerable effort to ensure a presence of women candidates and also the representatives of political parties in their programs. The public media (Watania 1, Watania 2 and the national radio) did not preserve more than 10% for women candidates. In well-known newspaper, La Presse, dedicates to the female candidatures 7% of its electoral space.



9. Election day

Women came out in great numbers, many of them also came alone especially in big cities. In Ben Arous they often came in group, as well only women groups as mixed groups.

Security forces were clearly present. In 2/3rd of the polling stations where we observed, had a female presence in security forces. No difference was observed in any discriminatory treatment of male and female voters.

When our observers noted the presence of journalists it was clearly seen that they paid less attention to women voters than to men.

Most of the voters' queues were mixed, only one third had separate queues. In some cases, the existence of two queues was spontaneous but in other cases it was a kind of intimidation. The members of the polling station sometimes imposed separated queues.

There were no separate queues for disabled people, men and women but they mostly were given priority.

As far as our observation was concerned, the waiting time for voting was less than 1 hour although there were some exceptions, especially early in the morning by opening of big polling stations in urban areas in Tunis. Long waiting times caused problems for women with small children. Pregnant women had facilities and priority to access to the polling stations, on the contrary, women with young babies didn't.

There was a remarkable presence of women being part of the working staff in the polling stations, moreover, a lot of them were in the leading position.

There was a very large number of observers, clearly more men as political party observers. We noticed more women with the civil society observers and the international missions.

10. Analysis and conclusion

According to the first turnouts, the leading party that gained the largest number of parliamentary seats, has only two places to a woman as head of list reserved.

As the presence of women in the parliament will be far from the gender parity practice, it is absolutely necessary that the new government considers to nominate a large number of women as ministers to compensate their low representation in the parliament. Gender parity is still a long way to achieve inclusive governance in Tunisia.

11. Recommendations for gender sensitive elections

1. A greater number of awareness campaigns and close monitoring of the participation of women in **rural areas** remains necessary. In order to help illiterate women to vote, much more emphasis should be given to the **symbols** of the lists in order to simplify the voting procedure.
2. Attention should be paid to find some practical measures within polling stations to help **women with young children** to vote, especially when the waiting time is long.
3. The **principle of parity** must be legally ensured in the composition of all state institutions, especially in ISIE and HAICA. A **gender unit** is necessary to guarantee a gender balance in the composition and operational framework of the electoral administration and other involved instances.

4. The **media coverage** of women candidates should be improved considerably. The **regulations** (joint decision ISIE/HAICA), should be reviewed to ensure the equal treatment of male and female candidates.
5. A gender perspective should be considered in all **statistics** related to elections and be published in order to enable civil society to monitor it.
6. ISIE should pay special attention to **gender-neutral promotion and awareness material**.
7. The legal consecration of **horizontal parity on electoral lists** is necessary to guarantee a real participation of women in elected bodies. Too often, women have had to fight for their rights to obtain good places on the lists.
8. The composition of the **new government** should grant Tunisian women the place they deserve in the political scene.



ANNEX IV: Preliminary Statement Presidential Election First Round



Preliminary Statement: Observation of Presidential Election First Round Gender Election Watch Tunisia2014

Gender Concerns International

23 November 2014

1. Gender Concerns International and partners

Gender Concerns International supports women worldwide in claiming their role as “agents of change”. Currently, our organisation – based in The Hague, the Netherlands – is active in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Middle East-North Africa region. Following the success of our 2011 Tunisian election observation mission, a Gender Election Monitoring team has monitored Tunisian national elections from a gender perspective for the second consecutive time.

This mission continued the productive partnership of 2011 with three Tunisian organisations: The Tunisian League of Human Rights (LTDH), The Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD), and The Association of Tunisian Women for Research and Development (AFTURD). The mission deployed 110 female observers to monitor the elections with a special focus on rural areas where much still needs to be done to support a greater presence of women in elections.

2. Objectives of the mission

The specificity of the mission is that it featured an exclusive female observation team guaranteeing that the elections would be monitored solely from a gender perspective. The large team of 10 international and 100 domestic female observers have been in charge of the observation the 2014 Tunisian parliamentary and presidential elections to document women’s role in electoral procedures.

3. Political context

Tunisia has been a leader of human rights and especially women’s emancipation in the region. Although there has been progress, a lot is still to be done to improve the political participation of women in Tunisia and especially the economic situation of women in rural areas.

For the presidential election of 2014, the candidacy of at least one woman is a sign of a strong will of implication of Tunisian women in political processes and an indication of a future that holds better incursion of women in high-level politics. The female candidacy of Khaltoum Kennou has had a significant symbolic effect, since she is the only female candidate in the first presidential election after the Tunisian Revolution of January 2011. Ms. Kennou is a judge who decided to start her fight for the supreme function of the state. Of the 27 candidates, Ms. Kennou ran as an independent, which demonstrates that women still have a long way to go in order to obtain the places they deserve within political parties. In reality, the preliminary results of the presidential election provided some hope. Although total vote percentage for the female candidate was not very impressive, it paved the way for other Tunisian women to become presidential candidates.

In the 2011 elections, 47% of the voters were women, compared to 2014 in which 50.5% of the voters were women. The ISIE should engage a study analysing voter turnouts from a gender perspective.

4. Legal context

The New Constitution of 2014, dedicates the equality of rights and duties between male and female citizens, and banishes all forms of discrimination. The state commits to protect women's accrued rights and work to strengthen and develop those rights. The state also guarantees the equality of opportunities between women and men to have access to all levels of responsibility in all domains.

The Constitution gives equal rights to men and women to vote and to present their candidacy for the presidential function. The electoral law framed this right to be a candidate set by conditions. In fact, each voter (male or female) has the right to present a candidacy. The candidate is required to be Muslim and to have the Tunisian nationality by birth to be able to present a candidacy for the presidency of the Tunisian Republic¹. The candidate also has to present a commitment of abandonment of other nationality in case he/she has a dual nationality. In addition, each candidate for the Presidency of the Republic should deposit in the general finance of Tunisia a collateral of 10,000 dinars (approx. EUR 4,360) which will be restored only if he/she obtains at least three percent of valid votes. This threshold cannot guarantee that non-serious candidates enter in the race. Moreover, the consequences of this procedure is that a candidate can lose a significant amount of money. This can be a problem especially for independent candidates.

One of the new and objective conditions of candidates in the presidential election is the procedure of "parrainage". In fact, each candidate must be supported by 10 deputies or by 10,000 registered voters. In this last case, "parrainages" must be distributed on at least 10 constituencies². Although, it is a procedure to guarantee the candidacy of the independent candidates, it demands much effort to check and verify each signature, so it can cause, if not mastered and managed well, a huge risk of falsifications and fraud which can bring question to the integrity of the entire electoral process.

5. The electoral system

According to the political system adopted by the new Constitution, the executive power is composed by the prime minister (designed by the party which has the largest number of seats in the Assembly of the

representatives and nominated by the President of the Republic) and by the President of the Republic, elected for a five-year term by means of universal, free, direct, secret, fair and transparent elections by an absolute majority of votes. If no candidate achieves such a majority in the first round, a second round shall be organised during the two weeks following the announcement of the definitive results of the first round. Only the two candidates having won the highest number of votes during the first round stand for election in the second round. In a rising democracy, this rule of two presidential rounds helps the elected representatives to have a strengthened legitimacy.

In fact, as the preliminary results show in Tunisia's presidential election, a second round is expected, and will surely serve to give to the elected candidate a greater democratic legitimacy.

The financing of the electoral campaign is strictly supervised by the electoral law and the decisions of the ISIE. Each candidate has a public financing of about 75,000 dinars for the first round and 50,000 dinars for the second round. The financing is complicated and very strict, which can be an obstacle for campaigning, especially for an independent candidate. This funding system should be more accessible, which could help candidates to better lead their campaigns.

6. The electoral administration

For the moment, the council of ISIE is composed of three women and six men. This female presence is not provided by the law although it is a constitutional principle. In the various departments at ISIE, there is a composition of nearly 50% women, including chiefs of departments (legal department) or managers (training department). Nevertheless, a gender balance is not found in the regional offices where only 11% is female. The presence of women as president or member of a polling centre or station, is considerably important. Our observation demonstrated the implication of the women in charge of the operation of vote and their dedication for the success of the election. Besides, there is a general lack of gender-specific statistics, and ISIE announced a more profound study on this topic in the following months.

7. Women as voters

The total of newly-registered Tunisians for the electoral process in 2014 is 993,696, of which 50.5% are women. The total number of all registered Tunisian citizens, for both the parliamentary and the presidential elections is 5,285,136 – including 359,530 out-of-country voters.

The electoral administration, in collaboration with the Ministry of Women's affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs and numerous civil society stakeholders has organized several campaigns to motivate women, especially women of rural areas, to obtain ID cards to be eligible to register as voters. We do appreciate that 300,000 rural women had the benefit of these initiatives. But, the result was disappointing, as only 5,000 rural women were reached; mostly poor and illiterate women are still concerned as they cannot afford to purchase their ID cards.

A positive point was that after complaints from voters who could not find their names when going to the polling stations for the legislative elections, ISIE opened up the registration again for the presidential

elections and registered about 1,600 additional voters. Here again we don't have gender-specific numbers. Even with this supplementary procedure, some voters were deprived from their constitutional right to vote. This supplementary procedure was opened only for voters who were registered for the parliamentary elections. Some of the voters who requested to be added on the voter lists, were also surprised by the absence of their names on the lists even this time, especially abroad.

Despite all these efforts, the participation of women in rural areas, as during the 2011 election and the parliamentary elections, was not satisfactory also for the presidential election. It was considerably better for illiterate women to vote as they were helped by photos of candidates on the ballot.

8. The electoral campaign

From the point of view of gender monitoring, of course the campaign of the only female candidate was interesting to follow. We noticed that the electoral campaign of Ms. Kennou was balanced over the whole period with accelerated activity in the last week. During her visits and meetings, she was welcomed by women and men. As an independent candidate without support of a political party with basis and means, it was difficult for her to organise big meetings and gain visibility this way.

For this reason, media coverage was extremely important for Ms. Kennou. She was seen on several TV channels, she spoke in numerous radio programs and a respectable space of the print media was reserved for her campaign. She also made the headlines of at least one popular Tunisian newspaper. However, the media did not highlight her campaign as much as the campaign of the candidates belonging to political parties.

- **Media coverage of the female candidates**

The female candidates need much more attention, especially in the public media. HAICA did not make a public statement on the coverage of the presidential candidates yet, so we are curious to know if any improvement took place. The administrative tribunal has decided that the decision of the HAICA on the opinions polls is not in accordance with the electoral law, forbidding these polls for the presidential election. This fact does not prevent media and specialized organisms of opinions polling to proceed to the diffusion of tendencies of votes which were able to influence the voters in certain cases.

9. Election day

In contradiction with the legislative elections, no long queues could be observed. In most cases, those queues were mixed, except in sensitive and rural areas such as Soliman.

- **Women as presidents and members of polling centres and polling stations**

Women were doing impressive work as presidents of polling centres and stations. In those places where we could observe mixed staff in the polling stations, women often were doing the job of writing, stamping and counting while men often supervised.

- **Women as security and armed forces**

During this presidential election, the number women in security forces was considerably lower. The deployment of these female security forces varied from one region to another. We can say for instance that in the rural regions, or in the regions with security risks, women security forces were less numerous. In Tunis and nearby areas, they were more visible.

- **Observing in sensitive areas**

Our mission intentionally deployed some teams composed of female international observers and local experts to observe sensitive regions where polling stations had limited opening hours (from 10:00 to 15:00). However, in the area near the Algerian border, these observers were advised by army forces not to proceed for security reasons. Not many international observers could be seen in this area, and our teams were warmly welcomed.

In some rural areas, turnout of female voters was low as their priority was to work picking olives rather than to vote. The teams also observed an offer of collective transport to female voters by some political agents trying to influence them.

- **Women as observers**

The candidates, the political parties and national organisations have made full use of the female potential to appoint political agents and observers. ISIE was more vigilant about checking observers' badges, verifying names and in some case even asking for the ID of the international observers. They were in these instances helpful towards observers' questions.

Our teams encountered representatives of candidates in almost all polling stations, but no representatives of the female candidate were seen. In some rural areas, a few candidates were over-represented while others were under-represented if represented at all. It was also observed that some candidates had appointed agents only in their native region.

- **Child-friendly voting**

Unlike the situation during the legislative elections, observers witnessed that polling station staff had a welcoming attitude towards children. Some polling station staff attended to children while their mothers were voting.

- **Participation of young women**

Our teams observed a low turnout of young people in general, and young women in particular. More efforts to reach out to young female voters remain necessary especially in the rural areas.

10. Analysis and conclusion

As the presence of women in the parliament has been reinforced, and the only female candidate for presidential elections made a statement by remaining in the race for the presidential election while 5 of

her male colleagues stepped out, we do have hopes that the new government will nominate a large number of women as ministers – also in the ‘hard’ departments such as finance or economics.

11. Recommendations for gender-inclusive elections

1. Although ISIE made a great effort, **registration** remains a weak point, especially for rural women. New ways should be explored to complete registration, and the 20 dinar cost of an ID should be reconsidered for women of poor areas.
2. A greater number of awareness campaigns and close monitoring of the participation of women in **rural areas** remains necessary.
3. Special instructions should be given to polling station staff in order to help **illiterate women** to vote, especially when considering the number of invalid ballots, which remains considerable.
4. Special efforts should be made to reach out to **young female voters**.
5. The **principle of parity** must be legally ensured in the composition of all **state institutions**, especially in ISIE and HAICA. A **gender unit** is necessary to guarantee a gender balance in the composition and operational framework of the electoral administration and other involved instances.
6. Complaints about **media coverage** of women candidates remain. The **regulations** (joint decision ISIE/HAICA), should be reviewed to ensure the equal treatment of male and female candidates.
7. An in-depth **study** on registration and participation of **women voters** and the campaign of **women candidates** is absolutely necessary. A gender perspective should be considered in all **statistics** related to elections and be published in order to enable civil society to monitor it. It will be crucial to have accurate data on the number of female voters for the parliamentary and presidential elections, and to compare this data with 2011 elections.
8. ISIE should pay special attention to **gender-neutral promotion and awareness material**.
9. As the turnout in the polling station outside the country remains very low, ISIE should improve voters’ **procedures in the constituencies abroad to guarantee** the right for every citizen – man or woman – to vote.
10. The composition of the **new government** should grant Tunisian women the place they merit in the political scene.

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ANNEX V: Press Release Preliminary Recommendation Presidential Elections Second Round



Media release

22 December 2014

Achieving Parity: Tunisian Women Turn Out at Polls

Ready for Higher Government Representation

Tunisian women have once more demonstrated their commitment to democratic participation by turning out in large numbers at the second round of the presidential election. Mission teams at various polling stations, particularly in Tunis, observed that more than 50 percent of registered women cast their vote. Head of Mission Sabra Bano said, “While the ultimate total of women voters remains to be published by ISIE, we are convinced that the number of women appointed as national ministers should reflect the appropriate percentage of women voters and the women who have been recently elected to parliament”.

This largest international observation mission, a joint effort of the 110 international and national observers of Gender Concerns International and Tunisian partner organisations, ATFD, AFTURD and LTDH, continued its vigilance in observing women’s democratic participation around the country.

Ms. Bano commended ISIE for implementing changes that reflect Gender Election Watch recommendations from the first election round. New tabulation sheets to record the number of male and female voters at polling stations is one such example. These statistics of gender-specific voter turnout can be used to address equal electoral conditions. Gender Election Watch looks forward continued engagement with ISIE in future elections.

It was observed that the presidential campaign became aggressive at times. Even though both candidates voiced their support for women’s rights, an atmosphere of campaign tension could discourage some women with concerns about security from voting on election day. ISIE’s decision for the second round to limit political agents to one per candidate in the polling stations in order to avoid incidents was another positive step aimed at creating a more peaceful atmosphere in which to vote,

even though it was communicated quickly and not broadly understood at all polling stations that were visited.

Out of these rounds of the national elections to date, lessons should be applied for upcoming local elections in communities around the country. This historic experience is directly applicable from a gender perspective, as local elections provide more opportunities for women to stand as candidates and be elected to leadership posts.

Gender Election Watch Tunisia recommendations from the second presidential round:

1. In accordance with the constitutional parity, and in that women's voting participation has influenced the election results, women should have the high-level national ministry positions that they merit.
2. The establishment of an active gender unit within ISIE, working closely with grass-roots organisations, would be key to realising these recommendations for women's democratic participation in all of Tunisia.
3. Election awareness-raising campaigns should reach out increasingly to women, especially in rural areas and young women voters of all areas. Women parliamentarians as well as women's and human rights organisations could play an increased role in the effectiveness of awareness-raising campaigns.
4. Efforts should be made to get more women as candidates for local elections. Women parliamentarians could be inspiring role models to demonstrate that this is an achievable goal for women.
5. An objective should be to surpass the 31% of women elected in the parliamentary elections. Indeed the newly elected members of parliament can seize a historic opportunity to introduce horizontal and vertical parity in the law on regional and local elections.
6. More female election security personnel should continue to be deployed to polling stations to enhance confidence of polling conditions for female voters.

Gender Concerns International, together with partners ATFD, AFTURD and LTDH, will elaborate on these recommendations during a seminar early in 2015 when the final report will be presented. The partnership looks forward to a continued programme of support for Tunisian women in democracy – as voters, candidates, political leaders and activists.

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Gender Election Monitoring Mission Tunisia 2014

Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

26 October, 23 November and 21 December

Final Report





Gender Election Monitoring Mission Tunisia 2014

Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

26 October, 23 November and 21 December

Final Report



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Glossary

Association Tunisiennes de Femmes Démocrates	ATFD
Association des femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche et sur le Développement	AFTURD
Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women	CEDAW
Gender Concerns International	GCI
Independent High Authority for Elections	ISIE
Ligue Tunisienne de défense des droits de l’homme	LTDH

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sabra Bano, Head of Mission

Gender Concerns International is pleased to witness Tunisia's future of inclusive democracy with women voters and elected leaders already becoming a reality today. It was therefore with great honour that we had the opportunity to support women in Tunisia in their participation with crucial impact in Tunisia's 2014 parliamentary and presidential elections.

Our joint Gender Election Monitoring (GEM) Mission has worked with people in Tunisia as they demonstrated to the region and rest of the world that their country is ready to continue its democratic development for all citizens. We as part of the international community share a responsibility of standing with people in Tunisia during this development stage, and particularly the women of Tunisia who have courageously transformed their notions of full democratic inclusion into action to further pave the way for future generations of women leaders.

Our pre-election assessments highlighted the critical nature of a comprehensive approach to women's involvement before, during and after these historic elections. In partnership with three prominent women's and human rights organisations, Tunisian League for the Defense of Human Rights (LTDH); Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD); and Association of Tunisian Women for Research and Development (AFTURD), we launched our GEM Mission Tunisia in October 2014 to observe and document from a gender perspective the voting and post-election processes. Tunisian women have proudly demonstrated their value to the democratic reconstruction of Tunisia as voters, election administration staff and candidates in an exceptional electoral process.

First and foremost, I would like to express deep gratitude to our partner organisations and officials: Mr. Abdessatar Moussa, President of LTDH, Ms. Salwa Kennou, President AFTURD, and Ms. Saida Rached, President of ATFD for their dedication and passion that contributed to the great success of this mission.

