

Democracy and the Challenge of Change

A Guide to Increasing
Women's Political Participation



National Democratic
Institute for
International Affairs

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Women's Political Participation

National Democratic Institute

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The National Democratic Institute

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that responds to the aspirations of people around the world to live in democratic societies that recognize and promote basic human rights.

Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to establish and support democratic institutions and practices by strengthening political parties, civic organizations and parliaments, safeguarding elections, and promoting citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

With staff members and volunteer political practitioners from more than 100 nations, NDI brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies.

The Institute's work upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also promotes the development of institutionalized channels of communication among citizens, political institutions and elected officials, and strengthens their ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens. For more information about NDI, please visit www.ndi.org.

Deepening democracy so it can deliver tangible improvements to people's lives is an overarching NDI objective.

Citizen Participation – Making democracy work requires informed and active citizens who voice their interests, act collectively and hold public officials accountable. NDI helps citizens engage vigorously in the political process and serves as a link between citizens and elected officials.

Elections – NDI engages with political parties and civic organizations in voter and civic education, electoral law reform and monitoring all phases of the election process. The Institute has worked with more than 300 citizens' groups and coalitions in 74 countries, engaged with hundreds of parties promoting electoral integrity and organized over 150 international election observation delegations. NDI has also played a leading role in establishing standards for international election observation.

Political Party Building – NDI works with its partners on political party building – from internal democratic procedures and candidate selection to polling, platform development and public outreach. The Institute helps parties promote long-term organizational development, enhance involvement in elections, establish codes of conduct, mitigate political conflict, and participate constructively in government.

Democratic Governance – NDI works with legislatures around the world to help strengthening committees, legislative oversight, rules of procedure, public access to information, caucuses and constituency outreach. The Institute also helps government ministries and the offices of prime ministers and presidents function more efficiently, improve public outreach and be more responsive to the public at large.

Women's Leadership - Since 1985, NDI has organized programs across the globe to increase the number and effectiveness of women in political life. Institute programs have supported women civic leaders, voters, candidates, political party representatives and elected leaders in the belief that as more women become politically involved, institutions will become more responsive to the needs of all citizens. At any given time, nearly 75 percent of NDI country programs have a dedicated component addressing women's political participation – in legislatures, political parties and civil society for leaders, activists and informed citizens.

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“When women are empowered all of society benefits”

UN Deputy Secretary General Asha Rose Migiro

FOREWORD

“Success without democracy is improbable; democracy without women is impossible.”

-Madeleine K. Albright

Democracy is the best form of government ever devised, but this does not mean that every democracy does well in practice. Many countries with an elected government are held back by the absence of a democratic tradition, or by such problems as poverty, crime, corruption, environmental degradation, and civil strife.

If a democracy is to deliver on its promise, it must be able to count on the contributions of all its citizens. This cannot happen if women and girls are prevented -- whether by law or by custom -- from full participation in the political and economic life of the country.

It is true that the role of women in democracy has been debated for as long as democracy has existed. The debate, however, is over. Women are entitled to equality in voting, organizing, running for office, starting a business, obtaining credit, expressing their views, and benefiting from the rights and protections of law.

In the modern world, women's empowerment is not merely a goal, but a cornerstone of democratic growth. This is because women raise issues that others overlook, devote energy to projects that others ignore, reach out to constituencies that others neglect, and help societies to move forward together. Women's empowerment leads to governments that are more representative, responsive, and accountable and better able to reach across ethnic, racial and religious lines. Women have also shown talent and commitment in helping societies to recover from civil war and natural disaster.

The debate is over, but the struggle is not. In many countries, women continue to be denied their rightful place. This may be due to bigotry, chauvinism, tokenism, or a simple fear of fair competition. Sometimes, the gains that women make are too slow and incremental. Often, laws are changed but habits are not -- causing good laws to be enforced badly. Frequently, women are advised to wait quietly until “more urgent” concerns are dealt with first; after all, “your time will come.”

The time is now. If democracy is going to put down strong and healthy roots, it must profit from the full and equitable participation of women in national and local leadership positions and in a full range of advocacy roles. The National Democratic Institute hopes that this landmark publication will serve as a resource not only for the Institute's work, but also for political party and civil society leaders working to promote women's engagement in all aspects of public life.

I am proud to be part of this effort.



INTRODUCTION

The National Democratic Institute (NDI or the Institute) and its local partners work to promote openness and accountability in government by helping to build political and civic organizations, safeguarding elections, and promoting citizen participation. The Institute brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise that can be adapted to the needs of individual countries.

NDI believes that the equitable participation of women in politics and government is essential to build and sustain democracy. Despite comprising over 50 percent of the world's population, women continue to be under-represented as voters, political leaders and elected officials.

For over 25 years, NDI has been at the forefront of women's political participation programming, seeking to both build upon lessons learned from its programs to engage women in legislatures, political parties and civil society, as well as to introduce new and innovative approaches and tools to support women in politics.

Why Women?

Madeleine Albright has said many times, "The political participation of women results in tangible gains for democracy, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines, and more sustainable peace."

Kofi Annan, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, noted, "study after study has taught us, there is no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women. No other policy is as likely to raise economic productivity or to reduce child and maternal mortality. No other policy is as sure to improve nutrition and promote health, including the prevention of HIV/AIDS. No other policy is as powerful in increasing the chances of education for the next generation."¹

Women's participation in politics helps advance gender equality and affects both the range of policy issues that are considered and the types of solutions that are proposed. There is strong evidence that as more women are elected to office, there is an increase in policy making that emphasizes quality of life and reflects the priorities of families, women, and ethnic and racial minorities. Women's political participation has profound positive and democratic impacts on communities, legislatures, political parties, and citizen's lives, and helps democracy deliver.

- When women are empowered as political leaders, countries experience higher standards of living. Positive developments can be seen in education, infrastructure and health, and concrete steps are taken to help make democracy more effective.
- Women's presence in politics ensures that the concerns of women and other marginalized voters are represented and helps improve the responsiveness of policy making and governance.
- Women's leadership and conflict resolution styles embody democratic ideals and women tend to work in a less hierarchical and more collaborative way than male colleagues.² Women are also more likely to work across party lines, even in highly partisan environments.
- Women lawmakers see government as a tool to help serve underrepresented or minority groups.³ Women lawmakers therefore have often been perceived as more sensitive to community concerns and more responsive to constituency needs.
- Women are deeply committed to peace building and post-conflict reconstruction and have a unique and powerful perspective to bring to the

1. L. Beaman et al., "Women Politicians, Gender Bias, and Policy-making in Rural India," Background Paper for UNICEF's *The State of the World's Children Report 2007*, 11, 15-16, http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/beaman_duflo_pande_topalova.pdf.

2. C.S. Rosenthal, "Gender Styles in Legislative Committees" *Women & Politics* Vol. 21, No. 2 (2001): 21-46, http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J014v21n02_02.

3. A. Cammisa, A. and B. Reingold, "Women in State Legislators and State Legislative Research: Beyond Sameness and Difference," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Vol. 4, No.2 (2004): 181-210, <http://sppq.press.illinois.edu/4/2/cammisa.pdf>.

negotiating table. Women suffer disproportionately during armed conflict and often advocate most strongly for stabilization, reconstruction and the prevention of further conflict.

In order to meet worldwide development goals and build strong, sustainable democracies, women must be encouraged, empowered and supported in becoming strong political and community leaders.