A particular message of thanks goes to the Independent High Authority for the Elections (ISIE) for its cooperation and assistance, and to the High Independent Authority of Audiovisual Communication (HAICA) for its key role in the elections. We also acknowledge our appreciation to the people, government, political parties and institutions in Tunisia for their hospitality and readiness to assist in aspects of our mission. Cooperation with other international observation missions and with other civil society organisations was welcome at many times during our work. And of course this mission would not have been possible without the valuable support of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As the Head of the GEM Mission, I am also pleased to acknowledge the dedication and tireless work of the all-women mission team which comprised 10 international observers – from Australia, Belgium, Libya, the Netherlands, Poland, Tunisia, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States – as well as the 100 Tunisian women who received training in election observation from a gender perspective and then integrated as part of our GEM team. These observer teams benefitted greatly from the constant support from staff of the Gender Concerns Tunis office and our headquarters in The Hague.

Gender Concerns has distinct expertise in observing elections from a gender perspective with our unique GEM initiative in Tunisia in 2011, and in countries including Pakistan (2008 and 2013), Morocco (2011) and in Libya (2012). We and our GEM Mission Tunisia partner organisations were in a unique position to offer valuable support for Tunisian women in asserting their right to be represented in Tunisia's 2014 decision-making processes. This Mission makes the conclusions and recommendations of this report independently and in accordance with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation of the United Nations in October 2005. It should be noted that in order to better reflect the nature of our mission objectives, from 2015 this initiative will be known as Gender Election Observation Mission (GEOM).

Sabra Bano,

Head of Mission

GENDER ELECTION WATCH TUNISIA 2014

The 2014 Gender Election Monitoring (GEM) mission in Tunisia was undertaken jointly with the Tunisian League for the Defense of Human Rights (LTDH), the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD), the Association of Tunisian Women for Research and Development (AFTURD) and Gender Concerns International. This initiative – supported by the German Federal Foreign Office – was a continuation of our partnership that began with our joint GEM Tunisia mission in 2011.

The GEM mission concept was created by Gender Concerns and first implemented in the Pakistan parliamentary elections of 2008. This Tunisia mission represented a solid link between the international women's movement and the strong movement in the region, particularly in Tunisia. The cooperation of international and local partners demonstrated the solidarity between these feminist movements. It aimed to support women's participation in democratic processes and to promote the vision of a gender-balanced society. It is strongly believed that women must be seen as catalysts for positive change, be able to hold key decision-making positions and have opportunities to enhance their leadership skills.

The mission deployed 10 international and 100 national female election observers to polling centres around the country, highlighting women's current and potential participation in political processes, with a particular focus on rural areas. Monitoring of electoral processes from a gender perspective underscores the societal and political challenges that must be overcome to ensure inclusive governance in the future of Tunisia. This GEM mission was the largest international election observation mission in Tunisia in 2014, and was substantially larger in both its scope and depth than the mission of 2011.

This work is not only unique because of its exclusive focus on gender in the electoral process, but also due to the fact that it was managed and implemented by women. The collaboration between LTDH, ATFD, AFTURD and Gender Concerns has led to the strengthening of capacity building within each of these organisations. The election observation teams consulted extensively with parliamentarians, governmental institutions, independent bodies, and national and international civil society organisations.

It is through this type of GEM initiative that more women can make crucial contributions as leaders and policy makers. This positive change that women can bring from the community to the national level begins with the free casting of a single vote.

GEM TUNISIA PARTNER ORGANISATIONS

The Tunisian League for the Defense of Human Rights (LTDH)

The Tunisian League for the Defense of Human Rights is considered the first organisation in the Arab and African regions to work on defending Human Rights and fundamental liberties guaranteed by the Tunisian Constitution and the international conventions.

Established in 1976, LTDH has been persistent, despite all the pressures exerted on its female and male activists throughout Tunisia, to observing and enacting different actions against violations of Human Rights, by receiving complaints from victims, accompanying them and following up on their cases with the appropriate authorities in order to find a solution.

LTDH has taken numerous measures to fight repression, different forms of discrimination, violations or fanaticism, thus becoming one of the national organisations defending individual and public liberties as well as socio-economic and cultural rights, as it upheld benchmarks of indivisibility, interdependence and the inalienability of human rights.

The League's involvement, in relation to women rights, has been proven by its engagement with independent feminist associations in the struggle for feminising the structures of LTDH and the inclusion of all women rights as an integral part of Human Rights. LTDH has always been interested in electoral processes, holding to its conviction that no democratic process could be achieved with the absence of free, transparent and honest elections.

Election monitoring missions conducted by LTDH, before the revolution and during the one party hegemonic rule, have led to the exposure of the anti-democratic practices of the regime and pointing out the electoral crimes and the exploitation of the administration, which was at the service of one party ruled by one man. With its mission focus and previous experience, LTDH has been one of the first Tunisian civil society organisations to work towards the establishment of an independent election commission.

The Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD)

The Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD) is a secular, independent and pluralist feminist association which works for gender equality, equal rights and opportunities, and full citizenship for women as well as for the elimination of discrimination and violence against women.

Founded in 1989 by a group of women from the Tunisian Feminist Movement, ATFD is active in various commissions that advocate for women's human rights in several sectors including violence, equality in inheritance, housing, freedom, democracy, citizenship and professional life.

The association works to spread a feminist culture and education on human rights. Its work is also based on the training of activists. In its charter, ATFD essentially proposes to fight all forms of discrimination against women and to work towards the achievement of gender equality in both legal texts and reality.

ATFD organises debates, round-table meetings, seminars and conferences as well as sensitisation campaigns about the forms of discrimination against women. In addition, ATFD develops and publishes books and reports on various matters affecting women. While recognising the legal and social achievements acquired over the last 50 years of the Republic in the areas of family, education, health and work, it has just pointed out deficiencies of the system.

Aware of its role in defending equal rights and opportunities for women, and building a democratic and strong society stemming from its successful experience, which brought down the reactionary draft constitution of June 2013, ATFD continues to work alongside partners to defend the founding principles of freedom, equality between women and men, and respect for human dignity as established by international standards on human rights, with focus on those more specific to women.

The Association of Tunisian Women for Research on Development (AFTURD)

Since its establishment in 1998, AFTURD has been working against social and economic marginalisation of women, regional imbalances, unemployment and its discriminatory effects on women and youth. The organisation also works against voices seeking to reverse the historical achievements of women under the pretexts of identity and cultural specificities.

In 2011, activists and the Managing Board of AFTURD had the honour of being in the heart of historical actions across Tunisia. AFTURD activities took place throughout the transitional process, by engaging with institutions and civil society consultations and proposals to which it was invited to assert the specific perspective of women: The High Authority for the Achievement of the Revolution Objectives, the Independent High Authority for the Elections (ISIE), the National Coalition for Transitional Justice, the National Consultation on the Draft of the Constitution.

AFTURD also campaigns to end any exclusion of women from decision-making, political structures, and key State positions – and that is why it has deployed its vigilance at every national election appointment from 1989 to 2014. Given the values of the AFTURD, the nature of its approaches and intervention strategies, and experience in election observation from a gender perspective – in partnership with Gender Concerns, ATFD and LTDH – the Tunisia 2014 mission was interesting beyond just election observation, as it was the first focus regarding the specific angle that allowed a measurement of possibilities and limitations of the political participation of Tunisian women.

Gender Concerns International

Gender Concerns International is an international development organisation based in The Hague, the Netherlands. It was formed in 2004 by a group of experts with extensive experience in gender and development. Ideals central to the organisation mission are that establishing a gender-balanced society requires action in democratic inclusion, poverty reduction, sustainable development, economic empowerment and policy-making.

Gender Concerns promotes women as agents for change and development. Programme activities focus on capacity building, lobby and advocacy work, facilitation of training, support of women's organisations and relevant civil society organisations. Gender Concerns has highlighted the gender dimension of developing democracies and the key role of women as agents of change, supporting women's full integration into electoral processes, policy-making positions and in other vital processes to determine their country's future.

The unique Gender Election Monitoring (GEM) program, created by Gender Concerns, addresses women's democratic participation before, during and after elections – as voters, candidates and electoral officials. GEM missions have been conducted in Tunisia, Pakistan, Morocco and Libya.

International Observers



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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his/her country. Nevertheless, despite women constituting at least half of the electorate in many countries, women continue to have unequal access to political and economic decision-making processes.

1.2 MISSION OBJECTIVES

Being aware of the important role women can play as catalysts of change, Gender Concerns has always worked towards the goal of improving women's participation in public life and their access to decision-making positions. This GEM mission focused on women's free and fair participation in democratic processes – from pre-election voter education and media coverage, to Election Day procedures, to training and support for newly-elected female leaders.

1.3 CONTEXT

The Tunisia parliamentary and presidential elections of 2014 were considered the result of a political process that started after the departure of President Ben Ali in January 2011. This process has led to the election of the members of the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) which was assigned to draft a new Constitution for the country. During this period of democratic transition, Tunisia has seen a continuous citizen action that has been marked by a concern of defending human rights, particularly women's human rights and the strengthening of democracy.

In this process, women have been advocates of democracy and peace, and even though they were able to impose parity and alternation in the electoral lists, their rights were endangered when the Islamist party came into power in October 2011.

1.4 ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Regarding the parliamentary elections, Tunisia was divided into 27 constituencies in the national territories and 6 constituencies abroad that were managed by 33 Independent Regional Electoral Authorities (IRIE). The electoral system adopted by electoral law was the proportional representation. The law simply established vertical parity in the lists and did not dictate horizontal parity. This has led some members of the democratic faction to present an appeal for the unconstitutionality¹ of this article, as it does not abide by the provisions of the Constitution, namely Article 21 related to the equality

¹ The appeal for the unconstitutionality of the project of Article 24 has been filed to the Provisional Authority for Monitoring Constitutionality.

between all citizens in rights and duties, in article 34 regarding political rights and the assurance of female representation in all elected assemblies, and Article 46 establishing parity.

In relation to the presidential election, the Constitution and the electoral law state that women and men could present their candidacy and that the president is elected for a five-year term by virtue of universal, free, direct, secret and transparent voting and with the absolute majority of votes. If no candidate achieves this absolute majority in the first round, a second round of elections will be organised within two weeks from declaring the final results of the first round.

1.5 ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION

The Tunisian electoral administration was established by law in December 2012. This law established a permanent independent public authority named the Independent High Authority for Elections (ISIE) which has a legal personality and is financially autonomous. ISIE is headquartered in Tunis.

The GEM mission observed an elevated number of qualified female personnel working at the ISIE headquarters and in polling centres during election days. However, parity in the central administrations and regional offices was not evident. Thus, in order to guarantee a broader parity, the creation of a gender unit within ISIE remains necessary to better represent a gender-equal approach.

1.6 VOTER REGISTRATION

In 2014, only voluntary registration in the electoral register was considered. The total number of registered voters was 5,285,136. Of this total 50.5% were women and 49.4% were men.

This was an increase in the registration rate compared to 2011, as the total number of registered voters was approximately 4,200,000. The 2011 percentage of registered women voters was 37.27% compared to 62.73% men.

The voter registration process has encountered several problems. At first, the new electoral administration did not revise the former valid electoral register for the 2011 elections. Afterwards, ISIE's decision of extending the initial registration period and later devoting an additional registration period was a source of confusion. Many who voted in 2011 with an automatic enrolment assumed they could vote without making a voluntary registration.

1.7 FEMALE CANDIDACY

In 2014, 1,327 lists have run for the parliamentary election with 47% of the total number of candidates as female, yet only 148 lists were presided by women (12% of the total number of lists). In spite of the parties' respect for the concept of parity in the electoral lists, the absence of mandatory presiding of

females at the top of the lists did not contribute to a significant increase in women's numbers within Parliament. In 2011, 5,502 female candidates ran out of a total of 11,686 candidates, representing 47% of the total number of candidates. In the total number of running lists, only 7%, that is 128 lists, were presided by women.

1.8 ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

During the 2014 electoral campaign, and similar to 2011, female candidates were widely marginalised by the media. They were also rarely supported and mentored by their parties. This marginalisation during the electoral campaign even affected incumbent female candidates.

Female candidates have been impacted by acts of violence. They have also been occasionally targeted with stigmatisation and denigration towards their morality and reputation –in public and in social media networks.

1.9 ELECTION OBSERVATION

Observations revealed a great deal of enthusiasm and devotion among Tunisian citizens, and in particular women, towards electoral process. The power of civil society organisations (CSOs) has been displayed through the large number of Tunisian female observers who received credentials to observe the three elections. Tunisian CSOs have played a considerable role in familiarising voters to gender issues. However, CSO efforts have been more focused on urban areas, despite the fact that rural areas are more in need for such a raised awareness.

1.10 ELECTION DAYS

In the majority of the polling centres observed all over the country, parliamentary and presidential voting took place in an orderly and peaceful atmosphere. The security of the three elections was overseen by military and police forces. These security forces were seen nearly everywhere: at polling centres entries, inside the centres and even inside some polling stations. Furthermore, this security was reinforced for the second round of presidential elections.

Mostly, the voting queues were mixed gender; nevertheless some separate queues were observed more so in rural areas but also in some larger cities². Priority was given to elderly women, pregnant women, women with disabilities and women with children. In certain polling centres, the staff welcomed children accompanying their parents during voting, but this attitude was not observed in all polling stations.

² Kairouan, Monastir, Ben Arous, Sousse, Tunis!

GEM observers also noted some cases of aggression towards female voters: elderly women, illiterates and those with difficulty understanding the process, and occasionally women with children. Such attitudes could deter such women from voting in the future and could affect the overall electoral process since these categories of female voters were of significant numbers in the observed rural areas. But, the devotion and persistence that elderly women demonstrated create potential to overcome any constraints by voting in great numbers to show their solidarity.

ISIE produced a special Braille ballot for visually impaired voters, further demonstrating the perspective of voter inclusion adopted by the ISIE. In fact, GEM observers noted a positive and cooperative attitude towards voters in general.

The 2014 elections clearly contained a massive female voter turnout. Female voters were from all social categories and asserted their presence in this long and complicated electoral process. It was noteworthy that elderly and middle-aged women voted in greater numbers, while young female voters remained in the lowest voter numbers during the three elections. This disparity could be explained by the fact that in rural areas, young women make up the majority of the agricultural workforce, and the three election dates coincided with olive harvesting season. It is also worth noting that this category of women has been seen as somewhat disinterested with politics.

Media coverage of voting was frequently observed at polling stations. In the second round of presidential elections, a tendency towards interviewing female voters was observed, and certain female voters seized this opportunity to call for other women to come vote for the sake of the country's future.

National and international observers were present at polling centres almost all over the country, except in polling centres at which ISIE had limited voting hours because of security concerns. Observer numbers varied from one area to another, and our teams observed a large number of national and international female observers in Nabeul 2 and Bizerte.

1.11 ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

The parliamentary elections did not result in an evenly-shared Parliament as independent feminist civil society hoped for, after having strived for parity since the late 1980s.

However, due to the implementation of vertical parity (in the outlining of the lists), 31% of elected members of Parliament in the October elections were women, with 68 out of 217 seats, and increased to 74 seats, after the appointment of some ministers from deputies. This representation is considered the highest that Tunisians have seen since 1956, and that women in the Arab world have ever witnessed.

Even though the only female presidential candidate, Kalthoum Kennou, received a relatively small number of votes in the first round of elections, women in the second round helped determine the outcome by massively supporting the candidate Beji Caid Essebsi. This support could be attributed to

Mr. Essebsi's speeches inspired from the "Bourguibiste", with implications of the emancipation of women and the promotion of equality of rights. The results of the two elections indicate the increasing role that Tunisian women have within the political realm.

1.12 CONCLUSION

Achieving the goal of organising the historic steps of the transitional process in Tunisia represented a tremendous challenge for the government and for the people. Democracy took firm root and Tunisia proved to countries, which have witnessed dynamics of the Arab Spring, that Tunisian women were empowered to take part in decision-making processes as active citizens. The role of Tunisian women was decisive in the electoral process, as they shaped the results of the elections. This was a commendable achievement for women of Tunisia. Nonetheless, women's empowerment achieved to date is a first goal that has been reached and not an accepted standard to maintain. There remains much work to be done. For example, although women have a fairly good representation in Parliament, they must continue to be supported in their networking and building of influence. Female capacities need to be empowered to assure the access of women to all traditional and new avenues of power. The change in Tunisia has a condition sine qua non: the encouragement of women to be catalysts of positive change and to realise the best applications of their vast potential.

The results of both elections reflect the increasing role played by Tunisian women in the public sphere. To this purpose, our GEM Mission team is pleased to present in this report key observations and recommendations in order to galvanise the work already done, and to further support Tunisian women's empowerment.

2. GENERAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his/her country. The empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women's social, economic and political status is essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable government and administration and sustainable development in all areas of life. The power relations that prevent women from leading fulfilling lives operate at many levels of society, from the most personal to the highly public. Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning. Equality in political decision-making performs a leverage function without which it is highly unlikely that a real integration of the equality dimension in government policy-making is feasible. In this respect, women's equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

Beijing Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995.

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) every citizen has the right to take part in the government of his/her country, directly or through chosen representatives³. These political rights are universally recognised as universal, inalienable and indivisible. Nevertheless, despite women constituting the majority of a population in a number of countries, and even with the widespread movement towards democratisation in most countries, women remain largely underrepresented at most levels of political and economic decision-making.

In 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action called upon countries to reach the aim of having 30% women in positions at decision-making levels. This Platform highlighted women's rights as human rights, putting it on the top priorities of public policies.

Even with the recognition of the rights of the women and the progress of these last years, the average percentage of women who are currently represented worldwide in political bodies is still at a dismal 20%. The average of women's political participation in Arab States is the lowest in the world, at about 17%.

Actually, many solutions have been adopted to address the under-representation of women in the public sphere. Quotas have been successful in many transitional and post-conflict countries. In reality, the obstacles of the implication of women in the political sphere are varied; the deepest ones rely

³ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 21 (<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>).

especially on social and cultural norms or traditions in patriarchal societies. Women represent a work force but must participate in public life, as they have demonstrated leadership in community and informal organisations. The uprisings of the Arab Spring, in which women played a decisive role, have missed the opportunity to increase women's presence in decision-making bodies and to demonstrate that change must be made by redefining political priorities – including placing gender-specific concerns on the political agenda that reflect and address perspectives on mainstream political issues. In short, the establishment of an inclusive democracy cannot be achieved without the involvement of women in political and public affairs.

2.2 GEM MISSION OBJECTIVES

In the international arena, there is a growing recognition that women's representative participation in decision-making is a fundamental condition of women's equality and a hallmark of an inclusive society that values the contributions of all its members. The Tunisian Second Republic, shaped by the liberalisation and the aspiration for more freedom, cannot stand without the equality of men and women. A comprehensive approach to follow the progress to date and to push for the achievement of inclusive governance including the empowerment of women will contribute to building inclusive democracy in the country and in the region.

The participation of women in electoral processes ranges from participating as voters, candidates, election observers and administrators, as well as judges that resolve electoral complaints. A comprehensive analysis should include an assessment of the participation of women in the electoral process and should highlight the role they played in the management and the administration of the electoral process. This assessment can confirm whether Tunisian women had played an effective role in the success of the process. Resulting recommendations can improve women's participation in future electoral processes at all levels: national, regional and local.

Gender Concerns International, along with partners organisations, conducted intensive training sessions on election observation from a gender perspective for all our national GEM observers, with a special focus on rural areas where much still needs to be done to support a greater presence of women in elections.

The specificity of the mission was that it featured an exclusive female observation team ensuring that the elections would be monitored solely from a gender perspective. The large team of 10 international and 100 local female observers was in charge of the observation the 2014 Tunisian parliamentary and presidential elections.



Figure 1: Pre-election team training with Gender Concerns International and partners



Figure 2: International expert Ms. Reem Obeidat conducting training session of female observers



Figure 3: Head of Mission Sabra Bano (centre), with partner representatives, announcing observer deployment at a press conference in Tunis

2.3 DEPLOYMENT MAP



Figure 4: Deployment map

Our mission was composed of 100 female local observers and 10 international female observers, who were allocated in nearly all of Tunisia. The national female observers are represented by blue numbers, and international female observers are represented by red.

2.4 CONTEXT



Figure 5: Ballot box

In spite of the fact that Tunisian women did not have the right to vote for the first Constituent Assembly in 1956, they were able to participate in municipal elections of 1957. However, Tunisian women continued to be under-represented in public and political life. The power remained with the men that belong to the hegemonic party.

The ruling of May 2011 related to the election of the National Constituent Assembly (Art. 16) established parity between men and women with alternation of males and females on electoral

lists. The elections of the NCA in October 2011 were the first democratic, free and transparent elections in Tunisia, in which 59 women were elected to the Tunisian Constituent Assembly. These 59 women represented 27% out of the 217 elected members.

Parity is a principle in the Constitution: “The state ensures the realisation of parity between women and men in elected councils”. To implement this constitutional provision, a May 2014 law related to elections and referendums states that “Candidates must be presented at the basis of parity between women and men and lists must fulfil the rule of alternation between male and female candidates”. One of the positive measures in favour of the encouragement of participation of women in the electoral process is the rejection of a candidate list if it does not respect parity and alternation. This provision is worthy of criticism since it only includes vertical parity, which renders the constitutional objective of achieving a true parity in the composition of elected councils difficult.

In such a complicated electoral process, women can be seen as promoters of democracy and peace, as even though they were able to impose parity and alternation in the electoral lists, their rights were threatened when the Islamist party came into power in October 2011.

These threats have manifested in different ways. The statements of some elected female members, such as those by Ennahdha representative Ms. Souad Abderrahim, after her election to the NCA, attacked single mothers. This was followed by oppressing popular protests and wide acts of violence targeting women, the emergence of customary marriage in the ranks of Salafist students and Islamists, calls for questioning the prohibition of polygamy, and sexual abuse of children and young girls.

All of these practises have constituted a clear expression of the threats for women’s rights and have happened in an atmosphere of blocked State institutions, of impunity, of insecurity and of political assassination. But, these practises have translated above all the will of questioning the modernity of the State, in which the status of women has been a centrepiece since its independence.

In this atmosphere, writing the Constitution has also suffered a huge resistance from certain NCA members, mainly representatives of Ennahdha, who were inclined to endorse the concept of a complementary relationship between men and women rather than establishing equality of rights and duties. All of these threats to women's rights, to human rights and citizenship in general, have contributed to a rising mobilisation from civil society stakeholders that halted this movement of inequality and helped enable the establishment of equality of women as full citizens.

Concerned with losing their achievements, Tunisian women have not only characterised the new Constitution but also have become stakeholders in political battles, and their role in the 2014 elections was proof of their determination to be part of politics and of an egalitarian democracy.

In the 2014 parliamentary elections, 31% of the Members of Parliament were women: 68 out of 217. And in the first round of the 2014 presidential elections, Ms. Kalthoum Kennou, the only female out of 27 candidates, was the first woman to run for president in Tunisia.

Although Tunisia has shown higher rates of women's participation in its Parliament, the social practices and sexual prejudice towards women in political leadership persist. Many men and women do not yet conceive the tendency towards feminism, and women are not in their suitable place within public life. The stakes are high considering the voting system used: proportionality to the strongest remains. The latter, despite allowing a pluralistic expression, is difficult to be won by the second in the list except if it takes away two times the electoral quota.

3. THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF THE TUNISIAN ELECTIONS

3.1 LEGAL CONTEXT

After the revolution of January 2011, Tunisia started a long transitional process to build a democracy. The constituent elections organised in October 2011 were the first step to cut definitively with the former dictatorial regime. The adoption of the new Constitution in January 2014 framed the electoral processes of 2014.

This new consensual Constitution dedicates the equality of rights and duties between male and female citizens without discrimination. The Constitution calls upon the State to take all necessary measures in order to eradicate violence against women, to commit to protecting women's acquired rights and work to strengthen and develop those rights. The State also guarantees the equality of opportunities between women and men to have access to all levels of responsibility in all domains.

Other important elements of the legal framework of the 2014 electoral process are the regulations of ISIE. In fact, the electoral administration worked on the application of the Constitution and the electoral law to frame all the stages of the electoral cycle. ISIE produced, together with the High Independent Authority of Audiovisual Communication (HAICA), an armada of legal texts which were sometimes considered too complicated for the concerned parties. Regulations on campaign financing is an example of the complexity and ramification of rules which can affect their applicability.

3.2 POLITICAL CONTEXT

In the MENA region, Tunisia is regarded as a reference for its legislations that protect women's human rights. Since the country's independence, Tunisian women have obtained a distinguished status due to former President Bourguiba, who granted them pioneering rights in the domain of family. This emancipation prepared women to undertake an important role in the transitional process. Despite a wave of regression that affected women after the revolution, Tunisia aspired to build a democratic State that began with the elections of the National Constituent Assembly members in 2011.

In 2014, Tunisian women made their voice heard in the electoral process, especially as seen in the second presidential round. Tunisian women have actually helped shape the history of their country. Nevertheless, Tunisian women still face difficulties at the socio-economic level, especially in rural areas. In fact, the amount of illiterate women in Tunisia remains high⁴. These remaining obstacles affect the integration of Tunisian women in the political scene.

This commitment and this fervour were not without constraints, in fact due to several reasons; the representation of Tunisian woman as candidates was weak: there were only 47% of female candidates in the parliamentary elections. There were only 12% as head of list (+ 5% compared to 2011 election). Tunisian women need more significant propulsion on the political scene to reach their deserved place at the parliamentary level.

For the presidential election, the female candidature was a sign of a strong will of implication of the Tunisian woman in the political process and is an indicator of a future of better inclusion of women in high-level politics. The female candidacy of Ms. Kennou had a significant symbolic effect, since she was the first female candidate in the first presidential election after the revolution of January 2011. This candidacy confirmed that Tunisian women are ready for the supreme function of the State. However the fact that Ms. Kennou was an independent candidate indicates that women still have a long way to go in order to gain prominence within political parties.

It is important to mention that the Tunisian political context is characterised by a polarisation that affected the results by dividing the country. Fortunately, all the institutions, and in particular ISIE, have deployed efforts in the framework of the country's unity. The role of dialogue and consultations has been helpful in relieving some political tensions. The political construction of the country is in need of collective efforts of men and women to enhance a higher sense of national unity.

3.3 ELECTORAL SYSTEM

In relation to the parliamentary elections, the election system adopted by electoral law is proportional representation. A law passed in May 2014 related to elections and referendums defined voters: every male and female citizen who is registered in the voters list, who is 18 years of age or older, who enjoys all of his/her civil and political rights and who is not in violation of any voting rights provided by the law.

⁴28% according to the Gender Profile of Tunisia (2014).

Concerning the parliamentary elections, eligibility criteria has been determined in the lists that provide parity and alternation between men and women, but Article 24 of the law simply dedicated vertical parity without mentioning horizontal parity. This has incurred reactions of deputies who appealed for cancelling this article as it does not conform to the provisions of the Constitution.

Nevertheless, the provisional authority for monitoring the constitutionality of law has refused to admit the unconstitutionality of Article 24 and the National Constituent Assembly has endorsed horizontal parity. Yet this endorsement did not lead to as many women as men as head of lists, because it was done at the discretion of candidates and political parties.

The constitutional system also provides that the president is elected for a five-year term by means of universal, free, direct, secret, fair and transparent elections by an absolute majority of votes. If no candidate achieves such a majority in the first round, a second round shall be organised during the two weeks following the announcement of the definitive results of the first round. Only the two candidates having won the highest number of votes during the first round can run for the second round.

The Constitution provides equal rights, with conditions, to Tunisian citizens, men and women, to present their candidacy for president. The candidate must be Muslim and hold Tunisian nationality by birth. In case of dual nationality, a commitment of abandonment of the other nationality must be presented when the candidacy is submitted. In addition, each candidate is required to deposit in the general finance of Tunisia a collateral of 10,000 dinars (approximately EUR 4,500) which will be restored only if he/she obtains at least 3% of valid votes. This threshold cannot guarantee that non-serious candidates enter the race. Moreover, the consequences of this procedure are that a candidate can lose a significant amount of money, which can be a problem especially for independent candidates.

The “parrainage” is also one of the new and objective conditions of candidacy in the presidential election. Each candidate must be supported by 10 deputies or by 10,000 registered voters. In practice, this condition has caused several problems since it requires extensive effort to verify the authenticity of each signature. This system can cause, if not mastered and well managed, a risk of fraud which can affect the integrity of the entire electoral process.

The Electoral Administration

The law creating the ISIE was ratified by the National Constituent Assembly in December 2012. This law set out the prerogatives of ISIE and its composition, with a Council made up of nine members representing the different created bodies and competences.

Contrary to the former ISIE, civil society was not represented in the central body and parity was not achieved in the composition of the ISIE. Even so, in 2011, a law article stated explicitly that “the Higher Authority for the Realisation of the Goals of the Revolution, Political Reform and Democratic Transition” must ensure the respect of parity between men and women. Even with this law dedicating parity, only two women were elected to the former ISIE out of 16 members, and in the new ISIE there are three women out of nine members. The elected women are assigned to three positions: the first is assigned with representing citizens abroad, the second with judiciary duties and the third as a communication

specialist. This could be considered a retreat from what was achieved in 2011 since then one of the two women was vice-president. Similarly, it has been noted that within the National Authority as well as the Regional Authorities that are headquartered in 33 constituencies, that there is not a women's department or a gender unit.

To achieve its mission and implement the provisions of the electoral law, ISIE has adopted a number of decisions regarding the electoral procedure, calculating results and foreign observation, but none of the decisions have focused on specific issues that women might encounter during the electoral process.

Some of the tasks charged to ISIE:

- Maintain voters' register and continuously update names;
- Prepare and publish voter lists for each election or referendum, and publish electoral calendars;
- Guarantee each voter's right to vote and ensure equal treatment of voters and candidates;
- Control integrity and transparency of elections, including vote counting and results;
- Prepare codes of conduct and accreditation of candidate;
- Train polling station staff and other electoral officials;
- Facilitate voter education; monitor campaign financing; report on elections and ISIE activities.

ISIE was reactive and respected all the deadlines of the 2014 electoral cycle. In fact, for the second presidential round, ISIE established a method of identifying voters by gender – in response to recommendations by Gender Concerns, partners and women's organisations – to establish such statistics of voters including gender.

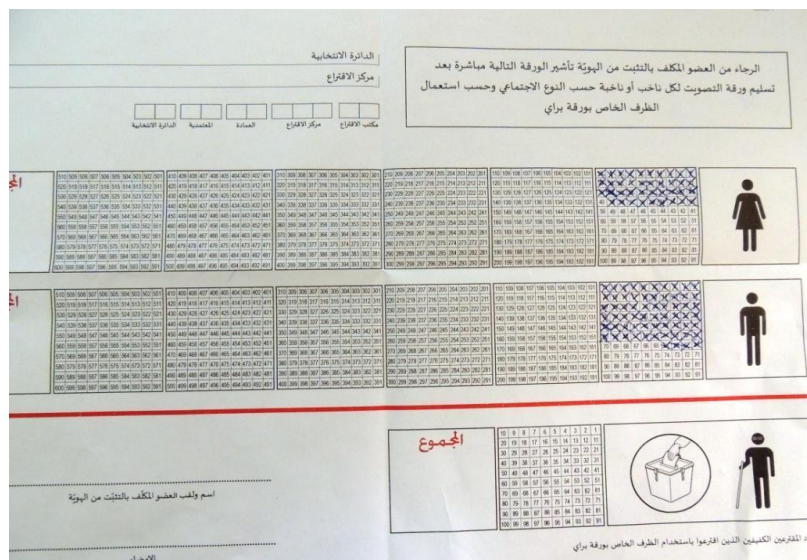


Figure 6: Voters were identified by gender in the second presidential round

3.4 WOMEN IN THE ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION

The ISIE Council is composed of nine independent and neutral members; one-third of members are renewed every two years. It is currently ISIE is composed of three women and six men, and it is recommended that upon the renewal of the ISIE that more attention should be given to gender balance.

In the departments of ISIE, there are almost 50% women, including chief of the legal department and manager of the training department. Observations found that the central administration has 64 female officers and 102 male officers. On a regional level according to statistics produced by ISIE, parity is only reached regarding the registration officers as there are 1,422 women out of 2,618. In the regional instance women are not well represented, with only 13 female members out of 90. The regional coordinators are for a large majority male, with only five female coordinators out of 27. In addition, and to attend parity, efforts remain to be done regarding the staff of the polling stations.

3.5 Voter registration



The crucial step of voter registration has experienced several problems and constitutes a weak point of the electoral process. Firstly, the new electoral administration did not purge and audit the former valid electoral register for the 2011 elections. Then, ISIE's decision to extend the initial registration period created confusion, especially as many 2011 voters with an automatic enrolment assumed they were eligible to vote without registration action.

The total of newly-registered Tunisians for the 2014 elections was 993,696 of which 50,5% were women. The total number of all registered Tunisian citizens, for both the parliamentary and the presidential elections was 5,285,136, including 359,530 out-of-country voters.

About 300,000 women did not have national identity cards, which deprived most of them from voting. However, around 5,000 of these women were able to acquire a card and voted thanks to the efforts of ISIE and the Secretary of State charged with the issues of women and family.

In spite of all these efforts, the participation of women in rural areas, similar to the 2011 elections, was not satisfactory. In these regions women suffer from numerous problems, mainly economic difficulties. Illiterate women voters occasionally asked to be assisted by a family member – which is prohibited – and unfortunately encountered difficulties when voting.

ISIE established a file identifying women's suffrage during the parliamentary elections and the first round of the presidential election. The electoral administration identified a gender-specific voting in each polling centre, and it was observed that the lowest vote percentage of women, 4.6 %, was at the Ouchtata-Jendouba polling centre with restricted voting hours due to a deteriorating security situation. The highest percentage of women's votes was registered in Tataouine with 62%.

According to ISIE documentation, there was an equal percentage of votes between women and men in Tozeur (50/50%). In Tunis 2, and in Kebeli, the percentage of women's vote surpassed the percentage of men's votes: 52% women and 48% men at Tunis 2; and 51% women and 49% men at Kebeli.

GEM teams observed a low turnout of young people in general and young women in particular. More efforts are needed to concentrate on reaching young female voters especially in the rural areas.

3.6 VOTER EDUCATION AND THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Numerous campaigns for voter registration were led by ISIE. CSOs also organised initiatives to encourage Tunisians to register and to vote. In fact, CSOs, especially women's organisations, participated in voter sensitisation. The time to conduct voter sensitisation was particularly compressed due to the short delay of the different steps of the electoral cycle and the tight timelines to implement three elections. Despite the brief timelines, the participation in this complex electoral process was enthusiastic, especially for the parliamentary elections, and in some instances women with innate civic sense and great patriotism were invested thoroughly for the success of the electoral process.

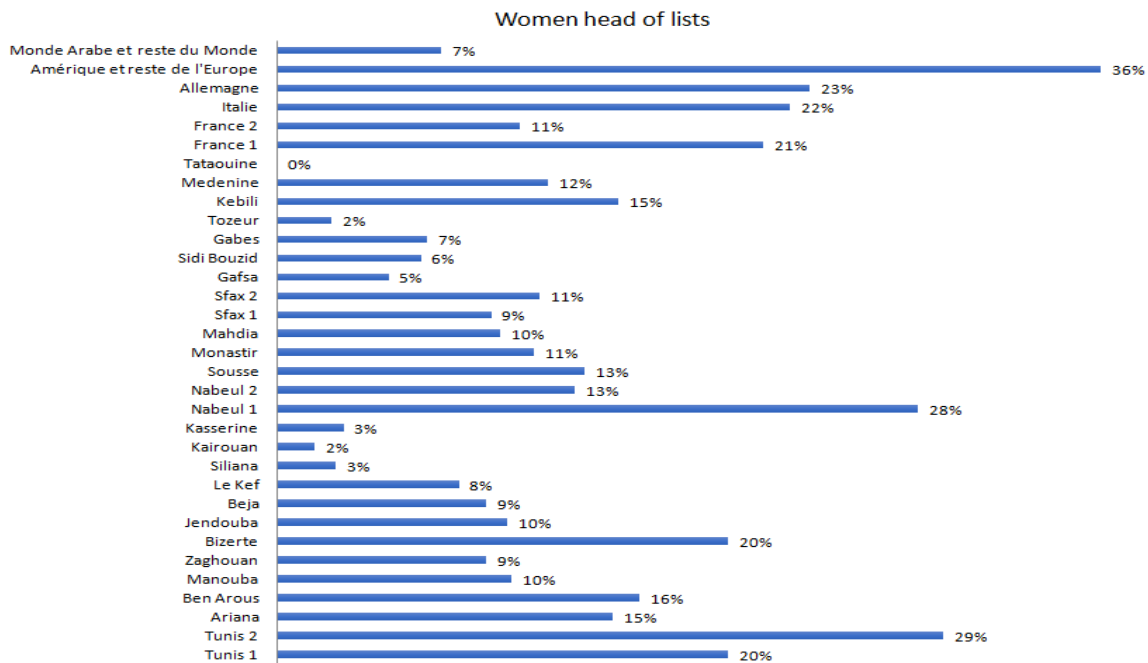
ISIE has produced numerous manuals and initiated voter education programmes which targeted women. Even though the material was not always gender-neutral, various posters and videos were published to encourage women's participation in the elections. Unfortunately, the diffusion of these tools was constrained by time and was not well managed. In addition, the fact that Tunisia organised this special electoral process, with three electoral appointments in three months had the effect of voter fatigue, since it was sought above all for immediate solutions to socio-economic problems. The complexity of the electoral cycle shows that the comprehension of it was not evident for all voters. The 2011 election experience showed the general enthusiasm of Tunisians for elections perceived as the only way to complete the democratic construction of the country, but, at the same time, many women, especially the elderly, experienced difficulties voting and requested assistance. This issue was particularly evident in the rural areas. Elderly women experienced problems in understanding the electoral process, including how to mark the ballot for casting.

3.7 FEMALE CANDIDACY

Given that only vertical parity was dedicated, there were not many women as heads of lists: only 148 heads of the 1,326 accepted lists were women (12% of the total). This was a modest advance from the 7% of the 2011 elections, and insufficient for establishing an equal representation of men and women.

Thus, similar to the National Constituent Assembly, the House of Representatives (ARP) will also be dominated by men.

On average, and for 33 constituencies, it was found that parties assigned only three to five women as heads of lists. “It is very little”, said Emna Ben Othmane, head of the Al-Joumhourî Republican Party list. It was further stated that “Women are still afraid here. Some of them think that she would not be up to manage a campaign”.



Graph 1: Percentage of women head of lists

Only education makes the difference: the Union for Tunisia (UPT), a leftist coalition has presented 13 women. “We have always strived for an advanced parity”, explained Nawel Achour, a 26 year-old PhD student. She was also a candidate, listed after a representative of the Constituent Assembly. “I didn’t hesitate that much. I believe now is the time or never to participate in the construction of the new Tunisia. Women and youth have to make a standing and be part of this”.



Figure 7

Women as head of list were very few in the interior of the country, especially in the south. In fact, the number of female heads of list was very low in many constituencies such as Kairouan, Tozeur (only 1 female head of list), Kasserine, Siliana, (2 female heads of list), Gafsa, Zaoughan, (3 female heads of list).

The situation in 2014 was not a progress in comparison with 2011. In fact female candidates were heads of candidate lists in only 7 % of the constituencies with a top of 17 % in Tunis and with a percentage less than 5 % in two-thirds of the 27 constituencies inside the country. There were even some regions where there were no women heading a list of a regional political party. For instance, in Tataouine there was not a single woman as candidate out of 31 lists.

3.8 ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN



During the election campaigns of 2014, and in 2011, female candidates appeared to be marginalised in media reporting, and were rarely supported and mentored by their parties. This situation during the electoral campaign affected the female heads of lists.