Conditions for Women's Political Participation

Yet, in spite of the many benefits of fully engaging women in society, women still face significant barriers to entering government and shaping the decisions and policies that influence their lives. Sometimes the barriers to women's participation are legal. Around the world, for example, women had to advocate and lobby for the right to vote. The first country to grant women the right to vote was New Zealand in 1893. Women in Kuwait were not enfranchised until 2005. Often, the barriers to women's participation are social, economic or structural. Globally, women's education and literacy levels are lower than men's. So even if women are not legally prevented from running for office, educational requirements or candidate registration processes may, in practice, exclude the majority of women.

In the last 10 years, the rate of women's representation in national parliaments globally has grown from 13.1 percent at the end of 1999 to 18.6 percent at the end of 2009. Some regions have seen particularly dramatic increases, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, where the number of women in parliaments has risen from 10.9 to 17.6 percent.⁴ Despite these positive gains, considerable challenges remain to women's meaningful political participation. Though situations vary among countries, there are some universal trends in the barriers to women's participation in politics. It is imperative to examine and consider these challenges when designing or modifying a program to address women's political participation. While no ideal environment currently exists to jumpstart the advancement of women's political participation, there are certain conditions that make it easier.

First, women must have reasonable access to positions of power. Political leadership is often centralized among a small, elite group and based on personal relationships and informal networks. Holding a formal position, even an elected position, does not necessarily lead to greater influence, as the real leaders do not always hold for-

mal titles. Power in democracies is built on relationships that often have existed for many years. In countries where women's public roles are only beginning to develop, women's historical absence from the political system can present significant barriers. By giving women the tools they need to lead, creating the opportunity for advancement, helping build networks of like-minded men and women, and ensuring that women's legal rights are firmly entrenched, a pathway to political power can be developed.

Next, transparency in political and legislative processes is critical to the advancement of women in political and civil society. The lack of openness in political decision-making and undemocratic internal processes are challenging for all newcomers, but particularly for women. Similarly, the complex hierarchies in political parties and legislatures represent a barrier to many women who enter politics at the local level and aspire to rise to other levels of leadership. In a technical sense, this is the simplest barrier to address. It is relatively straight-forward to modify a party bylaw or craft legislation to change the way organizations operate. The challenge is to transform the mindsets and perceptions that prevent women's participation from being a priority, and to ensure that changes are meaningful and implemented.

Moreover, citizens must be willing to accept new ideas about gender roles in society. In many countries, cultural norms discourage women from competing directly with men and preserve childcare and housekeeping as the exclusive domain of women. As such, it is common throughout the world to see women activists supporting democratic activities at the grassroots level where it is more acceptable. Yet few women serve in political leadership positions perpetuating the cycle of marginalization. Concerted efforts must be made to raise awareness of gender inequality and the ways in which stereotypical gender roles create both formal and informal barriers. The support from male political leaders is also a key ingredient in creating a political climate that encourages women's political participation.

The ability of women to attain financial autonomy or access to economic resources is also necessary for their greater participation in political life. Worldwide, women's lower economic status, relative poverty and discriminatory legal frameworks are substantial hurdles to overcome. Because women control and have access to fewer economic resources, they are often unable to pay the formal and informal costs associated with gaining a party's nomination and standing for election.

4. "Women in Parliaments: World and Regional Averages," Inter-Parliamentary Union, last modified March 31, 2010, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

Key Concepts for Women's Political Programs

NDI's more than 25 years of experience in the field of democracy promotion has shown that the implication of both men's and women's different status, needs, priorities, and experiences has a significant impact on the success of democracy programs. To create effective political programs that increase women's participation, practitioners must have a basic understanding of the way in which citizens' opportunities and constraints are shaped by gender and sex.

Understanding the distinction between sex and gender is important. In short, "sex" refers to the biological differences between men and women. "Gender" refers to the socially constructed roles that are typically associated with males and females. These characteristics change from culture to culture, and change over time within cultures. Gender norms in all countries affect the ways in which male and female citizens can engage in politics and governance.

Women are not a homogeneous group. Depending on whether women are young or older, educated or uneducated, live in rural or urban areas, they have very different life experiences that lead to different objectives and needs. Also, women and women's groups often have contentious relationships because of different perspectives that result from a competition for resources or judgments about commitment to gender equality. Programs should seek to build bridges among women and facilitate points of consensus that will accelerate effective policy advocacy and monitoring.

In discussing the design of political programs, the phrase "gender mainstreaming" is often used. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for ensuring that women's and men's concerns and experiences are considered and represented in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

As the "best practice" approach expected by donors, including the United States government, gender mainstreaming is now considered essential to both international development and democracy and governance work. Using a gender mainstreaming approach, gender-responsiveness and a gender perspective is not limited to specific "women's programs," but instead integrates a consideration of gender and its impact on women and men into all aspects of a program.

In the context of NDI's work, gender mainstreaming is a strategy that seeks to ensure that gender differences

and gender inequalities inform design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation policies. What is more, opportunities are sought to narrow gender gaps and enhance greater equality between women and men. Most often this work of increasing women's political participation involves both men and women and takes into account the different experiences that both bring to the program. In other instances, however, stand alone women's political programs are necessary to augment existing democracy building activities. Cultural contexts in which women face greater barriers may require more stand alone programs to provide women with the initial skills building and confidence they need to enter public life. Countries in which women face fewer cultural barriers and have had greater access to politics may need less stand alone women's programming.

Often, practitioners will discuss the importance of engaging men to empower women. Engaging men is critical to cultivating their support for gender equality. In using the gender mainstreaming approach, men and women are trained and supported together in these efforts with the idea that men and women are not operating on the same, level playing field but rather they recognize that women enter the democratic process having had different access to power and resources. Yet, attention to gender in democracy programs is not enough; men need to understand how they are also affected by gender inequalities and what they can do to help.

It is imperative that democracy work focus on gender because until gender parity is reached in politics and governance, women cannot reach full equality with men in any sphere. The absence of women's voices in shaping the most fundamental political instruments ensures the preservation of gender inequity throughout society.

International Policy Frameworks that Support Equality

There is a significant body of international policies and protocols that call for, and in some cases mandate greater levels of women's participation in decision-making and governance, as well as greater attention to gender mainstreaming. Key policies are included here. Program implementers should ensure that the following policy frameworks are understood and minimum standards are adhered to. These protocols should also be included in programs, so that participants can understand gender equality in the context of national and international policy.

- The *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979)* is the international bill of rights for women that de-

finds discrimination against women and recommends an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. States party to the treaty should take action to both end discrimination and report regularly on their progress to the CEDAW Committee. All countries except the United States, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Qatar, Tonga, Brunei Darussalam, Nauru and Palau, have ratified CEDAW.

- The *Beijing Platform for Action (1995)* is an agenda for women's empowerment that came out of the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. It aims to remove all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making.
- *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (2000)* was the first formal acknowledgement by the UN that women have a role to play in promoting peace and security. It establishes women's right to participate in decision-making in conflict and post-conflict situations, including negotiations and decision-making, or governance.
- *The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2000)* aim to reduce the worst forms of poverty by the year 2015. Goal Number 3 is to "promote gender equality and empower women," including women's political participation.