Figure 8: Meeting with newly-elected Members of Parliament from Ennahdha

Furthermore, female candidates endured personal attacks during the campaign – online and physical – that affected their reputations and physical security.



Figure 9: Mission team discussing women’s democratic participation with a newly elected deputy from Nidaa Tounes

The July 2014 joint decision between ISIE and the Independent High Authority for Audiovisual Communication decreed that candidate lists would be provided media coverage proportional to the

number of candidate lists in that constituency (i.e. candidate lists in 26-33 constituencies shall have 30-40 percent of the campaign media programs distributed equally among them, etc.). Candidate lists would each receive three minutes of free broadcast airtime on national radio and television stations.



Figure 10: Election awareness: campaign materials in Tunis

For the presidential election, the electoral campaign of the first round ran from 1 - 22 November and the second round campaign ran from 9 – 19 December. From a gender perspective the campaign of the single female candidate in the first round was interesting to follow. It was observed that the electoral campaign of Ms. Kenou was spread out over the whole period with accelerated activity in the last week. During her visits and meetings, she was welcomed by women and men, but as an independent candidate without the support of a political party, it was difficult for her to organise large meetings. For this reason, equal media coverage was extremely important for Ms. Kennou.

3.9 ELECTION OBSERVATION

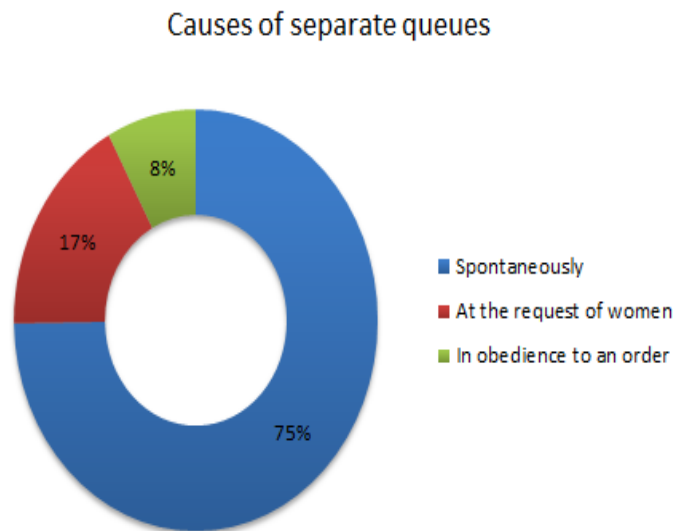
The Gender Election Monitoring Mission revealed much enthusiasm and dedication from all Tunisian citizens, and from women in particular. In relation to the presidential election in its two rounds, and especially in the second round, no long queues were observed. In most cases, queues were mixed, except in sensitive and rural areas such as Soliman. Women with disabilities and pregnant women had priority and observers saw children accompanying their parents into some polling stations. In most of the observed centres for all of the election rounds, except in a few rare cases, voting was conducted smoothly in a calm atmosphere.

Although the majority of voting queues were mixed gender, this did not exclude the presence of certain separate queues based on gender that were observed mainly in rural areas and in some larger cities.

Observers noted in some polling centres in Kairouan and Monastir, male and female voters grouped themselves in separate queues. Separate gender queues were also observed in polling centres in Ben Arous, Kairouan and Sousse. Whereas this action of separate queues was done spontaneously in certain regions where voters preferred non-mixed queues, it was stated that the division was sometimes imposed by the staff of the Regional Authority for Elections (IRIES) or even by people who were not part of the election administration staff in some other polling centres, such as at “la poste” school in Msaken, Sousse.

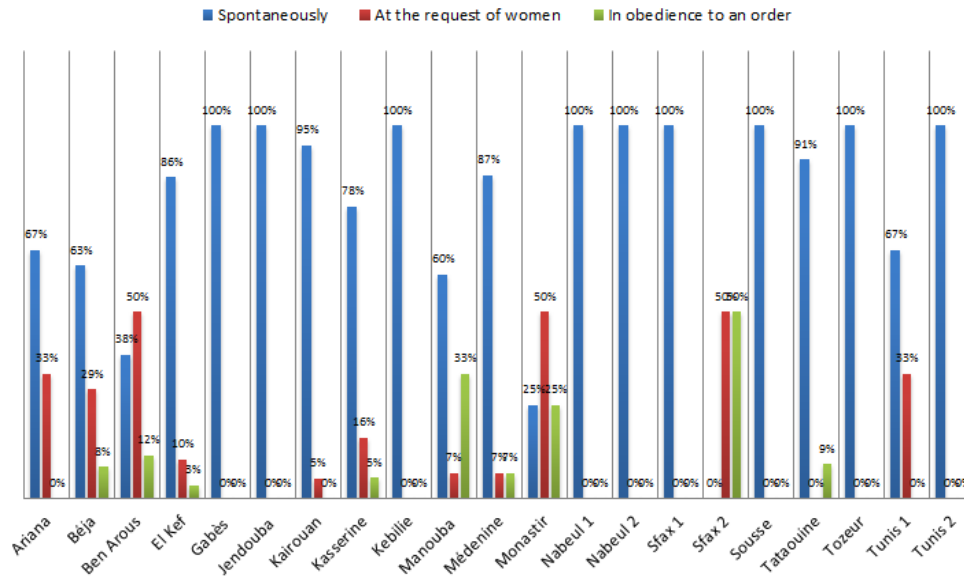
In other polling centres, including Rue de Marseille, and Bab Jedid, voters decided to form in gender queues. This action strongly displeased some people, especially by a woman observed in the polling centre Rue de Marseille, who verbally complained denouncing mixed queues as a demeaning action towards women, as a video on Mosaïque FM showed.

Causes of separate queues



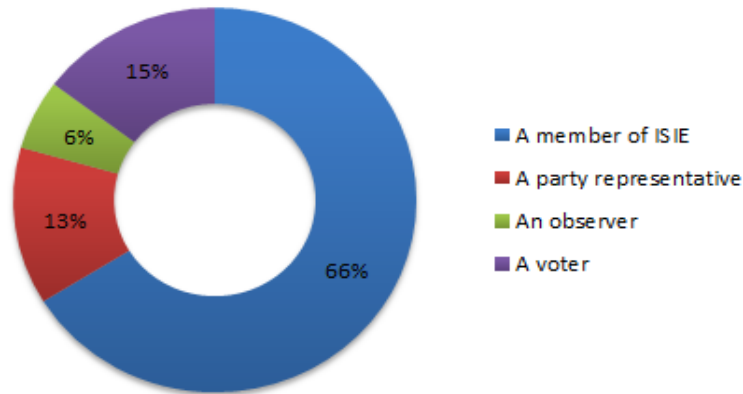
Graph 2: Causes of separate queues

Causes of separate queues by constituency



Graph 3: Causes of separate queues by constituency

Separated queue orders were given by the following:

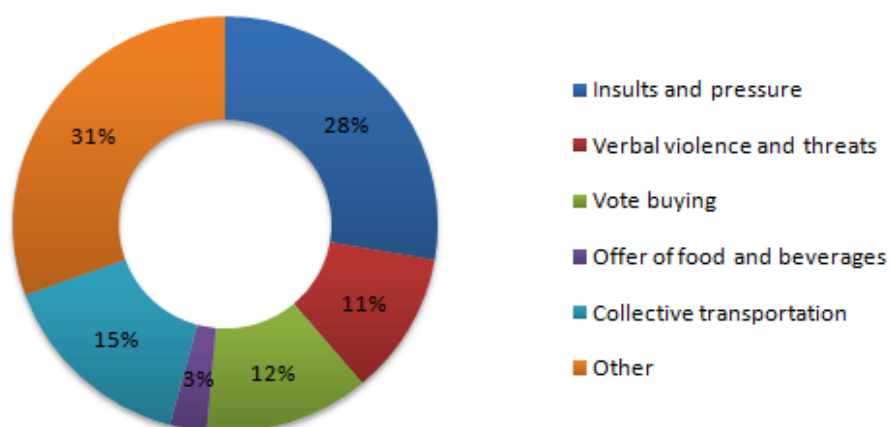


Graph 4: Order responsibility

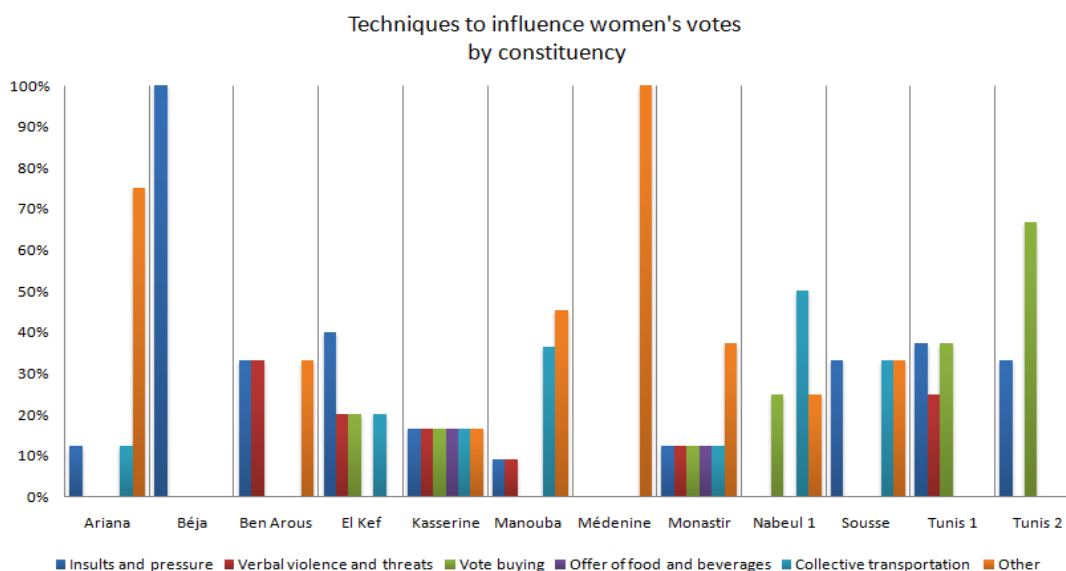
Formation of the mixed queues most often appeared spontaneous but in some cases the separation seemed to be a kind of intimidation. Polling station staff in some cases imposed separated queues.

On the issue of influencing of voters, even if just a few cases of influence of the women voters were noticed, it was interesting to see the different influencing techniques.

Techniques to influence women's votes



Graph 5: Techniques to influence women's votes



Graph 6: Techniques to influence women's votes by constituency

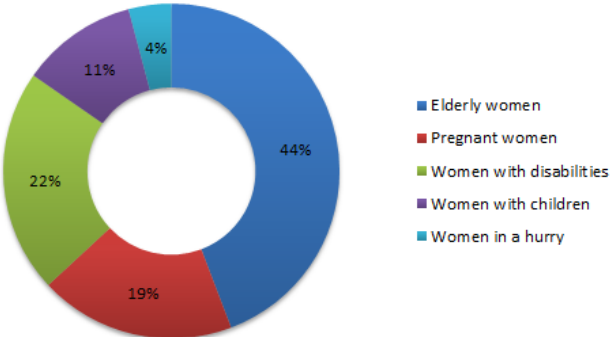
Priority for women

In the overwhelming majority of observed polling centres, particular attention and assistance was given to elderly women, pregnant women and women accompanied by their children. However, in certain polling centres in the constituencies of Tunis 2 and Sousse for instance, women accompanied by their children did not receive any assistance or special treatment. This obstacle did not hamper female voters from voting since waiting time was generally less than one hour.

In relation to illiterate women, female observers noticed in certain polling stations that directors were a bit aggressive towards these vulnerable and numerous female voters, as they often required assistance from others in order to vote.

A certain number of observed polling stations were not accessible to disabled people, as reported by observers that often the absence of accommodations made them unsuitable for the disabled. In addition, the disabled when voting were not in a number of cases given priority or well assisted. With the absence of Braille lists during the Parliamentary elections, polling station staff refused to allow siblings or relatives to help visually-impaired voters, and these voters were forced to choose someone from the queue to help them vote.

Kind of women voters giving priority to



Graph 7: Priority for women

4. OBSERVATION ON ELECTIONS DAYS

Our GEM observation team had the opportunity to observe in sensitive areas where polling stations had limited opening hours (10:00 - 15:00). However, in the areas near to the Algerian border, these observers were advised by army forces not to proceed for security reasons. Few national and international observers could be seen in this area, and our observation teams were warmly welcomed in the areas centres in which they were able to enter.

The candidates, the political parties and national organisations made full use of the female potential to appoint political agents and observers. In fact, for the observation of the three polls there was a mobilisation of all female forces engaged in civil society. In our scope of observation, we observed that in general national female observers formed 44% of the national observers. In some constituencies, the majority of the national observers deployed were female observers. Paradoxical as it may appear, the south and interior regions mobilised a considerable number of women as observers: in Tozeur 54% of observers were women, in Kasserine 52%. In other regions the percentage of female observers the percentage was close to parity: Ben Arous 47%, Tunis 1 and Tunis 2, 46%. On a total of 2,394 observers counted by our teams in all the regions observed, 1,332 were women.

4.1 ELECTION DAYS

The 2014 elections saw a heavy participation of women. For instance, the national rate of women's participation in the first round of presidential elections was 50.5% compared with 47% in the 2011 NCA elections.

During the parliamentary elections, numerous registered women voters were unable their names in the voters' lists. Wanting their right to vote, they protested in the relevant polling centres. This not only revealed a deficiency in preparations by ISIE, but also in the voter's awareness of the importance of verifying their registration in the voters' lists. This presence notably increased in the second round of presidential elections. Contrary to the difficulties encountered during the parliamentary elections, our observation teams noticed that illiterate voters didn't face any difficulties in voting, since the voting ballot had only the photos of the two candidates.

Female voters were of all ages and from all social and socio-professional categories. Women entered polling centres without obstacles or discrimination. They arrived at the voting centres generally alone, in a group of women or sometimes in mixed groups. It was difficult to establish a general tendency in relation to women arrivals to polling stations, but certain observations were relevant. In observed polling stations during parliamentary and presidential elections in Béja, women came alone or in groups of women. Few women came in mixed-gender groups.

Young women were less present in the second round of presidential elections, especially in the rural areas, due to their occupation with agricultural duties, including the harvesting of olives, or because some were completely disinterested in politics.

Female voters came from rural as well as urban areas. They went to polling centres alone, in couples, with a group of women and were often accompanied by their children. Men generally went to the polling centres accompanied with friends of the same age.

In many constituencies, it was noticed that women were brought to the polling centres in collective transportation, arriving in cars that displayed the image of a presidential candidate. In other constituencies, female observers noted that religious groups brought women and escorted them to the polling centres. The risks of influencing women's choices are very high in situations where public transportation is not sufficiently provided, especially in internal regions or small villages. A much higher participation of women was noted in the afternoon periods, noting that women would go vote after completing their domestic and/or agricultural duties.

Women entered the voting booths alone. They mostly voted individually, unlike the 2011 elections in which some polling station presidents tolerated the escorting of women to voting booths.

4.2 SECURITY

Police and armed forces ensured security during the three voting days. Army troops and police officers were positioned in front of the polling centres and even inside some polling stations. This presence was

reinforced during the second round of presidential elections due to publicised threats of election violence.

Most of the security forces present were men. In rural areas and in community neighbourhoods, the presence of female security officers was somewhat significant, except in the areas of the south. In Tataouine, all the security officers were men, and women were rarely observed, except in some constituencies in Medenine and Gabès.

This presence of women security officers declined from the first to the second round of presidential elections. Observers deduced that this decrease of women security was due to a higher risk of violence.

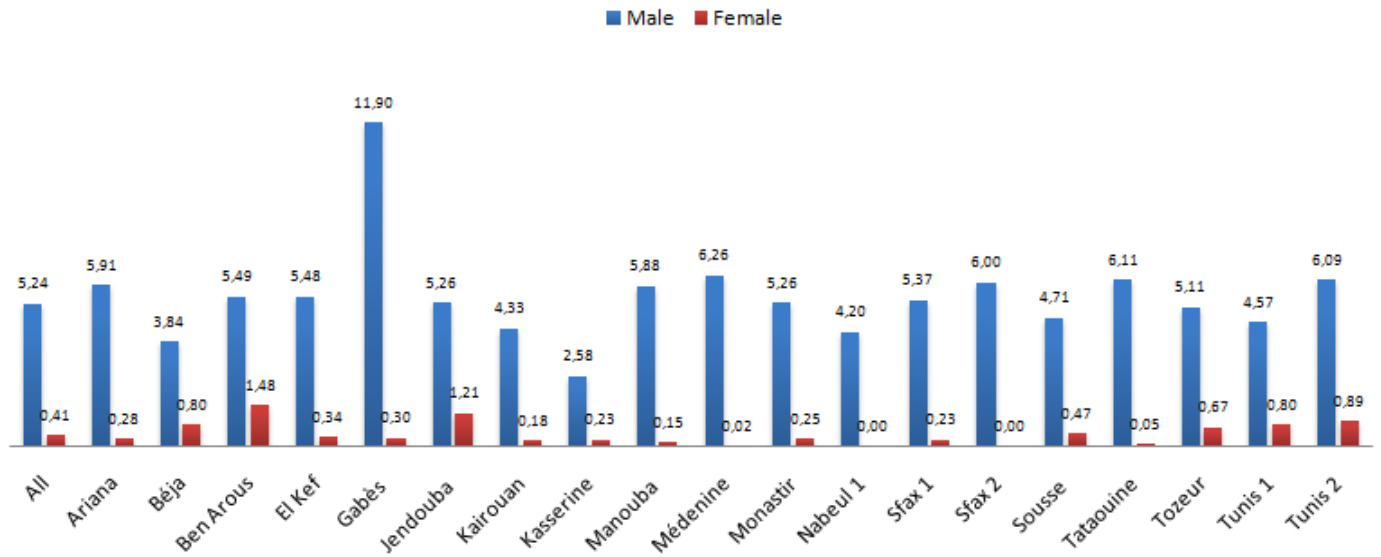
The presence of female security forces varied over the election period. In fact, observers noted that for the parliamentary elections, female security officers were more numerous than in the presidential election. In reality, the deployment of female security officers varied from one region to another. In the rural areas, in the regions with high security risks and in the south, women security officers were less numerous. Female security forces represented 47 % of the total security forces. In Tunis and nearby areas, female security forces appeared to have been present in greater numbers.



Figure 11: More women security forces were observed at polling stations in Tunis than in rural areas

Female observers did not notice any difference of security force behaviour towards female voters. However, in thinking that a female observer was a journalist, one law enforcement officer tried to intimidate her in front of a polling station in Djerba-Midoun by accusing her of being one of the old regime cheering reporters.

Average number of security forces by gender and constituency



Graph 8: Average number of security forces by gender and constituency

4.3 ACCESS TO POLLING STATIONS



Figure 12: Voting instructions were visible at nearly all polling centres

The access to polling centres was fluid, and voting instructions were usually displayed at the entry of the office. Access to polling centres was gained by presenting an ID card and access to the polling station was strictly denied to any non-registered voter.

4.4 POLLING CENTRES



Figure 14: Female polling centre member

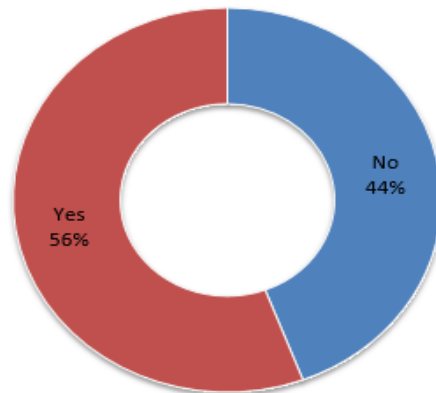
The polling centres were generally run by teachers and directors of schools; all of them had received training from the ISIE department of training. The procedures of opening, polling and closing were respected in all the polling station visited and our observers declared the adherence to procedures as mainly good to excellent. Women were president in 56% of polling's centres visited. Tunisian women were active as members of the polling centres who worked with great effort to deal with the

technical and logistical operations in polling centres. It was in Tunis that women were

more numerous as members of a polling centre – in fact, they formed 77% of members of polling centres visited in Tunis 1 and 73% of polling centre staff in Tunis 2.