How this Guide Works

This guide was created to be used by NDI staff and other practitioners to develop, implement, monitor and evaluate women's political participation programs across a variety of technical areas. Following this introduction there are separate chapters on Citizen Participation, Elections, Political Parties and Governance, which provide a rationale for focusing on increasing women's participation in each technical area, as well as programmatic frameworks, examples of best practices and case studies, and strategies to be used throughout the lifecycle of a program or project. A checklist that covers some fundamental considerations regarding women's political participation programs is also included here. This checklist will assist practitioners in ensuring that NDI programs advance women's empowerment and promote gender equality.

In putting together a comprehensive guidebook of this kind, written and edited by practitioners, there is some repetition of key concepts and overlap in program areas. The lifecycle of a program – through program design to

implementation to monitoring and evaluation – is the structure around which each of the program area chapters is built. Specific issues, such as coalition building, the use of quotas and engaging young people, are discussed in multiple chapters but specifically as they relate to each technical area. Each chapter has been written and stands alone within the programmatic area as well as works within the set.

Following the chapters focused on technical areas, there is a glossary of terms, a catalog of important resources and an appendix of useful supporting documents that may be used as the ideas put forth here move toward reality. An index at the end of the guide also allows practitioners to search for case studies by region.

Increasing Women's Political Participation

Below are a few key issues to consider as the planning process begins for any program or activity. While not exhaustive, this list serves as a starting point to ensure and enhance the participation of women.

- Ensure that the program incorporates a gender perspective into every aspect, whether or not it is a "women's" program.
- Seek 50 percent women's participation in all trainings, conferences, workshops and study missions. NDI is convening the training and can request that women constitute half of all program participants. Staff conditions must allow for the effort required to realize genuine participation from women.
- While donor budgets may not specifically allocate funding for "women's programs," staff should make every effort to put half of budget resources to support the participation of women in the program.
- Consider what other donors have already done. What has been successful and what has failed. Why? What is still needed?
- Do not conduct women's political participation programs in a vacuum. Address economic, social and cultural concerns when planning programs and activities, including childcare, transportation and the accessibility (time, location, etc.) of the venue.
- Identify opportunities to unite women across sectors. Facilitate interaction among women from different sectors through program activities.
- Acknowledge the socio-political reality that women face in their country and the potential backlash

that they may face from participating in the workshop or training.

- Recognize the important leadership role - formal or informal - that women already play in their families and communities through a discussion of different types of leadership.
- Do not conduct women-only programming activities exclusively or at the expense of women's equal participation in all program activities. Conduct women-only training sessions in addition to mixed-gender trainings. Women-only trainings are ideal opportunities to include confidence-building sessions such as public speaking, advocacy, time management, leadership training, etc.
- Build key stakeholders into the program. The more engaged stakeholders feel, the more willing they will be to lend their support. Are there any who have been overlooked?
- Make sure indicators track program outcomes as well as program outputs. Indicators should track not only the number of women and men in trainings, but the attitude changes that resulted from the training in both men and women.
- Use a balance of male and female trainers/speakers in all trainings. Involving local men as trainers in women's programs will encourage their investment in increasing women's participation.
- Conduct trainings for men and women on gender equality to encourage them to view each other as peers and help increase cooperation and gender sensitivity.
- Encourage women to become well-versed on "non-traditional" issues such as the economy, finance, budgeting, defense and foreign policy. This will allow women to position themselves as experts in these powerful areas and help increase their legitimacy as political leaders.
- Create safe, accessible and comfortable training environments that enable women's engagement by encouraging their full participation in discussions, role-plays, etc. Encourage women to sit in the front of training sessions and to speak freely.
- Conduct training as close to the targeted communities as possible. Many women are unable to travel to the capital for family reasons or unwilling to do so because of the negative perceptions it may create.
- Create opportunities for women outside of the capital or major urban areas who have less access to training resources. While it is more costly and more time consuming to build a program outside of the capital, its longer-term impact could be greater.
- Conduct training programs over an extended or staggered period of time so that women have increased flexibility to participate in the program while still maintaining their family responsibilities.
- Make sure the training methodology responds to the education and awareness level of participants in rural areas. Use role-plays, drawings and the like to ensure the message reaches the target audience.
- In political party consultations and trainings, address the need for parties to reach out to women as voters, candidates, campaign staff and party members, and create policies and practices that meaningfully include women at every level of party membership.
- Support the equitable representation of women's wings in party leadership and decision-making structures.
- Create opportunities to establish women's networks that link women from both political parties and civil society organizations.
- Use women staff members and current program participants to recruit more participants.
- Leading by example sends a powerful message; this is particularly true for staffing of women's political participation programs.



CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

INTRODUCTION

A functioning democracy requires an informed and active public that understands how to voice its interests, act collectively, and hold government officials accountable. NDI citizen participation programs are intended to increase and strengthen the organized and active political involvement of all citizens. Whether advocating for specific policies, providing expertise on poverty issues, monitoring the implementation of a policy, or raising awareness about needs, both men and women can contribute to their government's willingness and ability to work on behalf of its citizens.

Citizen participation programs can make the democratic process even stronger by leveraging the unique contributions and value that women bring to the political process. When women have a vocal role as voters, activists, electoral administrators, and issue advocates, their inclusion guarantees that a wide spectrum of voices will more accurately represent a broader range of citizens' concerns.

Historically, women have lacked a presence in political life, resulting from economic and political exclusion and discrimination. Women often do not have the financial means or freedom that enables them to participate in a male-dominated political arena where power, in addition to financial resources, is the primary currency. Women active in civil society face many of the same challenges as women in elected office, including a lack of confidence in their ability to create change; a lack of education and a belief that it is a barrier to success; and a lack of personal or economic independence to participate freely. Women also face disproportionate family obligations and must attempt to reconcile them with the demands associated with serving their community. Women are often forced to choose between family and work. Often the same women are active in multiple organizations and must strive to balance their work with each organization and their personal life. Attention to these differences between men and women illustrate why it is critical to pay attention to their different needs, priorities and status.

While women comprise cadres of political party members and candidates in most regions, they have tended to be more active participants in civic groups. Women often deem politics a place for men, and as a result, women are found in more robust numbers in the civic sector.

Civic groups provide a more welcoming environment for women, and this is where women have more frequently demonstrated their leadership. They have successfully tackled issues related to security, jobs, human rights, and physical well-being. Women's voices as advocates for democratic reform have strengthened civil society; and women have proven themselves to be change agents when their voice is present. Many civic groups around the world are comprised of female staff and many of these organizations are also led by women. In Europe and the countries formed during the breakup of the former Soviet Union in the 1990s, women played a key role in civil society movements despite the fact that the post-socialist removal of quotas led to a decline in their presence in parliaments.⁵ Women have publicly shown their voice to the world by leading peaceful demonstrations such as the Mothers of the Missing in Argentina, which protests the disappearance of family members during the period of Argentina's "Dirty War".⁶ Aung San Suu Kyi, a hero among men and women globally, has been the leading advocate for a peaceful democratic transition in Burma since the 1980s.⁷

The following pages provide the tools to mainstream gender throughout civil society programs and develop and conduct specific programs for women, where necessary. The practice of mainstreaming gender through-out a program consists of considering the needs and perspectives of both men and women and ensuring that

5. United Nations Development Programme, *Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: A Toolkit*, (Bratislava: United Nations Development Programme's Regional Bureau for Europe and the CIS, 2007), <http://europeandcis.undp.org/home/show/6D8DEA3D-F203-1EE9-B2E46DEFBD98F3F1>.

6. Elahe Amani and Lys Anzia, "Mourning Mothers Iran' Stand with Activist Mothers Worldwide," *Payvand Iran News*, October 14, 2009, <http://payvand.com/news/09/oct/1148.html>.

7. "Daw Aung San Suu Kyi," *The New York Times*, Updated May 7, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/info/daw-aung-san-suu-kyi/>.

activities address these needs relative to program objectives. Gender mainstreaming within democracy programs enables women to play a more powerful role in building and strengthening democracy while advancing gender equality. Because women and men experience life differently as a result of their gender, they raise different policy priorities and often approach solutions differently. Women's involvement in securing, monitoring and reforming policy measures allows for a more diverse set of opinions and perspectives to contribute to making democracy deliver.

This chapter describes an array of approaches to increasing women's civic engagement with best practices highlighted to showcase examples where women civil society activists have successfully changed political dynamics at the community or national level. The information provided will enable program practitioners to integrate gender and help them identify when it is important to develop specific women's programs or activities targeting women. Program practitioners will gain a clear understanding of the steps required to effectively mainstream gender into new and existing citizen participation programs beginning with the initial phase of conceptualization.

PROGRAM DESIGN

Much of NDI's work focuses on helping citizens engage public officials and political leaders on substantive issues of community concern. Citizen participation programs are designed to help citizens take action to shape the way governments, parliaments, and parties behave, and the way politics is practiced. NDI's citizen participation programs focus on civic education, issue organizing and advocacy, budget oversight and government monitoring. The Institute also specializes in "guided practice," where staff offer coaching and structured feedback to help civic organizations think strategically about their actions and take concerted steps to increase their influence over the political process and public officials.

Because NDI does not presume to impose solutions on local partners, programs must work closely with their partners to understand the political context in which they work, the challenges, and the possible solutions that exist and have been identified by the local community. There are a diverse set of research tools available to enable program staff to collect and leverage the knowledge of local organizations, key stakeholders and international organizations. Using appropriate research tools to engage citizens will enable a program to address the most urgent needs and opportunities for impact. Effective program design also depends upon the activities of

other stakeholders and, most importantly, the overall intended program objectives.

The design phase provides an opportunity for gathering information about how the different experiences, roles, status, needs and priorities of men and women will impact citizen participation programs. In addition, the design phase also requires an examination of the constraints and opportunities that men and women both face to engage fully in political life. Careful examination of gender inequities helps reveal whether it is necessary to design a separate women's program, or to fully integrate activities with attention to the needs of both men and women throughout.

CONTEXT

The following questions facilitate the collection of information that enable a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural and political context of women's participation and that of citizens in a given country or region. In the absence of formal survey research, the following questions should be answered through desk research of existing literature and through key informal interviews with stakeholders, explained in the next section. A significant base of knowledge on the political and historical background should be familiar before approaching stakeholders.

Equipped with answers to the following questions, program practitioners will be better able to make an informed decision about what kind of program to craft. The program designers and practitioners' goal is to have the greatest impact by both supporting and leveraging women for the objectives of the program. Program practitioners will need to define their rationale for targeting women exclusively. For example, program designers may want to target women exclusively because women face significant barriers to entry or, because they act as agents of change, women can facilitate the objectives of the program. On the other hand, successful gender mainstreaming ensures that the concerns of men and women are addressed equally in every aspect of the program.

Key Questions: History of Civic and Political Engagement

Program practitioners must be familiar with the historical involvement of women in civic and political life. A thorough grasp of the country's social and political history, particularly the different experiences of men and women, is critical to understanding the program environment. Practitioners must, at a minimum,

be knowledgeable about the general status of women in the country in which they are working, understand the key barrier's to women's political participation, and be aware of the threats or dangers that may be associated with women's participation in civic or political life. Other key questions include:

- What is the history of citizen activism or lack thereof?
- Are there certain groups of women who may face more discrimination than others?
- What is the history of women's activism as voters, candidates, political party members and civic leaders?
- What avenues for citizen input have been explored? What hasn't? What would be most useful in the current environment?
- Are there any existing cultural and/or religious factors or norms that impact women's situation in a given country? What are some ways to bring about societal and behavioral change?

Key Questions: Current Political Environment

In addition to knowing about the historical political life of women and men in the country, program practitioners should understand the current state of affairs in which they are operating. An examination of the political context includes assessing the distribution of power; knowing the range of organizations that exist and what their interests are; and considering the formal and informal rules that govern interactions among different groups and individuals.

Program staff must be aware of the advances made on women's rights in the host country. Program designers must be aware of whether or not the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination of Women (CEDAW) and its Optional Protocol have been ratified. If it has been ratified, do civic organizations monitor compliance with CEDAW? If not, are there efforts within civil society to gain ratification of CEDAW? Practitioners should examine as well whether there are any regional or local declarations on women's rights that the government adheres to. An examination of the political environment should reveal the current socio-economic constraints, challenges and/or opportunities for women. Additionally, program staff should be aware of any advocates for women in the government who would be important allies in advancing gender equality, and be able to identify key stakeholders who could help promote gender equality during the life of the project.

Other key questions are:

- What is the current representation of women in national and locally-elected institutions?
- What is the level of women's presence in government? Political parties? Labor unions? Media?
- Are there upcoming elections? National or local? And what effect might they have on the planned program activities?
- What is the situation/representation of women within political parties? Are there any parties that stand out in terms of significant representation of women within their party organization?
- Is there any key piece of legislation that helps to improve women's lives? Is there such legislation currently under consideration in the national legislature?
- Has legislation passed that supports women but doesn't have the funding or political will for implementation?
- Is there a need for amendments to an existing laws that hinders women's participation, and which should be the subject of advocacy?
- Are women addressed in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)⁸? Are women involved in oversight of the PRSP?
- Are there key legislative or executive bodies, commissions and/or individuals established to implement and monitor initiatives to promote gender equality?
- Is there a national gender action plan? A gender or equality ministry? A gender commission?
- Is there a strategy for a gender-responsive budgeting program in the country? If so, which ministries/departments are engaged in this? What have been the results/accomplishments of this program?

⁸ PRSPs describe the country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs over a three year or longer horizon to promote broad-based growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers," International Monetary Fund, last modified October 29, 2010, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/prsp.asp>.

Key Questions: Activism Among Women

To successfully engage both men and women in citizen participation programs, women activists and activists who advocate for issues that directly impact women, such as healthcare reform, poverty reduction, and combating domestic violence among others, should be involved. Additionally, program staff should have a basic understanding of the nature of activism in the host country. They should know if a women's movement exists, i.e. a collection of individuals who cross sectors and political parties or movements to advocate for issues of particular concern to women or to promote gender equality, if so, program staff should find out how many people are involved and who they are. There may be an informal network of women who meet regularly at the national level, or a more institutionalized network of women who meet regularly and are formally registered. If so, does the formal network have outreach chapters or branches in states/provinces or at the local level?

Prominent and influential groups led by men that support gender equality and promote women's participation can also be great partners. If program staff can identify male leaders who champion gender equality, they should find out whether these male leaders have entered into coalitions with women's groups on any given issue or if they ever joined a campaign to promote women's issues.

Other key questions are:

- Are there any prominent female leaders and or activists that women look up to, respect and can coalesce around? If so, who are they and how can they be reached?
- What are the goals of existing women's networks, both formal and informal? Does a common agenda exist?
- Are such networks strong and what kind of support do they need to achieve their goals?
- What organizations are effectively advocating for women's causes in the national legislature (even if their efforts are disparate from the others)? Is there a network of women's NGOs?
- Does parliament have a women's network or caucus? And if so, how does it function and what role might it play in a citizen participation program?
- Do women in civil society interact with women in political parties, including those in the legislature?