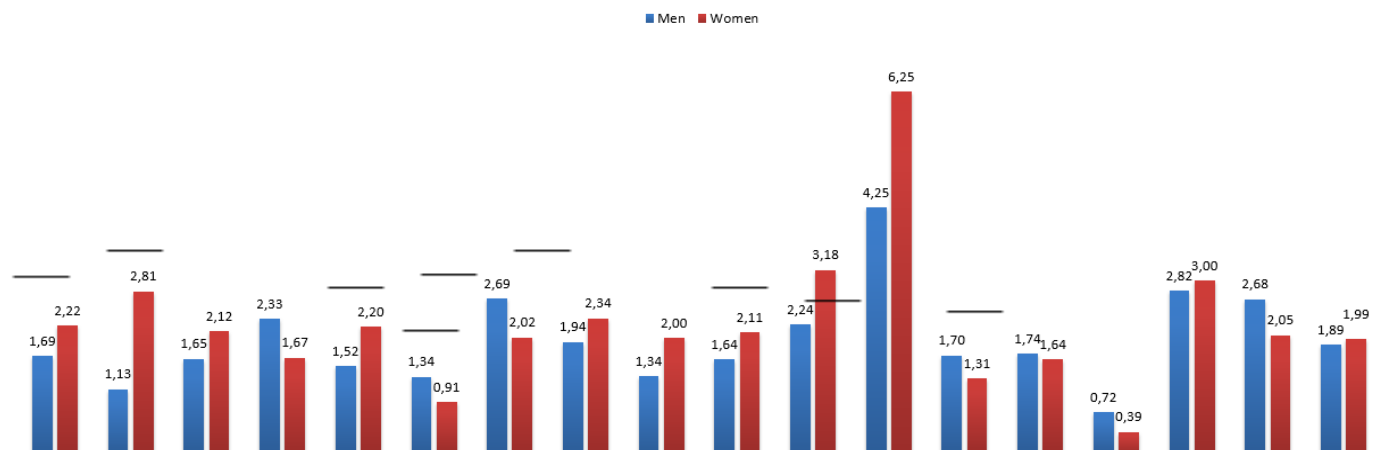
Number of women in polling centre

Woman president of polling center



Graph 9: Woman president of polling centre

Average number of working staff in voting centers by gender and constituency



Graph 10: Average number of working staff in voting centres by gender and constituency

4.5 PRESENCE OF OBSERVERS

A heavy mobilisation was instigated to observe the Tunisian elections of 2014. Whether it was the parliamentary or presidential elections, in most of the polling centres observed, national and international civil society observers carried a heavy presence.

Female observers were present in most of the polling centres. The political parties' observers were mostly men. However, and contrary to this, in the observation missions conducted by civil society organisations, such as ATIDE, Mourakiboun, LET and others, women prevailed.

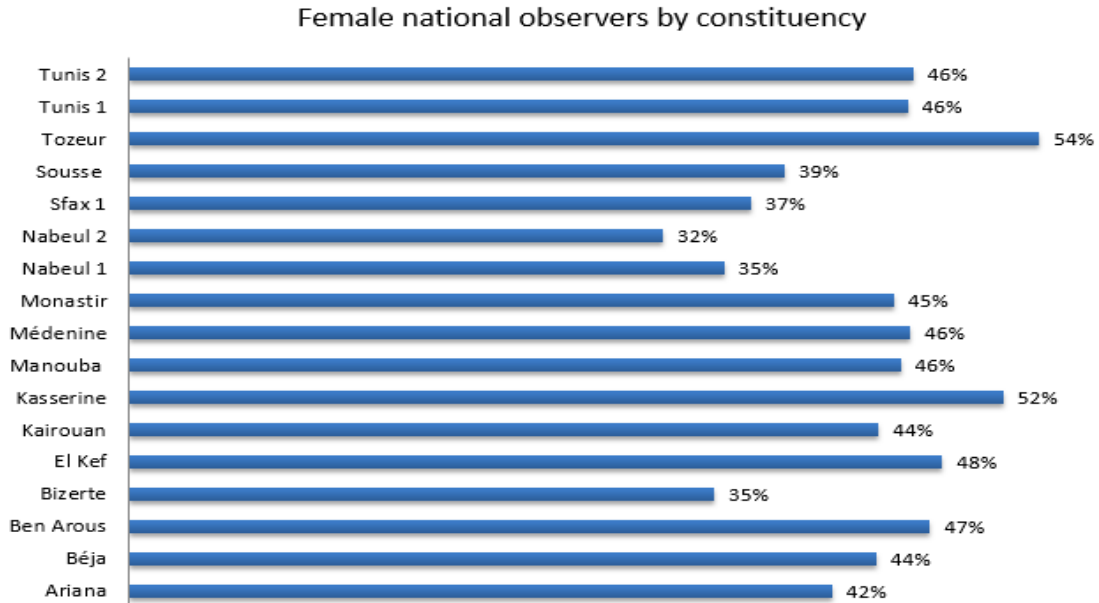
The presence of international observers was more noted in larger cities. No international observers were present in any of the polling centres visited in Nefta. Otherwise, nine national observers, six of them women, were counted. Certain international male and female observers were not able to observe the second round of presidential elections due to the threats of terrorist attacks, especially in the Algerian border regions.

During the parliamentary elections, civil society male and female observers encountered numerous difficulties in acquiring their accreditation from IRIES in time. This created frustration on the eve of the elections. In the second round of presidential elections, a poor interpretation of ISIE instructions by certain polling centre presidents hampered some female observers from moving from one centre to another, and from observing the vote counting process.

One observer remarked: "Under pretences of receiving strict instructions from the ISIE, the president of the centre has denied me the right to work in the centre and to collect necessary data. His conditions were that I have to stay in one polling station for the whole day. I didn't wish to argue with him anymore, so I preferred to leave".

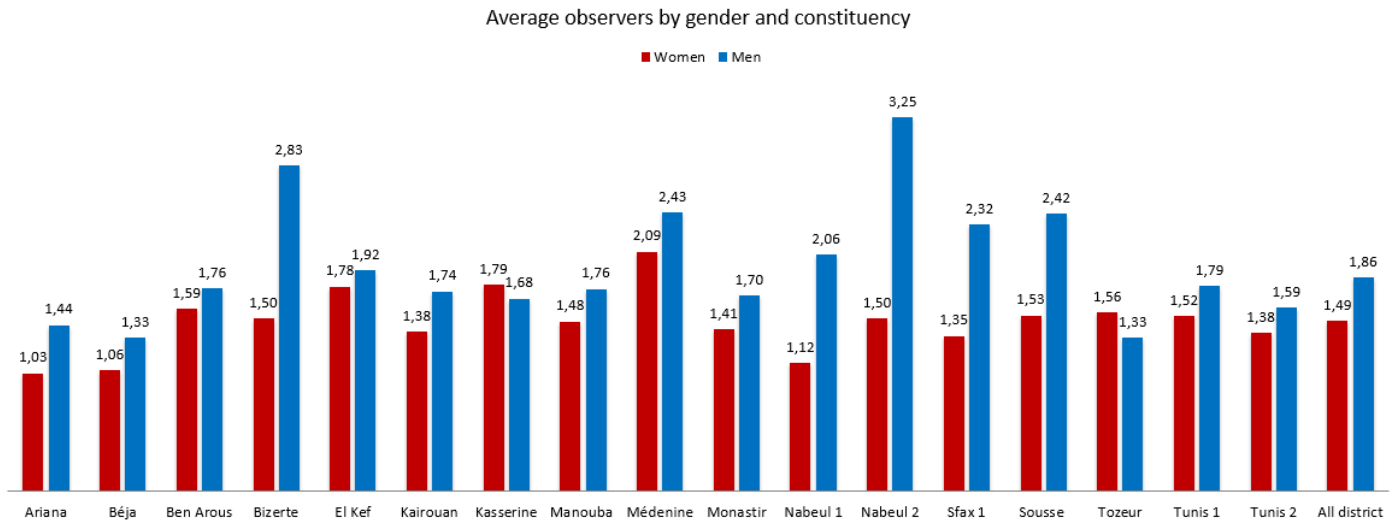
Besides participating as observers in the elections, female observers noticed that presidents of polling stations often resorted to the civil society representatives (especially LTDH) to act as mediators when disputes happened among representatives of candidates (constituencies of Ben Arous, Tozeur and Sfax) and sometimes to clarify voting procedures to non-registered voters (constituency of Sfax).

Male and female observers



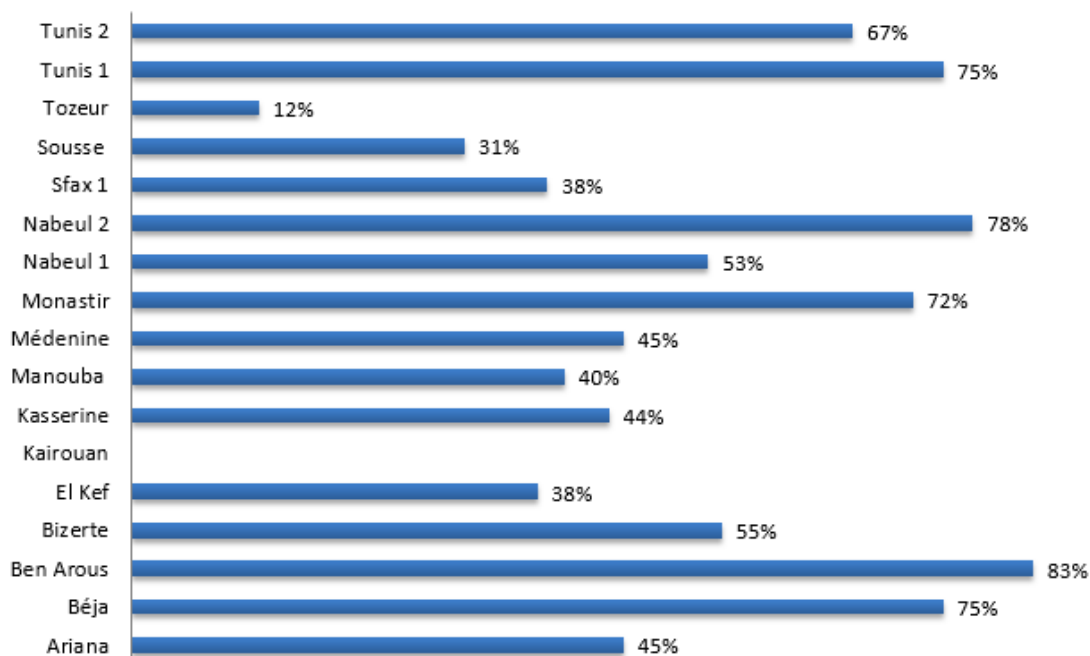
Graph 11: Female national observes by constituency

National observers



Graph 12: Average observers by gender and constituency

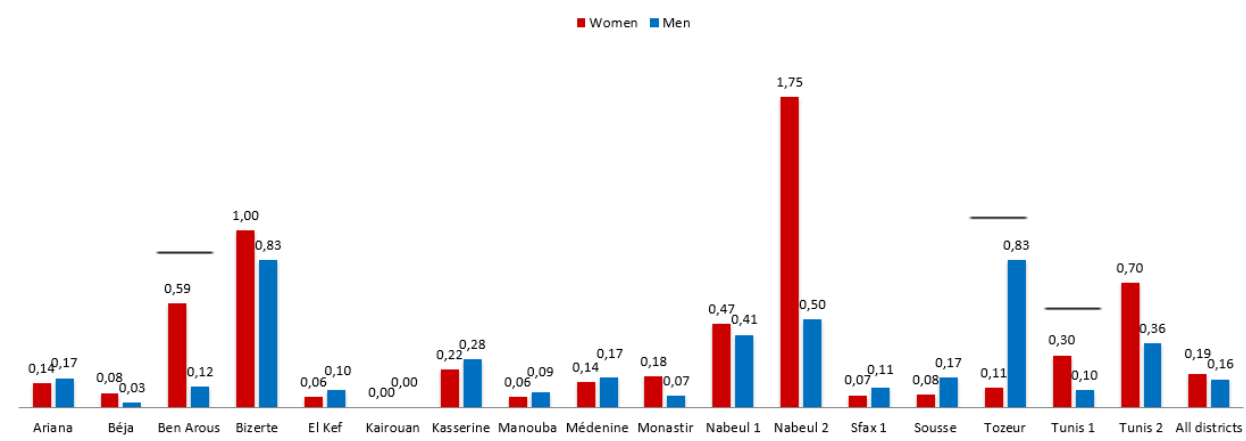
Female international observers by constituency



Graph 13: Female international observers by constituency

International observers

Average observers by gender and constituency



Graph 14: Average observers by gender and constituency

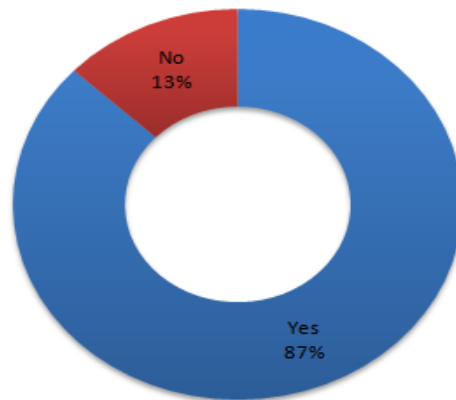


Figure 15: Mission team members at a polling centre during the second presidential round

Representatives of electoral lists and candidates

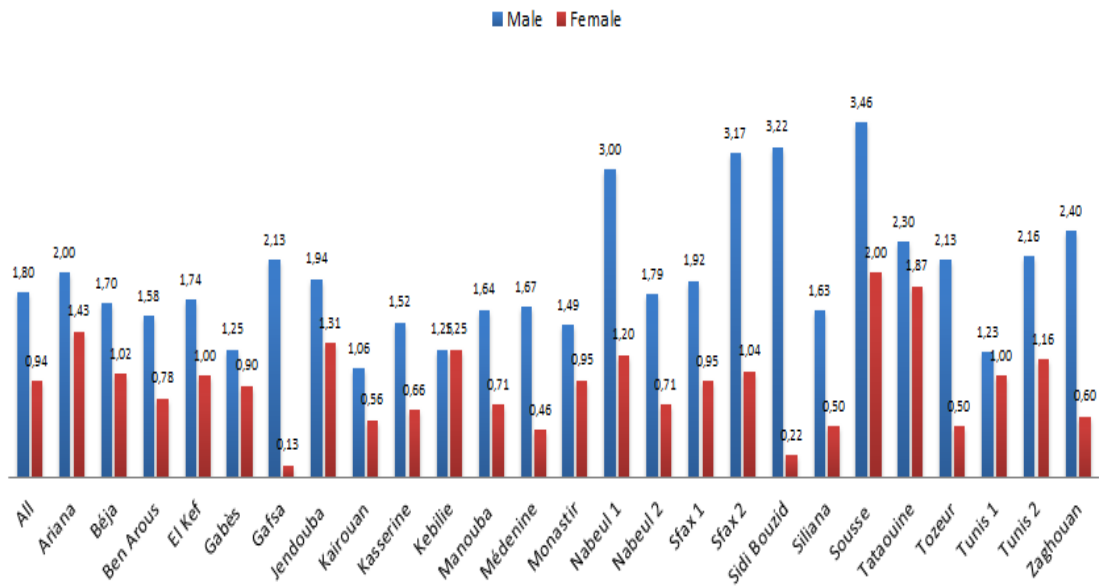
For the political agents of candidates, our GEM teams encountered representatives of candidates in almost all polling stations visited, and a considerable number of them were women. Unfortunately, for the first round of the presidential election, almost no representatives of the female candidate were seen by our observers. In some rural areas, certain candidates were over-represented while others were under-represented, if represented at all. It was also observed that some candidates had appointed agents only in their native region.

Presence of representatives of electoral lists and candidates



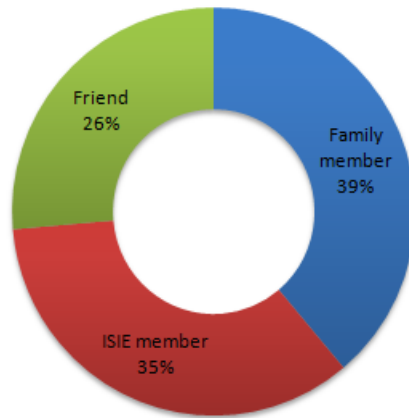
Graph 15: Presence of representatives of electoral lists and candidates

Average number of representatives of electoral candidates



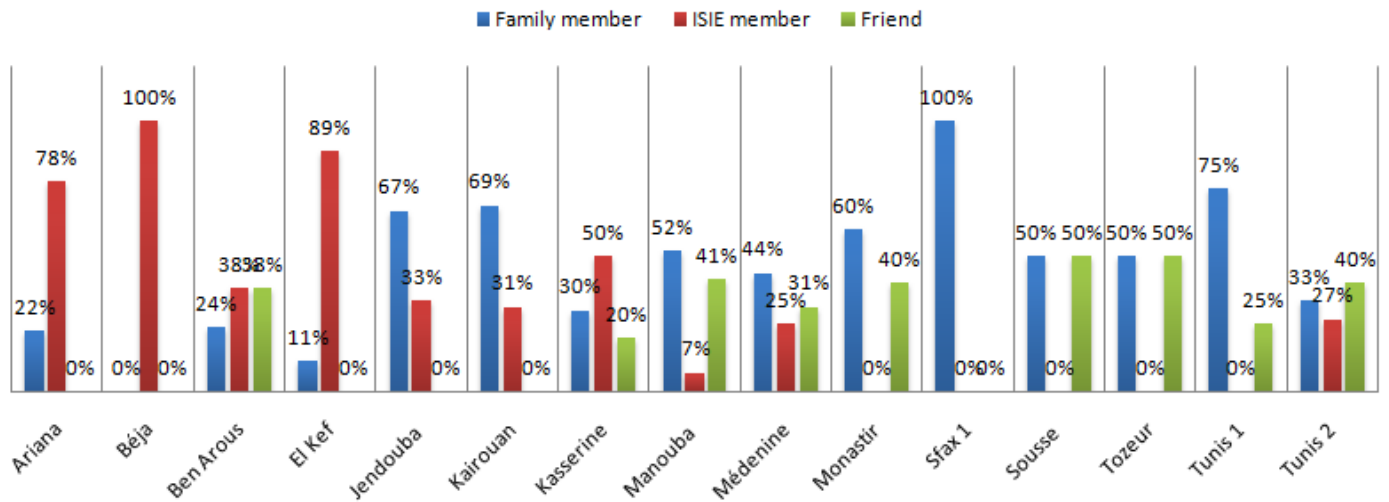
Graph 16: Average number of representatives of electoral candidates