How is the relationship between these constituencies? What opportunities exist to facilitate such relationships?

- What technology or media opportunities exist? Have women used the media and technology to campaign for or monitor policy issues?
- Which international organizations are supporting these women's groups? What kind of programs have they supported? What are the lessons learned? What are the accomplishments and challenges?

RELEVANT RESEARCH

To design any citizen participation program, the different needs, priorities, constraints and opportunities that men and women face, respectively, should be considered in the research phase. "Survey" research or assessment activities can contribute valuable information to program design and lead to further questions to answer during the design phase. Design of the survey tool should ensure that the survey population is gender-balanced or reflects the composition of the entire community it seeks to serve. Likewise, the content of the survey questions must be comprehensive enough to solicit information that will reveal gender differences. For example, if a baseline assessment is conducted, it must collect responses from both men and women to gain an accurate depiction of a population or community at a given moment in time. Consideration must be given to whether additional, tailored questions should be asked that probe further on attitudes that may differ based on gender. Following are illustrative survey research methods most frequently used by NDI, including focus groups, baseline assessments, community mapping exercises and interviews. The Appendices at the end of the guide include further research guidance. These and other survey methods should be supplemented both by internal focus groups and discussions as well as by research from other organizations.

In-country Assessments

In-country assessments are often used to determine the program design. They include the convening of a team to conduct interviews over the course of a couple weeks prior to the development of a program. The assessment is guided by a qualitative, standard questionnaire. Assessments for civic programs explore the political and cultural background, the current political climate, legal and political structures, institutional governance frameworks, the civic community and other actors influencing the political process.

Mainstreaming gender into the assessment tool requires soliciting information that gives an accurate picture of both men's and women's community involvement and their role in decision-making. The assessment questionnaire should include questions that will provide an adequate picture of the status of women and enable insight into proposed approaches to increase women's citizen participation. Additionally, both men and women need to be interviewed. In-country assessments should ensure that women's groups or others who are sufficiently able to speak to women's political participation are consulted during the assessment. The individuals, organizations and networks surveyed in the assessment should reflect a broad cross-section of opinion leaders, both formal and informal who could collectively provide a comprehensive overview of the political, social and cultural landscape.

Assessment teams should be gender balanced to ensure that the composition of the team does not affect the quality of responses. A gender-balanced delegation both conveys the message of valued leadership by men and women and represents a commitment to representative research teams. There may be situations where individuals or groups interviewed will not be comfortable sharing information with a mixed group and this allows the flexibility to divide the group for meetings as required.

Baseline Surveys

The purpose of a baseline or benchmark survey is both to learn about citizens' attitudes and behaviors, and to establish the current baseline political conditions in a given country in order to measure the progress of a program. Baseline surveys can be compiled through surveys, focus groups, questionnaires, interview forms and other methods. They provide valuable data for monitor-

ing progress as well as help to establish key benchmarks that will be revisited during the program.

A benchmark survey should collect data that is disaggregated by sex, among other demographics, in order to portray an accurate picture of the differences or similarities. This will allow for differing results between genders to be observed and addressed in the future. Sex-disaggregated data combined with a gender perspective will also enable organization learning around challenges related to gender.

Focus Groups

Focus groups utilize a qualitative method of gathering opinions, attitudes or beliefs about issues or a situation through questions and facilitated discussion and differ greatly in their method of data collection compared to other data collection methods. Focus groups are typically carried out in groups of 10-12 people in an effort to elicit a cross section of ideas. These groups are conducted in single-sex settings, often also disaggregated by age, socio-economic status and other relevant demographics, in order to better facilitate responses and capture differing views among genders and other populations.

Mainstreaming gender in focus groups may include compensating for limitations in the knowledge of focus groups participants in the development of survey questions and its delivery. Another approach to mainstreaming gender in focus groups could include specialized questions to both men and women that seek to understand attitudes or beliefs about a particular gender-related issue to determine whether additional outreach is needed among one group. For example, focus groups could be used to test attitudes toward women's participation in civic life.

UNDERSTANDING MARGINALIZED GROUPS AND BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION

In 2009, NDI published the El Salvador Benchmark Democracy Survey, which measured citizens' democratic values and perceptions of democracy in their country. The survey set out to determine who was participating in political and civic life as well as who was not participating and found unexpected low levels of participation among women and youth. Only 23.7 percent of women reported high levels of civic engagement in their communities, compared to 39.8 percent for men. In focus groups women and girls cited security, violence and crime as the issues that kept them from citizen participation. Although NDI closed its office in El Salvador at the end of 2009, the benchmark survey findings serve as a tool for local elected officials, political parties and civil society groups to engage more women and youth in the democratic process by lowering the institutional, motivational and value based barriers uncovered by the survey. This survey collected gender disaggregated information and did not assume that all Salvadorans would feel the same way – regardless of gender or age – about being involved in politics.

USING RESEARCH TO SHAPE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PROGRAMMING

NDI has been conducting regular focus group surveys in Sudan since 2004 to help policymakers, civil society groups and the international community better understand citizens' views and perspectives during the country's dynamic transitional period and to highlight citizens' needs and expectations for the interim period following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The focus groups have measured the attitudes of participants selected to share ideas and participate in the political process through NDI's research. The findings of this research have informed a number of program areas including the "Let's Talk" radio program, which provides a weekly sketch that addresses democracy issues. By demonstrating where deficiencies in citizen's knowledge about democracy and good governance exist, the focus group research has been used to identify the topics to include on the weekly radio program. One of the programs also included the role of women in the recent elections to address sentiments reflected in the focus groups about women's role in politics.

Community Mapping

Community mapping is a process by which community members collect and map out data from different physical areas on opinions and resources within a community. This information is used to create social change by equipping ordinary citizens with information that they can use to interact with their public officials. The process is empowering because it is managed by the community and the information gathered through mapping exercises is often useful for elected officials as well.⁹

The purpose of mapping is to equip communities to develop solutions to the problems they identify. Physical maps are developed that enumerate community resources and are then analyzed and used for advocacy efforts. Technology has facilitated community mapping efforts that help to create social change because more people are able to access basic mapping software from the Internet.¹⁰

Because a mapping exercise is designed to begin discussions around gaps in community resources and collective ideas for change, women must play a role, as they may add different resources or places to a map that others may not consider. Mainstreaming gender into the mapping process includes both involving women in the process and ensuring that a community's discussion considers who has access to what resources, why and strategies to improve access.

While resources may not allow for multiple research methods, there are some additional ways to gather important background information: partner with civil so-

ciety organizations positioned to conduct research and/or take advantage of existing surveys or focus groups undertaken regularly by a market research firm or partner organization and insert key relevant questions.

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY STAKEHOLDERS

After acquiring baseline information and conducting survey research, the next step is to reach out to stakeholders who could inform, influence or be affected by a proposed program. Stakeholders provide valuable insight into past efforts, political dynamics and local realities that should be analyzed in combination with prior research before developing a program. Building relationships with stakeholders early is also an important way of gaining credibility and leveraging support from those who can add value to a program and neutralizing those who feel threatened by a program.

Look for appropriate entry points within the cultural and political context for raising issues about the different status and roles of women and men. Include a broad range of stakeholders whose opinions reflect a cross-section of perspectives with regard to women's participation. Engaging them during the consultation process, as with any stakeholder, can help facilitate relationships in the program implementation phase. The following questions will help determine the universe of stakeholders who program staff should consider interviewing to ensure that they are able to collect relevant data about women's participation.

Key Questions: Stakeholder Interviews

- Who are the necessary stakeholders that should be contacted about a civil society program designed to advance women's participation?
- Who would be affected by a civil society program to advance women or gender equality?

9. Virginia Roaf, *Community Mapping: A Tool for Community Organising* (London: Water Aid, 2005), http://www.wateraid.org/documents/plugin_documents/communitymappingweb_1.pdf.

10. Development Gateway, "Zunia Knowledge Exchange," last modified July 5, 2010, http://zunia.org/tag/community%20mapping/source/web2fordev.net/?tx_dgcontent_pi1%5Btype%5D=11&cHash=81f86ec0f3.

- What key actors have been working in civil society? Which of these groups have played a role in advancing women's participation and gender equality? Have any of them hindered women's participation?
- Who are potential allies for a proposed program? Potential detractors? Which stakeholders are critical to the success of a program?
- What is the track record and reputation of the prominent groups that might be considered as possible partners or allies? What is the capacity of these groups to conduct programs?
- Are these groups partisan? Are they perceived to lean one way or the other on the political spectrum?
- Have these groups worked with other international organizations in the past? Did they get good references? Who will provide the most valuable insight regarding past efforts?
- Which women – individuals or groups – have been at the forefront of efforts to improve women's participation? Which women's groups must be informed? Which must be engaged?
- Who feels that they should be contacted first?
- What messages are required for which stakeholders or groups?
- What other international organizations are providing support to civic groups?
- What is the most valuable information to be obtained from stakeholders to inform program design?

Upon the selection of stakeholders for initial interviews, the following list of recommendations may be used to build early support for women, regardless of the program that is designed. Stakeholder interviews can provide a solid foundation for continued relationships that program staff will use throughout the program. This early interaction with stakeholders can develop a solid network of resources that practitioners can tap into for future support.

Consulting with Stakeholders

Key recommendations for consulting with stakeholders include:

- Calculate which stakeholder(s) to bring in and at what point: some stakeholders can help build early

support and carry the message of the importance of programming. Some groups or individuals will be able to corral others.

- Share relevant research with stakeholders to earn their trust and bring them into the process early. If some stakeholders are not brought in early enough, they will express unnecessary resistance.
- Be consistent with the information shared with stakeholders but tailor the message for individual stakeholders according to what they will gain from supporting or contributing to a program.
- Help stakeholders understand how women's participation will benefit them, the community, their organization, etc.
- Maintain open communication and remain consistent. Keep stakeholders informed along the way.
- Bring stakeholders together in a briefing or informational event to share findings and begin to build a community around the program's goals. Convening stakeholders can also avoid duplicate or overlapping programs.

Research from both stakeholder interviews and other survey research tools will enable program staff to decide whether there is a particular opportunity to work with women. It will also provide information – such as key challenges that have prevented previous women's participation – that will help mainstream gender throughout the entire program. Because the challenges, context and others involved are now known, decisions on how best to meet the program objectives can be made while giving the appropriate opportunities within the program to men and women.

For instance, a gender mainstreaming approach to increasing citizen interaction with local councilors through town hall meetings would examine the opportunities and barriers to both men and women accessing and interacting with the councilors at town hall meetings. An initial analysis may reveal that women attend the meetings but rarely speak out. It may be necessary, therefore, to design a program that includes a public speaking or mentoring component for young women. Gender analysis could also reveal that a participatory budgeting process would give citizens the best tools for monitoring legislation on decentralization, but that financial literacy varies based on sex and location. Based on this critical analysis of both men's and women's needs, a session on financial literacy could be added to a participatory budgeting training to accommodate those who are challenged. This basic

training on how a government budget is created and managed would be made available to both the men and women who need it.

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH AND STAKEHOLDER INFORMATION

The last phase of program design requires an analysis of the program objectives, the research, resources such as time and funding, and ability to have the greatest impact. This requires a clear vision of expected outcomes of a program. Based on the information collected, desired outcomes should be refined and the program design should seek to accomplish the desired objectives, taking into consideration the efforts of other stakeholders to achieve the same ends. In designing a program, program staff should consider how women could contribute to achieving the desired outcome. All programs should take into consideration the different needs and priorities of men and women using gender analysis. It may also include programs that exclusively target women. These differences will impact the success of the program. At a minimum, women must comprise significant or equal numbers of program participants.

Regardless, practitioners should ensure that each program component, including each program activity, considers whether a different effort is required to ensure women's participation and maximizes their learning and their contributions to the desired outcome. For example, have women already been advocating for legislation that needs a more structured and supported effort to get it passed, which would be a victory for all citizens as well as a unifying force for women? Or, is there a particular motivation or approach that women may bring to an issue currently being debated or monitored? Is there a women's group well-positioned to be mentored on monitoring a key policy for the country? These are just a few examples of some of the questions that will inform the shape that the program takes. How can the program involve women in a way that improves women's engagement and benefits the program outcome?

In every civic program there are opportunities that exist to provide special attention to ensure that women are participating in equal numbers, and facilitating their influence in the political process. As program activities are developed, determine how they can meet gender-related challenges that emerged during the research process. For example, a program that facilitates relationships between civil society and politicians and ensures that women comprise half or a critical mass of program participants could be extraordinarily useful

for women because it could bridge the natural tension between women in civil society and women in elected office. However, such a program only makes sense if it meets the program objectives and if building relationships between these two sectors will sufficiently influence the desired outcomes.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Citizen participation programs seek to give citizens a greater voice in influencing their government. Recognizing that men and women around the world desire accountable and responsive political institutions, NDI has focused on four areas to assist citizens in becoming active, organized participants in political life:

- Organizing and Advocacy
- Civic Education
- Civic Forum
- Social Accountability

Organizing and advocacy work focuses on influencing the policy agenda by gathering community resources and efforts around a common issue or cause that a significant number of people care enough about to take action. Civic education programs introduce the basic rules and institutional features of a democratic political system, and provide knowledge about democratic rights and practices, such as understanding of constitutional rights, gender equity, collective action, and conflict resolution. NDI's Civic Forum program is a grassroots program that takes a step-by-step approach to community engagement and ultimately helps citizens organize and actively participate in political life. Social accountability is a broad range of citizen or CSO-driven initiatives that seek to hold government officials accountable by monitoring and reporting on their actions.

In all cases, coalitions and alliances are critical for displaying collective power, which is ultimately an important driver of change. Coalitions provide fertile ground for women to build and expand networks and work more closely together to achieve common goals. Likewise, coalitions promoting or monitoring political decisions provide opportunities for women and men to work in unison to improve the livelihoods of their fellow citizens. Coalitions play a particularly significant role for men and women advancing gender equality because of the social, cultural and religious challenges posed to achieving women's rights.

Gender mainstreaming is important in citizen participation because it allows practitioners to focus

on the outcomes of gender inequalities, and helps to identify and address the circumstances that cause pervasive inequalities. Women are most often affected by unequal access to resources and benefits in society, making it difficult for them to fully engage in civic life. Opportunities must be created to encourage women's active participation in both advocacy and monitoring efforts because they can influence the debate through their involvement and strengthen civil society.