Women asking the opinion of another person

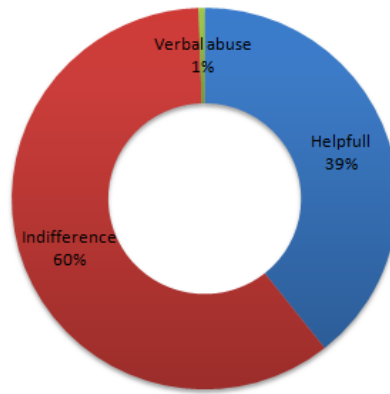


Graph 17: Women asking the opinion of another person

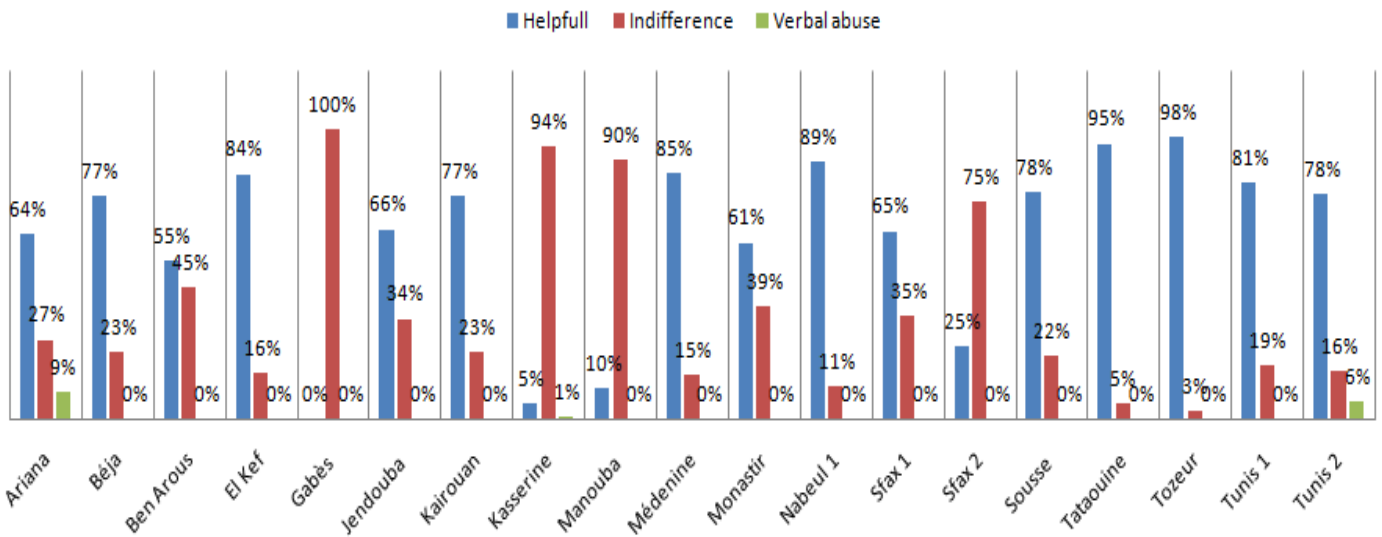
Woman asking the opinion of another woman by constituency



Graph 18: Women asking the opinion of another woman by constituency



Graph 19: Behavior of the officers towards illiterate women



Graph 20: Behaviour of the officers towards illiterate

5. RESULTS

5.1 ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

The Tunisian electoral process of 2014 was a women's success story per excellence. For parliamentary and presidential elections, the voices of the women were a large determining factor in the results. In fact, women shaped the results of the elections. We observed that the number of women in the queue exceeded by far the number of the men. We also noticed that women were determined to exercise their voting right with confidence. Women who faced problems in the registration on the electoral lists were directly asking the president of the polling station disputing the absence of their names and claiming their voting right. When this initiative results in nothing, they turn to the IRIE⁵. In the region of Tozeur, some women went to vote on their marriage day, "they came to the polling station with their traditional dresses, their makeup and their henné⁶". For Tunisian women, this electoral process was an opportunity to show their enthusiasm, their dedication for the future of their country and their Tunisian pride.

During the first round of presidential elections, in the near complete absence of youth in most of the polling stations, a reporter of the *Economiste Maghrébin* met with an 89 year-old woman in a polling station in Soukra (Tunis). Ms. Chrifa had voted for the first time in her life. As soon as she exited the polling station, she expressed her joy by ululating loudly. She said that it was a moment of pride that she has voted for a better future for the upcoming generations. "I have waited so long for this moment! I have had the chance finally to exercise my right as a free citizen. I finally was able to vote in a free and democratic election in Tunisia. Long live Tunisia". It was observed that a large number of elderly women came out to vote. Furthermore, the oldest noted woman that cast her vote was 114 years-old.

On the same day, and on a private radio (Shems FM), a woman argued with her husband when coming out of the polling station because he wanted to choose a candidate on her behalf, resulting in the husband calling his wife illiterate.

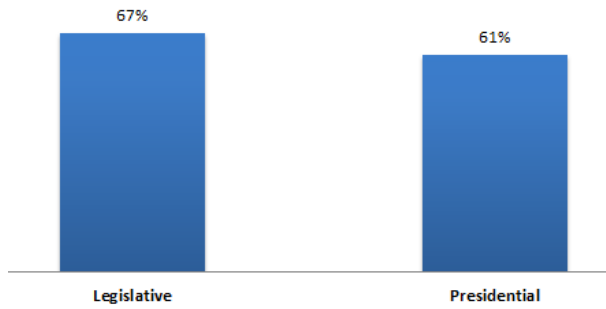
This observed successful process and results of the 2014 elections can only strengthen the path undertaken by Tunisia in order to consolidate women political participation and to endorse their citizenship potentials. This is an aim that could not be achieved without challenges.

⁵ Observers team of Ben Arous.

⁶ Observers team of Tozeur

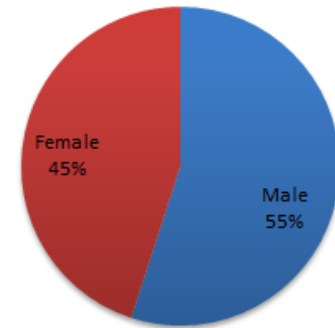
Parliamentary and presidential elections

Percentage of vote in legislative and presidential elections



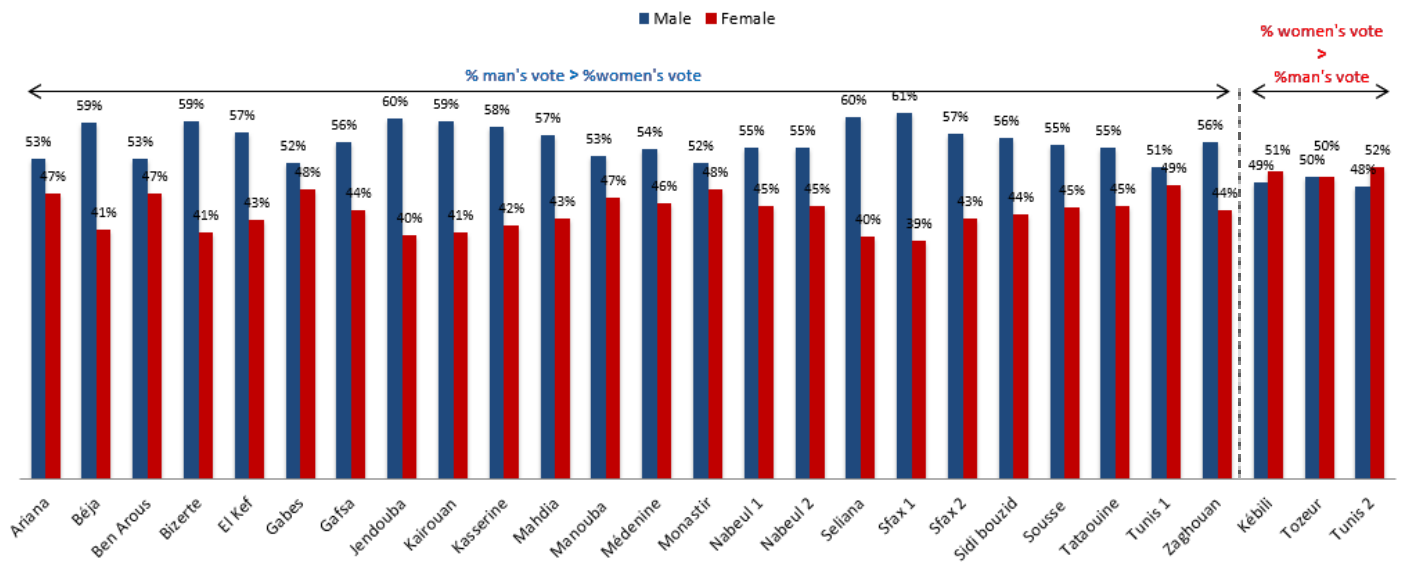
Graph 21: Percentage of vote in parliamentary and presidential elections

Percentage of vote by gender

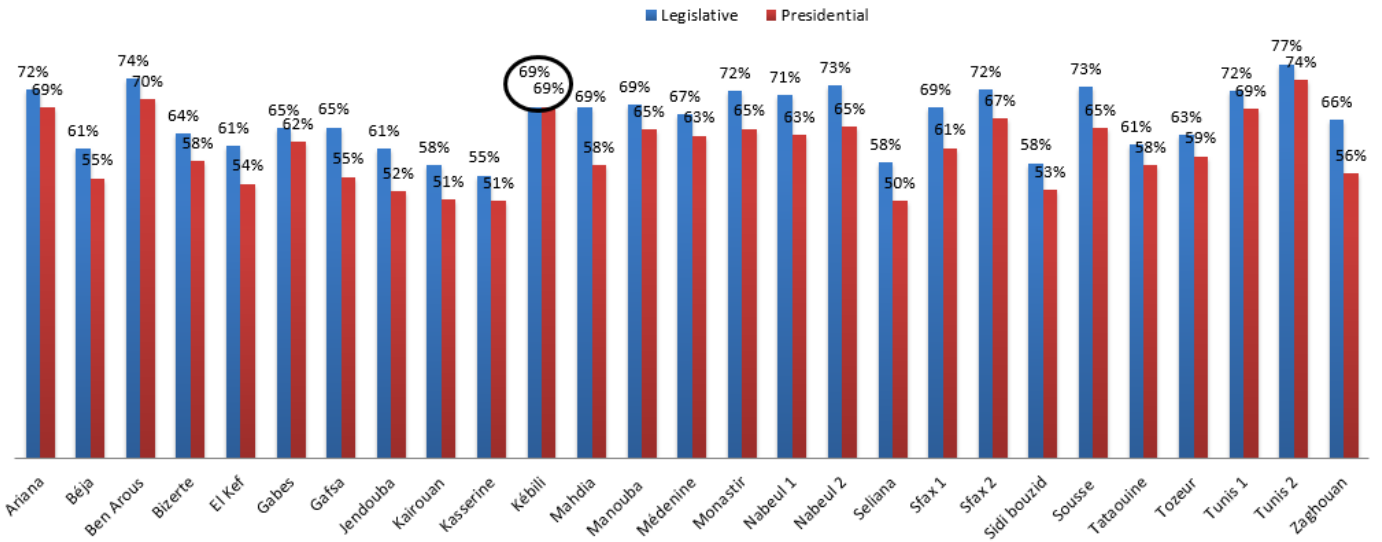


Graph 22: Percentage of vote by gender

Vote by constituency and gender



Graph 23: Vote by constituency and gender



Graph 24: Parliamentary and presidential vote by constituency

The definitive results of the parliamentary election were officially announced by the ISIE after the resolution of the electoral disputes. In fact the decision adopted by ISIE, on November 21 announced the composition of the new Assembly of the Representatives of the Tunisian people. On **217** elected representatives there are **68** women and **149** men. The percentage representation of women is 31.3%. This female representation is slightly lower than the one-third of the newly-elected Chamber. The official decision of the ISIE concerning the proclamation of the definitive results of the parliamentary elections details the representation of women in the new elected Chamber of representatives as below:

- 1- 35 elected women for Nidaa Tounès;
- 2- 27 elected women for Ennahdha;
- 3- 2 elected women for the Free Patriotic Union (UPL);
- 4- 2 elected woman for the Popular Front;
- 5- 1 elected woman for the current of love;
- 6- 1 elected woman for the democratic current.

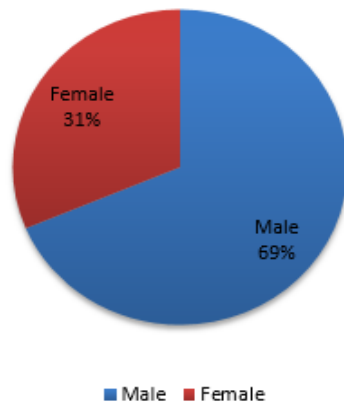
Comments	Political party	Name	
	Nida Tounés	Leila Hamrouni	1
	Nida Tounés	Sabrina Ghabantni	2
	Nida Tounés	Najla Saadaoui	3
	Nida Tounés	Wafa Makhoulouf	4
	Nida Tounés	Olfa Sokri	5
	Nida Tounés	Hayet Kbir	6
Head of list	Nida Tounés	Lamia Mlayeh	7
	Nida Tounés	Khaoula Ben Aicha	8
	Nida Tounés	Najia Ban Abdelhafidh	9
	Nida Tounés	Asma Bouhana	10
	Nida Tounés	Jihene Aouichi	11
	Nida Tounés	Ouns Hatab	12
	Nida Tounés	Ikram Moulahi	13
	Nida Tounés	Al Hasnaa Ben Haradh	14
	Nida Tounés	Souad Zaouali	15
	Nida Tounés	Rebha Ben Hassine	16
	Nida Tounés	Houda Takia	17
	Nida Tounés	Hela Omran	18
	Nida Tounés	Sameh Bouhaouel	19
Head of list	Nida Tounés	Salma Elloumi	20
	Nida Tounés	Nadia Zanguer	21
	Nida Tounés	Mariam Boujbal	22
	Nida Tounés	Sana Salhi	23

	Nida Tounés	Sameh Damak	24
	Nida Tounés	Hajer Aroussi	25
	Nida Tounés	Fatma Mseddi	26
	Nida Tounés	Abir Abdelli	27
	Nida Tounés	Zohra Edriss	28
Head of list	Nida Tounés	Leila Awled Ali Bahri	29
	Nida Tounés	Ibtissem Jbabli	30
Feminist activist	Nida Tounés	Bochra Belhadj Hmida	31
	Nida Tounés	Leila Hedia Bougatef	32
	Nida Tounés	Leila Zahaf	33
	Nida Tounés	Ibtihej Ben Hlel	34
	Nida Tounés	Nawel Tayech	35
Elected in the National constituent Assembly and President of commission	Ennahdha	Yamina Zoghlami	36
	Ennahdha	Arwa Benabbès	37
	Ennahdha	Jamila Dabbech	38
Elected in the National constituent Assembly	Ennahdha	Latifa Habechi	39
Elected in the National constituent Assembly	Ennahdha	Hela Hammi	40
	Ennahdha	Emna Benhmid	41
	Ennahdha	Boutheina Ben yaghlène	42
Head of list and Deputy of the speaker in the National constituent Assembly	Ennahdha	Meherziya Labidi	43
Elected in the National constituent Assembly	Ennahdha	Sana Mersni	44

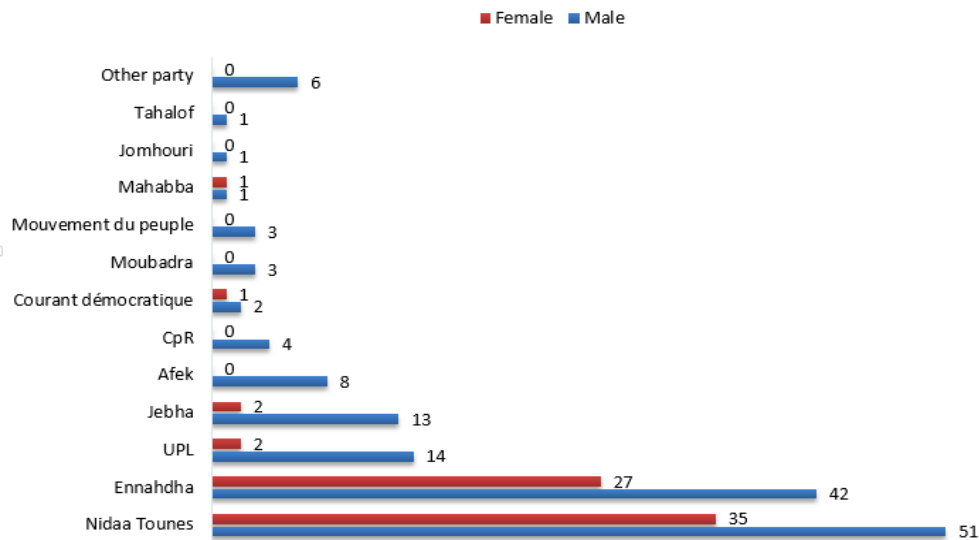
Elected in the National constituent Assembly	Ennahdha	Ferida Labidi	45
	Ennahdha	Monia Brahim	46
	Ennahdha	Leila Al ousleti	47
	Ennahdha	Safia Khalfi	48
	Ennahdha	Hayet Omri	49
	Ennahdha	Zayneb Brahmi	50
	Ennahdha	Soulef Kssantini	51
Elected in the National constituent Assembly and a president of a commission	Ennahdha	Khaltoum Badreddine	52
	Ennahdha	Amel Souid	53
	Ennahdha	Radhia Toumi	54
	Ennahdha	Basma Jbebli	55
	Ennahdha	Hager Bouzemi	56
	Ennahdha	Jamila Jouini	57
	Ennahdha	Mahbouba Ben Dhifallah	58
Head of list	Ennahdha	Assayda EL wenissi	59
Elected in the National constituent Assembly	Ennahdha	Dalila El Baba	60
Head of list	Ennahdha	Imen Ben Mohamed	61
	Ennahdha	Chahida Fraj	62
Head of list	Popular Front	Souad Biouli	63
Head of list/ widow of Mohamed Brahmi deputy assassinated in july 25th 2013	Popular Front	Mbarka Aouinia Brahmi	64

Head of list	The current of love	Rim Thayri	65
Head of list	Free patriotic union	Dorra Yakoubi	66
Head of list	Free patriotic union	Faouzia Ben Fadha	67
Head of list/ Elected in the National constituent Assembly	The democratic current	Samia Abbou	68

After parliamentary elections



Graph 26: Female deputies after parliamentary election



Graph 27: Number of deputies by gender and party

The representation of women changed significantly compared to the 2011 elections. This representation has been strengthened since the formation of the new government.

Furthermore, the departure of eight newly-elected members to fill in positions in the new legitimate government, that emerged out of the new parliamentary majority, has allowed six more women to have a seat in parliament, making the total number of female candidates 74.

Out of these 68 elected women, there were 12 as heads of lists; the other (56 women) were elected thanks to the principle of vertical parity imposed by the electoral law and by the decisions of ISIE. These 56 elected women were from the two principle parties (Nidaa Tounès and Ennahdha) which collected enough votes to elect their second and even their fourth candidates on the electoral list in several constituencies. Therefore, with more than 12 women candidates as heads of lists, 32 women were elected on the lists of Nidaa Tounes and 24 on those of Ennahdha.

Afek Tounès, the party which won eight seats in Assembly had no elected women. In 2011, on the four elected from Afek Tounès, two were women; among whom, Rim Mahjoub who left her place for Yassine Brahim, the first responsible of the party. Ironically, in 2014, the same person, Rim Mahjoub, substituted Yassine Brahim, who was elected to Parliament and was called to fill in a position in the new government. It also indicates that the other parties which won seats in the Assembly (CPR, movement of the people, Al Moubadara and the other elected lists with only one representative (Al Joumhour and the democratic alliance) did not count women among their elected representatives.

The actual configuration of the House of Representatives demonstrates that the number of women deputies is slightly more than the number of elected females in 2011. In fact, in October 2011 only 58 women were elected on 217 seats, this number had increased to reach 67 (resignations, nominations as ministers).

This progress should be strengthened so that the percentage of representation remains relatively important in comparison to the average of the representation of women in elected assemblies all over the world (Europe 25.3%, America 25.6%, Arab countries 17.8%).