Regardless of the area within which the program is designed, all citizen participation programs should be developed with expected outcomes or intended results as the focus. Programs can achieve a number of objectives simultaneously, however the objectives should be SMART: **S**pecific, **M**easurable, **A**chievable, **R**ealistic and can be completed within a given **T**ime Frame. Implementation or conducting program activities should begin only after the analysis of existing barriers and opportunities are considered in terms of the program objectives.

ORGANIZING AND ADVOCACY: INFLUENCING PUBLIC POLICY THROUGH ADVOCACY

Evolving political systems and the highly subjective nature of politics provide continuous opportunities to advocate for new policy measures. This puts pressure on legislators to reject or reform bad policies, and to protect good ones. In many countries, women have created networks, both formal and informal, which have successfully influenced legislation. In other countries, women have not yet coalesced in significant numbers to define and create support for collective policy priorities. Success in advancing gender equality depends on women first finding unifying issues among themselves and then galvanizing the support of influential men.

Although women are not a homogeneous group, they share common concerns. These common issues, such as protection from domestic violence, eldercare, and health related issues are generally not reflected in government priorities without pressure from women. There are many examples where citizens have united against odds to secure legislation that improves their everyday lives.

Women's movements have been built on progressive legislative victories and on other policy victories that have been secured through consistent pressure on decision-makers. Women advocate on matters of human rights and justice, legal reform, security, a range of policy areas and very often gender issues as well. Advocacy efforts to gain protections or preserve freedoms being fought by men and women often reap benefits for women without this being the primary goal.

Advocate for a New Policy

An advocacy program must include a clear objective of the change desired, consideration of stakeholders who needs to be influenced, clear messaging, and strong coalitions and alliances. The ability to review and adjust the advocacy plan is also key. The following are some recommendations to be considered in developing an advocacy program that mainstreams gender:

- Look at all policies with a gender lens. Public policy is still often developed without respect to varying needs based on gender, race, and other influential demographics. The policies advocated for within a program should be developed with a gender lens in order to address inequalities and to ensure their desired impact on the population.

WOMEN BRIDGING THE ETHNIC DIVIDE

In 2006, women in the war-torn city of Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina came together to build an advocacy network that is one of the few examples of multiethnic political cooperation in a country fractured by seemingly insurmountable ethnic divides. The Mostar Women's Citizen Initiative draws together women—political activists, civic leaders, and ordinary citizens—to address common issues without regard for the ethnic affiliation of its members or those it assists. The Initiative represents an attempt to transcend the ethnic divisions resulting from the war in the 1990's. These women witnessed first-hand how problems go unsolved when ethnic affiliation dominates social relationships, education, employment and governance. They decided to make the political process work for them. They worked collectively to become leaders in their own right, developing, coordinating, and launching advocacy initiatives at the local level including a successful effort to amend the municipal maternity law to better protect female workers. The cooperative work of these women exemplifies a larger message to put aside harmful differences and choose the political process to build better lives for themselves and their community.

- Support women in defining and tailoring their policy priorities. Prioritization will influence success rates because human and financial resources invested in advocacy efforts will be focused rather than diluted by too many issues and corresponding resources required.
- Consider current political context and support women where they can have impact. By assessing the political situation for women and existing legislation, program staff can identify policies that have a greater opportunity to become law or get implemented. By identifying this “low-hanging fruit”, one can facilitate success, which can strengthen advocacy networks, coalitions and alliances and help a new coalition gain the confidence to tackle the next – perhaps more challenging – issue, in a unified way.
- Communicate with the stakeholders and build buy-in early in the program. Securing the investment and interest of key allies from the beginning will increase chances of success.
- Think about the target audience for the effort. Assess all constituencies who could be impacted by the desired reform and who must be targeted. Design a strategy that targets the relevant stakeholders who could include the general public, lawmakers, the private and corporate sector, government agencies, the media, educational institutions, adults, seniors, people with disabilities, men, women, youth, children, etc. All efforts to promote “women’s issues” must engage men as allies.
- Women should be vocal advocates on all types of public policy, working collaboratively and on equal footing with their male counterparts on local development and planning, foreign policy, defense and economic and investment issues, as well as issues like education and healthcare. For women to have an equal political voice, their opinion and influence must be integrated into all policy issues. Look for opportunities to broaden networks of women. Advocacy efforts provide opportunities to facilitate women’s networks, and to unite women from different sectors – political parties, legislators, activists, and business for example.
- Facilitate interaction with experts. Make sure experts are also diverse with respect to gender. Leverage relevant experts such as academics, civil society experts, and other technical experts to brief advocacy coalitions.
- Take a long-range view on reform. What is the desired change and what reform must take place in order to achieve this? How long will it take? Plan for the future adequately by understanding that change takes time and will likely come incrementally.
- Monitor success with vigilance. Victories can disappear quickly without vigilance. A law that is enacted can lack the funding or teeth for real reform. A policy can be amended or repeated after years of lobbying efforts to get it enacted. Include a monitoring effort in the original advocacy plan.
- Unite women and men around women’s empowerment.

Advocate to Change an Existing Law

NDI has assisted partner organizations to advocate for reform on a variety of issues, including combating domestic violence, improving health care, and increasing women’s political representation. For example, in Macedonia, NDI has worked with the Parliamentary Women’s Club (PWC), an informal, multi-party association of women members of parliament, to enhance the electoral and legislative participation of women. Through this partnership, the PWC has achieved a number of legislative accomplishments, including an amendment to the Law on Gambling, setting aside 2 percent of the national lottery tax income to support victims of domestic violence, and amendments, which were incorporated into the Labor Law that provide for the improved working conditions of women, improved retirement benefits, and the right to maternity leave. In Uganda, NDI assisted civil society and women parliamentarians to develop a common legislative agenda on issues affecting women and children. The five common advocacy points were: infant and maternal mortality, the passage of a domestic relations bill, protecting against and punishing sexual offenses and human trafficking, and promoting support for the African Charter on the rights of women in Africa.

Within lobbying efforts by women to promote gender equality, political representation is often the starting point because of the long-term impact political representation and power could achieve in an array of critical issue areas. Both the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) highlight the target of 30 percent for women in political decision-making positions. In other places, this target percentage has become law or a quota adopted voluntarily by political parties. Quotas have become the fastest way of aiding women in

CULTIVATING THE NEXT GENERATION OF CIVIC LEADERS

The Youth of Today, Leaders of Tomorrow (YOTLOT) program was a year-long academy targeted at young women civil society activists from across North Africa who possessed the potential to be leaders in their communities. Launched in 2009, the network comprised young women leaders of civil society organizations and community based groups from Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Morocco. Through a series of workshops and complementary online support, YOTLOT aimed to build strategic leadership skills, and foster a culture of peer-to-peer and intergenerational mentoring to facilitate the next generation of women's civic and political leadership in the region.

gaining entry into political office. Quotas can be legislated or can be adopted by political parties but may have no legal binding.¹¹ Many countries have adopted some form of a quota to help women gain a seat at the table. The momentum of quota adoption has fueled advocacy initiatives on every continent driven largely by women's groups, informal networks of women and women legislators.

Include Young Women

Male and female advocates should work to ensure the engagement of young women. Oftentimes, young women feel that they do not have a place in efforts led by more experienced, older activists. Formal mentoring programs that enable young women to be paired with established women and men leaders are an important way for young women to become informed and ultimately seasoned civic activists. Ideally, mentoring takes place on an ongoing basis that encourages young women to ask important questions while getting exposed to political realities. Engaging the next generation will give credibility and continued support to causes that could otherwise fade away over time without such consistency.