The definitive results of the first round of the presidential election were officially announced by ISIE, with the female candidate, Ms. Kenou, having received only 18,287 votes – a percentage of 0.56%. This low rate can be explained among other reasons by the fact that Ms. Kenou was an independent candidate and did not take advantage of the structure of a political party and its means for overall support. Nevertheless, her candidacy had a symbolic significance and left a favourable impact on Tunisian society and the prospect of future candidacies for president. Only two candidates, Beji Caid Essebsi and Moncef Marzouki advanced to the second round with respective results of 39.46% and 33.43%.

In the second round of the presidential election, Tunisian women were a key factor in the outcome by voting massively for Mr. Essebsi. This could be attributed to his electoral discourse in which the Tunisian woman's statute was a dominating concern as he claimed the Tunisian model of emancipation of women and refused all kinds of regression. ISIE announced the second round final results, well in

advance from the fixed date in the electoral calendar, by a decision on 29 December. The candidate of Nidaa Tounes, the liberal party having the majority, Mr. Essebsi, won the presidential election with 1,731,529 votes (55.68%), against Mr. Marzouki with 1,378,513 votes (44.32%). For these results, Tunisian women's votes proved decisive, considering that about 1 million women voted for Mr. Essebsi, compared to just over 300,000 who voted for Mr. Marzouki.

5.2 ESTABLISHING NEW INSTITUTIONS

After a long electoral process, Tunisia established its new institutions for the second Republic. In fact, after the dissolution of the NCA, the inaugural session of the Chamber of the Representatives of People (CRP) officially took place on 2 December. The President of the Chamber and two deputies, in which the second deputy President is a woman, were elected on 4 December.

During a plenary assembly, President Essebsi took the constitutional oath on 31 December. A consensual interpretation of the Constitution, presented by the National Dialogue, determined that the new president, rather than the former president, is to appoint the prime minister. President Essebsi, appointed Mr. Habib Essid, an independent, as prime minister. The composition of the new government was the result of an agreement between Nida Tounes, Ennahdha, the Patriotic Free Union (UPL) and Afek Tounes, in a voting session on 5 February 2015 to approve the government, with a majority of 166 votes. In this new government, Tunisian women have 11% of ministerial positions (3 female ministers only) and 40% of state secretaries, with 6 female state secretaries.



Figure 16: President Beji Caid Essebsi asserting his commitment to gender equality to Ms. Bano during his election campaign



Figure 17: Head of Mission Sabra Bano presenting the presidential first round Preliminary Report to ISIE President, Chafik Sarsar

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The holding of this electoral process was a major step in the democratic construction of Tunisia. The success of the three elections organised in a short timeline to respect the constitutional constraint demonstrates Tunisia as the leader of the new democratisation in the region. Being a factor of this change, and playing a considerable role in this peaceful transition, Tunisian women need to be more involved in the decision-making process.

6.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION

- A. Although ISIE made a great effort, **registration** remains a weak point, especially for rural women. New ways should be explored to complete registration, and the 20 dinar cost of an ID should be reconsidered for women of poor areas.
- B. A verification of the electoral lists should be done to have a reliable electoral register for the future electoral processes.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VOTERS' EDUCATION

- A. Special efforts should be made to reach out to **young female voters**.
- B. A greater number of awareness campaigns and close monitoring of the participation of women in **rural areas** remain necessary.
- C. Stereotyping of women in the awareness campaigns through the media reinforces the tendency for political decision-making to remain the domain of men. Women must be presented as equal in all domains.
- D. More coordination between CSOs focusing on women rights and participation on the political field with the electoral administration to lead and organise actions of civic education will optimise the results of these actions.
- E. Train more female civic educators.
- F. More simplification of the procedures of vote is needed, especially for rural and illiterate women.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION

- A. The **principle of parity** must be legally ensured in the composition of all **State institutions**, especially in ISIE and HAICA. A **gender unit** within ISIE is needed to guarantee a gender balance in the composition and operational framework of the electoral administration and other involved instances.

- B. Special instructions should be given to polling station staff in order to help **illiterate women** to vote, especially when considering the high number of invalid ballots in the three elections, which remains considerable: 105,738 in total.
- C. An in-depth **study** on registration and participation of **women voters** and the campaign of **women candidates** is absolutely necessary. A gender perspective should be considered in all **statistics** related to elections and be published in order to enable CSOs to play the role of guardian and to intervene in politics, basically in matters related to gender equality. It will be crucial to have accurate data on the number of female voters for the parliamentary and presidential elections, and to compare this data with 2011 elections.
- D. ISIE should pay special attention to **gender-neutral promotion and awareness material**.
- E. As the turnout in the polling station outside the country was low, ISIE should improve voters' **procedures in the constituencies abroad** to guarantee the right for every citizen – man or woman – to vote

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ELECTORAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

- A. The modification of the electoral law for including the **horizontal parity** is needed to assure the constitutional objective of parity in all elected bodies.
- B. The electoral legal framework needs to be simplified in order to be understood by all male and female citizens regardless of their level of education, and intelligible, especially when there is a question related to financing the electoral campaign.
- C. The electoral law expected for organising the future regional and local elections should take into consideration parity in its two aspects, **vertical and horizontal**, to conform to the Constitution.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

- A. Introducing the horizontal parity within the vertical party is needed to ensure the constitutional objective of parity in all public elected bodies.
- B. The electoral system of regional and local elections should be adapted on the specifics of these elections and adopt **mechanisms that encourage the candidature of women** to manage the regional and local affairs.

6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

- A. Women should have access to political avenues to power and be in charge of decision making-bodies of political parties.

- B. Political parties should conduct an inclusive methodology toward women by elaborating electoral programs focusing on female issues and by developing an electoral discourse in line with women’s expectations.

6.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MEDIA

- A. Complaints about unequal **media coverage** of women candidates remain. The **regulations** (joint decision ISIE/HAICA), should be reviewed to ensure the equal treatment of male and female candidates.

6.8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLLING

- A. The attitude of the polling stations staff toward some categories of voters – especially illiterate women – needs to be improved.
- B. Establish means for **special-needs voting** such as voting for persons in hospitals or female students who are away from their place of residence, and for those who are otherwise unable to vote on Election Days.

6.9 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OBSERVATION

- A. Recruit and train more female observers to document elections from a gender perspective.

6.10 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS

- A. Provide more clarity and intelligibility of the rules framing the electoral complaints and provide clear advice on the specific procedures in order to file a complaint.
- B. Provide more training to all stakeholder parties (political parties, candidates, observers and media) on who has the right to complain and on how to introduce the complaint.
- C. Establish a communication hotline for women candidates in order to access information make informal complaints and to receive advice.

National Observers



Sana Belaid



Chahla Ferchichi



Anissa Zarrami



Imen Ben Azzouz



Refka Issaoui



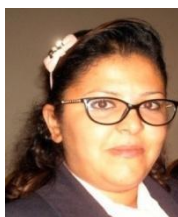
Jamila Naffoussi



Yamina Abdallah



Mariem Azouz



Imen Ben Azzouz



Yosra Othmeni



Rawaa Hlimi



Marwa Sahli



Emna Hlimi



Ghalia Marweni



Rawda Bouazizi



Wafa Boukari



Marwa Boukari



Sarra Dalhomi



Reem Boughanmi



Ahlem Hlimi



Emna Zouagh



Zoubeida Mouaddeb



Rania Ghozzi



Baya Hasnewi



Imen ben Farhat



Marwa Nasri



Amel el Merkhi



Dorsaf khaddouji



Ines Dhouibi



RABEB Ismail



Feten hammami



Khaoula Snoussi



Marwa Yaccoubi



Ferdawis Zaiebi



Souad Mahmoud



Amel Ghanmi



Yosra Barrak



Asma Dkhili



Islem Arrak



Siwar Hammami



Rihab Boujmil



Amami Nouha



Kahna Ezzemzmi



Abir Elhadfi



Ayachi Wassila



Lamia Achache



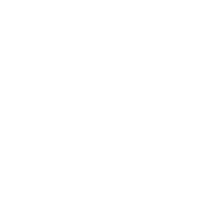
Sonia Harzallah



Wissam Ben Rajeb



Fethia Hizem



Youad Ben Rejeb



Souad Bouattour



Asma Ben saad



Sihem Sassi



Yosra Daaloul



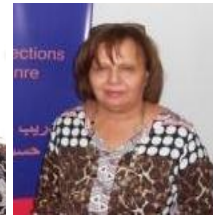
Zeineb Bouzaabiya



Amal Ghadour



Boutheina Sassi



Rachida Hsaieri



Amani Rekik



Amina Ezzeddine



Setra Krei



Dorra Azouz



Amel Jemli



Rim Agerbaoui



Marwa Kraim



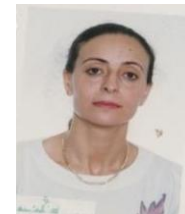
Hayet Rbei



Maram Ben Hsine



Moufida Abessi



Naiima Rkik



Essia blhsan



Marwa fkhiih



Nouha Ben Mehrez



Karama Hedfi



Hejer Mahjoubi



Ibticem Boussaa



Fatma jwini



Sayda El Mechri



Hala ben Salem



Olfa Etteiyeb

Afifa Emessi

Rabeb Zamori

Sameh Leffi

Marwa Fayali

Kholoud Chandoul

Sihem Tarhouni

Dalel Hamoudi

Afef abd moulah

Ebticem Ghbara

Souhir Edriss

Intisar El Werghmi

Amina Kasmi

Najet Belkhir

Incaf Fayali

Ebtihel Rahmeni

Sana Ben Fraj

Amal Missaoui

Fatma Mami

Roukaya Nasri

Sabrine Hachachi

Sonia Laswed

Aina Chida

Yamina Cherni

Sondes Elfkiah

Malika Hadj -

Monya Chouaib

Charfia Tlik

Fawzia Zamouri

Sarra Hachech

Esmail

ANNEX I: GEM Mission Photos

Mission Observer Training in Kef and Djerba

October 2014



Parliamentary Election Day

26 OCTOBER 2014



Presidential candidate Kalthoum Kennou (left)

Presidential Election Day – First Round

23 November 2014



Presidential Election Day – Second Round

21 December 2014



ANNEX II: Statistics

For more details on the information and statistics included in this report, please contact info@genderconcerns.org.

ANNEX III: Preliminary Statement Parliamentary Elections



Federal Republic of Germany
Foreign Office



Preliminary statement on the observation of parliamentary elections

October 26th 2014 Tunisia

Gender Election Monitoring Mission

Gender Concerns International

1. Gender Concerns International and partners

Gender Concerns International supports women worldwide in claiming their role as “agents of change”. Currently, the organisation is active in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Middle East-North Africa region. Following Gender Concerns International’s success in the 2011 Tunisian election observation mission, a Gender Election Watch Mission from The Hague based NGO, has monitored the Tunisian elections from a gender lens for the second consecutive time. The mission continued the productive partnership of 2011 with 3 Tunisian partner organisations: The Tunisian League of Human Rights (LTDH), The Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD), and The Association of Tunisian Women for Research and Development (AFTURD). This partnership has proven to be essential to ensure the complete operationalisation of the gender-based election monitoring. This time we managed to send out 110 female observers to monitor the elections with a special focus on the rural areas where still a lot has to be done to promote and ensure women’s presence in elections.

2. Objectives of the mission

The specificity of the mission lies in the fact that this is an exclusive female observation team guaranteeing that the elections will be monitored from an exclusively gender perspective. How many heads of polling stations are female? Are there special facilities for pregnant women? What is the number of female candidates in the elections? Those are the type of questions that a large team of 10 international and 100 domestic female observers have been looking at to observe the Tunisian elections. In other words: are women fully included as voters, polling officials and candidates? If not, what can be done to improve on that in Tunisia’s future democratic process?

These elections provide a significant opportunity for women in Tunisia to participate in the political structures that will shape future economic and social reforms. Based on its extensive experience,

Gender Concerns International recognises the vital importance of mainstreaming a gender perspective into the electoral process. This is not only beneficial for civil society organisations, but also a vital component of capacity building in state institutions.

3. Composition of the mission

Head of the Mission: **Sabra Bano**

Deputy Head of Mission: **Magdalena De Meyer**

Mission Consortium : National Gender Core Experts Team:

- For the ATFD: **Souad Mahmoud/Fetiha Hizem**
- For AFTURD: **Khadija Ben Hacine/ Salwa Kennou**
- For the LTDH : **Halima Jouini/Abdessatar Ben Moussa**

Gender Concerns International team:

- Mission Coordination: **Lucyna De Graaf**
- National Coordinator: **Ahlem Bousserwel**
- Capacity Building and training: **Reem Obeidet**
- Management and logistics: **Gosia Lukasik**
- Legal analyst : **Nadia Akacha**
- Communication officer : **Dylan Jones**
- International observers : **Alba Guitart Galo / Kunza Raja/ Hikmate Mohamed**

4. Political context

Tunisia has always been a model of safeguard of the human rights and specially the women emancipation. This characteristic dates from the time of Bourguiba and the Code of personal statute of 1956 which banned polygamy, consecrated the liberty of marriage and installed the institution of judicial divorce. Although, in reality the situation of women has not changed enough especially in the rural areas. In general women are not well integrated on the economic and political scene.

For the legislative elections of 2014, women represent only 47% of candidates, (same turnout of 2011 elections). There was only 12% as head of list (+ 5% comparing with 2011 election). These figures show that the Tunisian woman has not the place she deserve yet.

In the 2011 elections, 47% of the voters was women, in 2014, 50.5% of the voters are women.

5. Legal Context

- **International and regional norms**

Tunisia had ratified several international instruments relating to Human rights protection. The international convention on civil and political rights, the international convention on socio-economic rights, the international convention on banishing all forms of racial discrimination, the international convention on eliminating all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) since 1985 with the leaving of the reserves officially in 17th April 2014 but the general declaration which obliges state to respect the provisions of the first article of the constitution is still current. For instance, concerning heritage the problem of non-equality between man and woman is still up to date.

- **National legal Framework**

The master piece of the legal framework is the new Tunisian Constitution adopted January the 27th 2014. This fundamental norm kept the safeguards of the Constitution of 1959 and the code of the personal status of 1956 relating to the status of women. The New Constitution, dedicates the equality of rights and duties between male and female citizens, and banishes all forms of discrimination. The state commits to protect women's accrued rights and work to strengthen and develop those rights. The state guarantees, also the equality of opportunities between women and men to have access to all levels of responsibility in all domains. Furthermore, conforming to the Constitution, the state shall take all necessary measures in order to eradicate violence against women. (Article 46 of the Constitution).

The electoral law strengthened this charge since it provides that the presentation of candidatures for the legislative elections must obey to the principle of parity and the rule of alternation between male and female candidates. One of the positive measures in favor of the encouragement of participation of women in the electoral process is the rejection of a candidate list if it doesn't respect parity and alternation.

In reality, the legal framework is convenient for an optimal participation of women in the electoral process; the only concern is that the socio-economic context and the practice do not follow the legal orientations. There is a need of the consecration of the innovative combined principle of parity and rule of alternation in the electoral law to be extended to the designation of heads of candidates lists. Thus, a coherent consequence will be a parliamentary female representation suitable to the number of female candidatures.

6. The electoral system

The electoral system adopted by the electoral law is the proportional representation with the biggest rest. The application of this system with the principle of parity and the rule of alternation, leads to

mixed lists with alternation between women and man. When replacing a removed candidate, a man should be replaced by a man and a woman should be replaced by a woman.

The electoral law imposes also a doorstep of 3 % of votes to win a seat in the chambers of the Representatives. No quotas has been reserved to women, so the configuration of the parliament assembly depends of numbers of seats wined by women candidates. The parity and the alternation on the list combined with the electoral system do not guarantee an optimal representation of women

With a favourable legal context, the challenge was to nominate women as head of candidate list. Nevertheless, in 2014, women represent only 12% of the heads of candidate's lists (there are 148 female head of a candidate list for 1326 admitted list). In Tunis 2 we reach the top with 29% female head of candidate list, but in the others constituencies it's less than 10%.

Women as head of list are very few in the interior of the country especially in the South. The situation in 2014 is not an advance in comparison with situation in 2011. In fact, female candidates were heads of candidate lists in only 7 % of the constituencies with a top of 17 % in Tunis 2 and with a percentage less than 5 % in two third of the 27 constituencies inside the country. There are even some regions where there is no woman at all heading a list of a political party presenting itself in that region. For instance, in Tataouine on 31 lists there was not a single woman as candidate.

7. The electoral administration

The Constitution provides that the Higher Independent Institution for elections (ISIE) is composed of 9 independent and neutral members (article 126 de la Constitution).The third of these members is renewed each 2 years. For the moment, ISIE is composed of 3 women and 6 men. This female presence is not provided by the law although it is a constitutional principle.

In the various departments at ISIE, there is almost 50% of women, among whom we can find chief of department (legal department) or responsible (training department).

Practice of parity in ISIE is highly needed also in the area of its public campaign. For example if we look at 2 the banners that the ISIE used for its awareness raising campaign we did not observe an equal representation between men and women. One showed only men, the other showed 1 woman and 2 men. Moreover the videos produced for awareness raising, we could see 3 men and only 1 woman in a stereotypic position.



- **Women as voters**

The totality of the new registered Tunisians for the electoral process of 2014 is 993.696 in which 50.5% are women. The total number of all registered Tunisian citizens, for both the parliamentary and the presidential elections is 5.285.136 including 359.530 out of country voters.

The electoral administration, in collaboration with the Ministry of the women affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs with many civil society stakeholders has organized several campaigns to incite women especially rural women to have their ID Cards to be able to register as voters. We do appreciate that 300,000 rural women had benefit for these instigations.

Despite all these efforts, the participation of women in rural areas, as during the 2011 election, was again not satisfactory for October 26TH elections. Illiterate women voters found to be asking for assistance from a family member faced difficulties to vote since it was illegal to be helped.

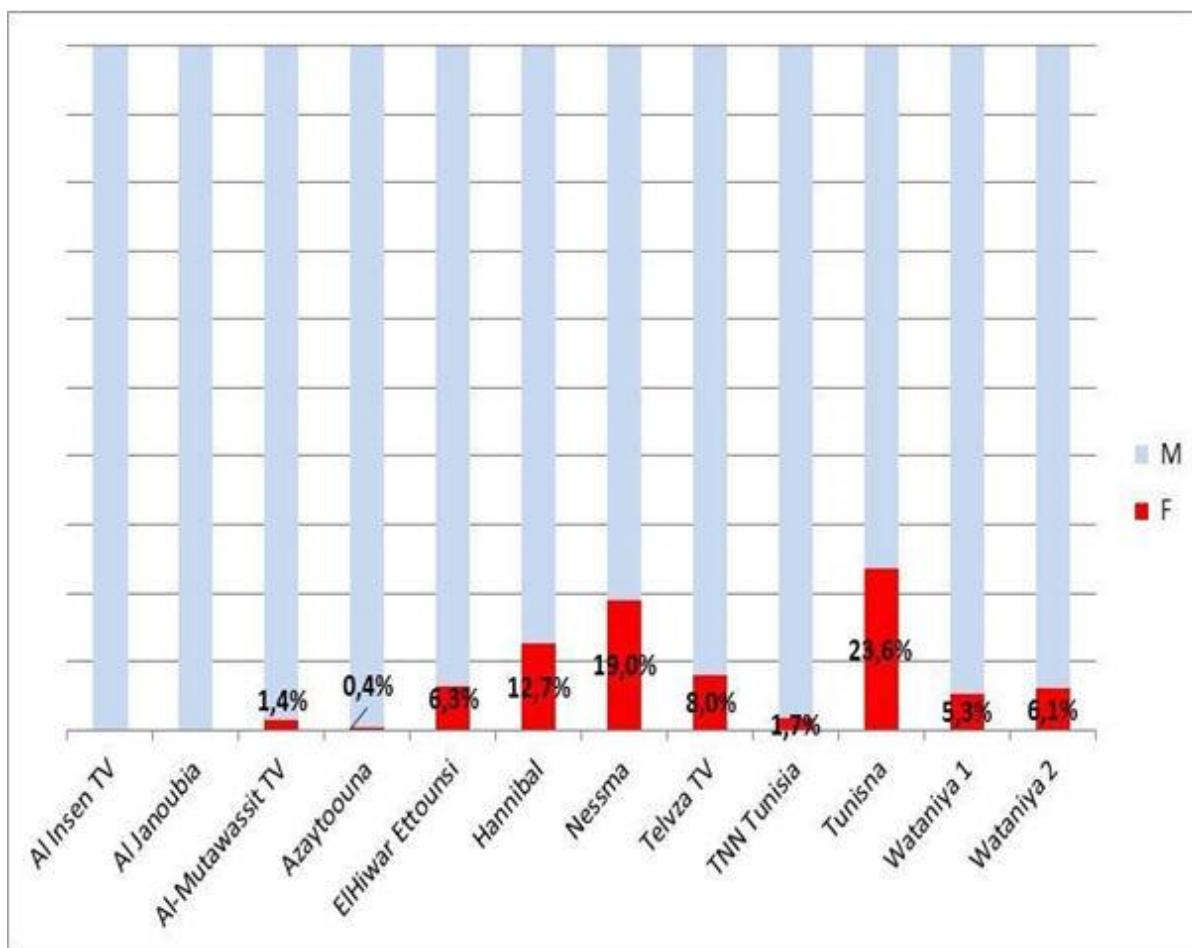
8. The electoral campaign

During the election campaign only the female candidate of the two biggest parties had the possibility to lead campaigns using the means of their respective parties. In the entire electoral campaign, the campaigns of women candidates were modest.

The joint decision between the Independent High Authority for Elections (ISIE) and the Independent High Authority for Audiovisual Communication (HAICA), dated July 5, 2014, decrees that candidate lists will gain media coverage according to the number of candidate lists in the relevant constituency . Candidate lists will each receive three minutes of free broadcast airtime on national radio and television stations.

- **Media coverage of the female candidates**

According to the preliminary report of the HAICA on political pluralism on the audio-visual media, the media coverage for the female candidates needs much more attention especially on the public media. In fact, private media (Nesma TV and Mosaique FM) are doing a considerable effort to ensure a presence of women candidates and also the representatives of political parties in their programs. The public media (Watania 1, Watania 2 and the national radio) did not preserve more than 10% for women candidates. In well-known newspaper, La Presse, dedicates to the female candidatures 7% of its electoral space.



9. Election day

Women came out in great numbers, many of them also came alone especially in big cities. In Ben Arous they often came in group, as well only women groups as mixed groups.

Security forces were clearly present. In 2/3rd of the polling stations where we observed, had a female presence in security forces. No difference was observed in any discriminatory treatment of male and female voters.

When our observers noted the presence of journalists it was clearly seen that they paid less attention to women voters than to men.

Most of the voters' queues were mixed, only one third had separate queues. In some cases, the existence of two queues was spontaneous but in other cases it was a kind of intimidation. The members of the polling station sometimes imposed separated queues.

There were no separate queues for disabled people, men and women but they mostly were given priority.

As far as our observation was concerned, the waiting time for voting was less than 1 hour although there were some exceptions, especially early in the morning by opening of big polling stations in urban areas in Tunis. Long waiting times caused problems for women with small children. Pregnant women had facilities and priority to access to the polling stations, on the contrary, women with young babies didn't.

There was a remarkable presence of women being part of the working staff in the polling stations, moreover, a lot of them were in the leading position.

There was a very large number of observers, clearly more men as political party observers. We noticed more women with the civil society observers and the international missions.

10. Analysis and conclusion

According to the first turnouts, the leading party that gained the largest number of parliamentary seats, has only two places to a woman as head of list reserved.

As the presence of women in the parliament will be far from the gender parity practice, it is absolutely necessary that the new government considers to nominate a large number of women as ministers to compensate their low representation in the parliament. Gender parity is still a long way to achieve inclusive governance in Tunisia.

11. Recommendations for gender sensitive elections

1. A greater number of awareness campaigns and close monitoring of the participation of women in **rural areas** remains necessary. In order to help illiterate women to vote, much more emphasis should be given to the **symbols** of the lists in order to simplify the voting procedure.
2. Attention should be paid to find some practical measures within polling stations to help **women with young children** to vote, especially when the waiting time is long.
3. The **principle of parity** must be legally ensured in the composition of all state institutions, especially in ISIE and HAICA. A **gender unit** is necessary to guarantee a gender balance in the composition and operational framework of the electoral administration and other involved instances.

4. The **media coverage** of women candidates should be improved considerably. The **regulations** (joint decision ISIE/HAICA), should be reviewed to ensure the equal treatment of male and female candidates.
5. A gender perspective should be considered in all **statistics** related to elections and be published in order to enable civil society to monitor it.
6. ISIE should pay special attention to **gender-neutral promotion and awareness material**.
7. The legal consecration of **horizontal parity on electoral lists** is necessary to guarantee a real participation of women in elected bodies. Too often, women have had to fight for their rights to obtain good places on the lists.
8. The composition of the **new government** should grant Tunisian women the place they deserve in the political scene.



Federal Republic of Germany
Foreign Office



ANNEX IV: Preliminary Statement Presidential Election First Round



Preliminary Statement: Observation of Presidential Election First Round Gender Election Watch Tunisia2014

Gender Concerns International

23 November 2014

1. Gender Concerns International and partners

Gender Concerns International supports women worldwide in claiming their role as “agents of change”. Currently, our organisation – based in The Hague, the Netherlands – is active in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Middle East-North Africa region. Following the success of our 2011 Tunisian election observation mission, a Gender Election Monitoring team has monitored Tunisian national elections from a gender perspective for the second consecutive time.

This mission continued the productive partnership of 2011 with three Tunisian organisations: The Tunisian League of Human Rights (LTDH), The Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD), and The Association of Tunisian Women for Research and Development (AFTURD). The mission deployed 110 female observers to monitor the elections with a special focus on rural areas where much still needs to be done to support a greater presence of women in elections.

2. Objectives of the mission

The specificity of the mission is that it featured an exclusive female observation team guaranteeing that the elections would be monitored solely from a gender perspective. The large team of 10 international and 100 domestic female observers have been in charge of the observation the 2014 Tunisian parliamentary and presidential elections to document women’s role in electoral procedures.

3. Political context

Tunisia has been a leader of human rights and especially women’s emancipation in the region. Although there has been progress, a lot is still to be done to improve the political participation of women in Tunisia and especially the economic situation of women in rural areas.

For the presidential election of 2014, the candidacy of at least one woman is a sign of a strong will of implication of Tunisian women in political processes and an indication of a future that holds better incursion of women in high-level politics. The female candidacy of Khaltoum Kennou has had a significant symbolic effect, since she is the only female candidate in the first presidential election after the Tunisian Revolution of January 2011. Ms. Kennou is a judge who decided to start her fight for the supreme function of the state. Of the 27 candidates, Ms. Kennou ran as an independent, which demonstrates that women still have a long way to go in order to obtain the places they deserve within political parties. In reality, the preliminary results of the presidential election provided some hope. Although total vote percentage for the female candidate was not very impressive, it paved the way for other Tunisian women to become presidential candidates.

In the 2011 elections, 47% of the voters were women, compared to 2014 in which 50.5% of the voters were women. The ISIE should engage a study analysing voter turnouts from a gender perspective.

4. Legal context

The New Constitution of 2014, dedicates the equality of rights and duties between male and female citizens, and banishes all forms of discrimination. The state commits to protect women's accrued rights and work to strengthen and develop those rights. The state also guarantees the equality of opportunities between women and men to have access to all levels of responsibility in all domains.

The Constitution gives equal rights to men and women to vote and to present their candidacy for the presidential function. The electoral law framed this right to be a candidate set by conditions. In fact, each voter (male or female) has the right to present a candidacy. The candidate is required to be Muslim and to have the Tunisian nationality by birth to be able to present a candidacy for the presidency of the Tunisian Republic¹. The candidate also has to present a commitment of abandonment of other nationality in case he/she has a dual nationality. In addition, each candidate for the Presidency of the Republic should deposit in the general finance of Tunisia a collateral of 10,000 dinars (approx. EUR 4,360) which will be restored only if he/she obtains at least three percent of valid votes. This threshold cannot guarantee that non-serious candidates enter in the race. Moreover, the consequences of this procedure is that a candidate can lose a significant amount of money. This can be a problem especially for independent candidates.

One of the new and objective conditions of candidates in the presidential election is the procedure of "parrainage". In fact, each candidate must be supported by 10 deputies or by 10,000 registered voters. In this last case, "parrainages" must be distributed on at least 10 constituencies². Although, it is a procedure to guarantee the candidacy of the independent candidates, it demands much effort to check and verify each signature, so it can cause, if not mastered and managed well, a huge risk of falsifications and fraud which can bring question to the integrity of the entire electoral process.

5. The electoral system

According to the political system adopted by the new Constitution, the executive power is composed by the prime minister (designed by the party which has the largest number of seats in the Assembly of the

representatives and nominated by the President of the Republic) and by the President of the Republic, elected for a five-year term by means of universal, free, direct, secret, fair and transparent elections by an absolute majority of votes. If no candidate achieves such a majority in the first round, a second round shall be organised during the two weeks following the announcement of the definitive results of the first round. Only the two candidates having won the highest number of votes during the first round stand for election in the second round. In a rising democracy, this rule of two presidential rounds helps the elected representatives to have a strengthened legitimacy.

In fact, as the preliminary results show in Tunisia's presidential election, a second round is expected, and will surely serve to give to the elected candidate a greater democratic legitimacy.

The financing of the electoral campaign is strictly supervised by the electoral law and the decisions of the ISIE. Each candidate has a public financing of about 75,000 dinars for the first round and 50,000 dinars for the second round. The financing is complicated and very strict, which can be an obstacle for campaigning, especially for an independent candidate. This funding system should be more accessible, which could help candidates to better lead their campaigns.

6. The electoral administration

For the moment, the council of ISIE is composed of three women and six men. This female presence is not provided by the law although it is a constitutional principle. In the various departments at ISIE, there is a composition of nearly 50% women, including chiefs of departments (legal department) or managers (training department). Nevertheless, a gender balance is not found in the regional offices where only 11% is female. The presence of women as president or member of a polling centre or station, is considerably important. Our observation demonstrated the implication of the women in charge of the operation of vote and their dedication for the success of the election. Besides, there is a general lack of gender-specific statistics, and ISIE announced a more profound study on this topic in the following months.

7. Women as voters

The total of newly-registered Tunisians for the electoral process in 2014 is 993,696, of which 50.5% are women. The total number of all registered Tunisian citizens, for both the parliamentary and the presidential elections is 5,285,136 – including 359,530 out-of-country voters.

The electoral administration, in collaboration with the Ministry of Women's affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs and numerous civil society stakeholders has organized several campaigns to motivate women, especially women of rural areas, to obtain ID cards to be eligible to register as voters. We do appreciate that 300,000 rural women had the benefit of these initiatives. But, the result was disappointing, as only 5,000 rural women were reached; mostly poor and illiterate women are still concerned as they cannot afford to purchase their ID cards.

A positive point was that after complaints from voters who could not find their names when going to the polling stations for the legislative elections, ISIE opened up the registration again for the presidential

elections and registered about 1,600 additional voters. Here again we don't have gender-specific numbers. Even with this supplementary procedure, some voters were deprived from their constitutional right to vote. This supplementary procedure was opened only for voters who were registered for the parliamentary elections. Some of the voters who requested to be added on the voter lists, were also surprised by the absence of their names on the lists even this time, especially abroad.

Despite all these efforts, the participation of women in rural areas, as during the 2011 election and the parliamentary elections, was not satisfactory also for the presidential election. It was considerably better for illiterate women to vote as they were helped by photos of candidates on the ballot.

8. The electoral campaign

From the point of view of gender monitoring, of course the campaign of the only female candidate was interesting to follow. We noticed that the electoral campaign of Ms. Kennou was balanced over the whole period with accelerated activity in the last week. During her visits and meetings, she was welcomed by women and men. As an independent candidate without support of a political party with basis and means, it was difficult for her to organise big meetings and gain visibility this way.

For this reason, media coverage was extremely important for Ms. Kennou. She was seen on several TV channels, she spoke in numerous radio programs and a respectable space of the print media was reserved for her campaign. She also made the headlines of at least one popular Tunisian newspaper. However, the media did not highlight her campaign as much as the campaign of the candidates belonging to political parties.

- **Media coverage of the female candidates**

The female candidates need much more attention, especially in the public media. HAICA did not make a public statement on the coverage of the presidential candidates yet, so we are curious to know if any improvement took place. The administrative tribunal has decided that the decision of the HAICA on the opinions polls is not in accordance with the electoral law, forbidding these polls for the presidential election. This fact does not prevent media and specialized organisms of opinions polling to proceed to the diffusion of tendencies of votes which were able to influence the voters in certain cases.

9. Election day

In contradiction with the legislative elections, no long queues could be observed. In most cases, those queues were mixed, except in sensitive and rural areas such as Soliman.

- **Women as presidents and members of polling centres and polling stations**

Women were doing impressive work as presidents of polling centres and stations. In those places where we could observe mixed staff in the polling stations, women often were doing the job of writing, stamping and counting while men often supervised.

- **Women as security and armed forces**

During this presidential election, the number women in security forces was considerably lower. The deployment of these female security forces varied from one region to another. We can say for instance that in the rural regions, or in the regions with security risks, women security forces were less numerous. In Tunis and nearby areas, they were more visible.

- **Observing in sensitive areas**

Our mission intentionally deployed some teams composed of female international observers and local experts to observe sensitive regions where polling stations had limited opening hours (from 10:00 to 15:00). However, in the area near the Algerian border, these observers were advised by army forces not to proceed for security reasons. Not many international observers could be seen in this area, and our teams were warmly welcomed.

In some rural areas, turnout of female voters was low as their priority was to work picking olives rather than to vote. The teams also observed an offer of collective transport to female voters by some political agents trying to influence them.

- **Women as observers**

The candidates, the political parties and national organisations have made full use of the female potential to appoint political agents and observers. ISIE was more vigilant about checking observers' badges, verifying names and in some case even asking for the ID of the international observers. They were in these instances helpful towards observers' questions.

Our teams encountered representatives of candidates in almost all polling stations, but no representatives of the female candidate were seen. In some rural areas, a few candidates were over-represented while others were under-represented if represented at all. It was also observed that some candidates had appointed agents only in their native region.

- **Child-friendly voting**

Unlike the situation during the legislative elections, observers witnessed that polling station staff had a welcoming attitude towards children. Some polling station staff attended to children while their mothers were voting.

- **Participation of young women**

Our teams observed a low turnout of young people in general, and young women in particular. More efforts to reach out to young female voters remain necessary especially in the rural areas.

10. Analysis and conclusion

As the presence of women in the parliament has been reinforced, and the only female candidate for presidential elections made a statement by remaining in the race for the presidential election while 5 of

her male colleagues stepped out, we do have hopes that the new government will nominate a large number of women as ministers – also in the ‘hard’ departments such as finance or economics.

11. Recommendations for gender-inclusive elections

1. Although ISIE made a great effort, **registration** remains a weak point, especially for rural women. New ways should be explored to complete registration, and the 20 dinar cost of an ID should be reconsidered for women of poor areas.
2. A greater number of awareness campaigns and close monitoring of the participation of women in **rural areas** remains necessary.
3. Special instructions should be given to polling station staff in order to help **illiterate women** to vote, especially when considering the number of invalid ballots, which remains considerable.
4. Special efforts should be made to reach out to **young female voters**.
5. The **principle of parity** must be legally ensured in the composition of all **state institutions**, especially in ISIE and HAICA. A **gender unit** is necessary to guarantee a gender balance in the composition and operational framework of the electoral administration and other involved instances.
6. Complaints about **media coverage** of women candidates remain. The **regulations** (joint decision ISIE/HAICA), should be reviewed to ensure the equal treatment of male and female candidates.
7. An in-depth **study** on registration and participation of **women voters** and the campaign of **women candidates** is absolutely necessary. A gender perspective should be considered in all **statistics** related to elections and be published in order to enable civil society to monitor it. It will be crucial to have accurate data on the number of female voters for the parliamentary and presidential elections, and to compare this data with 2011 elections.
8. ISIE should pay special attention to **gender-neutral promotion and awareness material**.
9. As the turnout in the polling station outside the country remains very low, ISIE should improve voters’ **procedures in the constituencies abroad to guarantee** the right for every citizen – man or woman – to vote.
10. The composition of the **new government** should grant Tunisian women the place they merit in the political scene.

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ANNEX V: Press Release Preliminary Recommendation Presidential Elections Second Round



Media release

22 December 2014

Achieving Parity: Tunisian Women Turn Out at Polls

Ready for Higher Government Representation

Tunisian women have once more demonstrated their commitment to democratic participation by turning out in large numbers at the second round of the presidential election. Mission teams at various polling stations, particularly in Tunis, observed that more than 50 percent of registered women cast their vote. Head of Mission Sabra Bano said, “While the ultimate total of women voters remains to be published by ISIE, we are convinced that the number of women appointed as national ministers should reflect the appropriate percentage of women voters and the women who have been recently elected to parliament”.

This largest international observation mission, a joint effort of the 110 international and national observers of Gender Concerns International and Tunisian partner organisations, ATFD, AFTURD and LTDH, continued its vigilance in observing women’s democratic participation around the country.

Ms. Bano commended ISIE for implementing changes that reflect Gender Election Watch recommendations from the first election round. New tabulation sheets to record the number of male and female voters at polling stations is one such example. These statistics of gender-specific voter turnout can be used to address equal electoral conditions. Gender Election Watch looks forward continued engagement with ISIE in future elections.

It was observed that the presidential campaign became aggressive at times. Even though both candidates voiced their support for women’s rights, an atmosphere of campaign tension could discourage some women with concerns about security from voting on election day. ISIE’s decision for the second round to limit political agents to one per candidate in the polling stations in order to avoid incidents was another positive step aimed at creating a more peaceful atmosphere in which to vote,

even though it was communicated quickly and not broadly understood at all polling stations that were visited.

Out of these rounds of the national elections to date, lessons should be applied for upcoming local elections in communities around the country. This historic experience is directly applicable from a gender perspective, as local elections provide more opportunities for women to stand as candidates and be elected to leadership posts.

Gender Election Watch Tunisia recommendations from the second presidential round:

1. In accordance with the constitutional parity, and in that women's voting participation has influenced the election results, women should have the high-level national ministry positions that they merit.
2. The establishment of an active gender unit within ISIE, working closely with grass-roots organisations, would be key to realising these recommendations for women's democratic participation in all of Tunisia.
3. Election awareness-raising campaigns should reach out increasingly to women, especially in rural areas and young women voters of all areas. Women parliamentarians as well as women's and human rights organisations could play an increased role in the effectiveness of awareness-raising campaigns.
4. Efforts should be made to get more women as candidates for local elections. Women parliamentarians could be inspiring role models to demonstrate that this is an achievable goal for women.
5. An objective should be to surpass the 31% of women elected in the parliamentary elections. Indeed the newly elected members of parliament can seize a historic opportunity to introduce horizontal and vertical parity in the law on regional and local elections.
6. More female election security personnel should continue to be deployed to polling stations to enhance confidence of polling conditions for female voters.

Gender Concerns International, together with partners ATFD, AFTURD and LTDH, will elaborate on these recommendations during a seminar early in 2015 when the final report will be presented. The partnership looks forward to a continued programme of support for Tunisian women in democracy – as voters, candidates, political leaders and activists.

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