Work with Existing Organizations

Any citizen participation program should work with either women's civil society organizations that advocate for gender equality, or with organizations that are influential and working on issues that are directly related to gender equality and which impact women significantly, such as poverty reduction, violence against wom-

en, or HIV/AIDS. Women's civil society organizations have been the leading force for change on women's and gender equality issues. Women's civic organizations often provide the only political space for women to advocate on gender equality issues. Women activists who have been dedicated to issues such as domestic violence, education, eldercare, and environmental issues affecting their communities are intimately aware of the most pressing needs facing women in their country and are often part of the collective solutions that have been developed by the global community. In addition, they often have a good perspective on how their nation measures up against the others and use it to their benefit.

According to the UNIFEM's 2008/2009 progress report on the state of women globally, "Women's organizations and movements derive much of their political legitimacy from their efforts to represent "women's interests." National, regional and international women's movements have been highly effective in exposing gender-based injustices and triggering responses. Important examples include the role of women's movements in challenging authoritarian regimes in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Nepal, Peru, and the Philippines; in building pressure for peace in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Uganda, Sudan, Burundi, Timor Leste, and the Balkans; and in seeking to eliminate violence against women."¹²

NDI's partners work with local civic groups to develop skills to undertake organized political action, such as issue advocacy, voter education, and political process monitoring. Programs should empower citizens to engage in the political process in incremental steps that build skills, knowledge, confidence and long term capacities. Existing organizations can benefit from NDI technical assistance in mastering specific organizing techniques, including identification and analysis of issues, planning, resource management, fundraising, evaluation, collective action, and becoming strong leaders.

11. Macedonia has legislated quotas for national and local office, which require parties to nominate a minimum of 30 percent of the 'under-represented sex' as candidates. However, there is no requirement that these candidates be in eligible places on the candidate list. The 2002 gender quotas act in Belgium states that female candidates must make up half of the positions on a party's electoral list, including one out of the top two positions. In both countries, candidate lists, which do not meet these requirements are rejected by the regulatory authority for elections and parties in violation are essentially unable to run in the elections. Daniela Dimitrievsky and the Macedonian Women's Lobby, "Quotas: The Case of Macedonia" (paper presented at the International Institute for Democracy and Election Assistance (IDEA)/ CEE Network for Gender Issues Conference, Budapest, Hungary, 22-23 October 2004), <http://www.quotaproject.org/CS/Macedonia.pdf>.

12. Progress of the World's Women, "Politics," in *Who Answers to Women? Gender and Accountability* (New York: UNIFEM, 2008/2009), http://www.unifem.org/progress/2008/media/POWW08_chap02_politics.pdf.

NGO CULTIVATES WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

The Organization for the Protection of Women's Rights (OPWR) is Azerbaijan's leading independent women's civic group and an NDI partner since 1998. Over the course of the partnership, OPWR has initiated programs to educate women about their political rights, encouraging more women to vote and become candidates themselves.

With NDI assistance, OPWR has worked to increase the participation of Azerbaijani women as candidates, election monitors, and voters in both local and national elections. For the 1999 municipal elections, approximately 20 OPWR-trained candidates were elected to local office and approximately 300 OPWR-trained women participated as election monitors. In 2001 and 2002, NDI helped OPWR develop a nationwide women's program that promoted participants to leadership positions in elected bodies and established several caucuses for women within national and regional branches of Azerbaijan's major political parties. Two women who participated in OPWR's programming were elected to municipal councils in 2009 and six others launched new NGOs that address unmet local needs.

CIVIC EDUCATION: USING SOCIAL MEDIA

Using social media to enhance advocacy initiatives has become a regular method of outreach. Current tools include Facebook and a multitude of other websites, SMS text messaging, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr, and Four-square. All of these media have in common the ability to reach a large number of people virally in a short period of time, enabling advocates to spread their message quickly to audiences to whom they might not otherwise have access. Technology is constantly advancing, so the forms of communication need to be evaluated when designing a program that involves social media. Some women may face barriers in accessing social media not having a computer or even the required skills to use a computer. Technology can often be unreliable and unsustainable due to human or financial costs required; therefore outreach using new forms of technology should not be relied upon as a primary source of communication or without an alternate plan.

Whether the citizen participation program is wide in scope or focused on gender issues, these tools present opportunities to access networks beyond traditional ones. New forms of technology using mobile phones also provide outlets for men and women in rural areas, allowing them to receive information that they would otherwise never access. In countries with a more sophisticated level of technology, activists are accessing new networks of support through the web. In Kuwait where 35 percent of the population has Internet access and two-thirds of those users are under the age of 25, youth groups and student associations affiliated with political groups used blogs, YouTube, and social networking sites like Facebook, to spread candidate messages during the 2008 elections. Women candidates, many organizing for the first time, created Facebook pages. The advancement

of technology and its multitude of opportunities to connect to new people require that messaging be even more thoughtful to accommodate short attention spans and a market flooded with information.

CIVIC FORUM: COALITIONS AND MESSAGING

Building Coalitions

Coalitions are comprised of like-minded individuals and organizations that have developed a relationship with one another based on a shared idea, vision or goal. Building coalitions is an essential component of building and strengthening civil society movements because they are able to wield more pressure on governments than disparate movements. By focusing on their common objectives and goals, all of the member groups can build their strength and get an advantage on issues of common interest. With a particular objective in mind like passing a particular piece of legislation, for example, coalitions have a limited life span until the objectives are achieved.

Coalitions have served to bridge relationships among citizens from different sectors – political parties, civil society, and the business community – that have led to the foundation of a women's movement. In Rwanda, women parliamentarians who comprise the majority of the national legislature worked with international and domestic civic organizations, gender representatives in the national government and UN agencies to track gender-based violence statistics that enabled them to appeal to male parliamentarians to support a gender-based violence bill.¹³ The advancement of gender equality would not have been possible without coalitions that

13. Annalise Moser, "Gender and Indicators Overview," BRIDGE (London: Institute of Development Studies, 2007), <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/IndicatorsORfinal.pdf>.

WOMEN'S DISCUSSION CLUBS: INFORMAL NETWORKS AND ADVOCACY

In Kyrgyzstan, women created the Women's Political Discussion Club (WPDC) which serves as a forum for women leaders to discuss public policy issues, with the ultimate goal of increasing women's political participation. For group members involved in political parties, the discussion club also provides a means by which they can advocate for greater involvement of women in party activities. The discussion club consists of a group of approximately 25 women leaders from political parties, civil society organizations and the media. By engaging senior policy officials in the Club's regular public roundtables as well as the media and by lobbying them directly, the discussion club played a key role in influencing political leaders in parliament to vote to uphold Kyrgyzstan's law against polygamy in 2007. In 2009, the Club took steps to formalize itself with funding from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The Club met for more than four years before securing official NGO status with the government of Kyrgyzstan, demonstrating that a legal entity is not required in order to have influence.

have fought for increased political rights for women. Following are some recommendations to consider when working with coalitions in a citizen participation program that will promote greater gender equality through coalitions:

- Facilitate relationships across sectors. Often times, women from the civil society sector and from political parties see themselves as adversaries. Women legislators who were first active in civil society are often criticized for abandoning key women's issues to cooperate with male legislators.
- Promote outreach, coordination and collaboration between influential national and local women's organizations.
- Engage men in programs that promote gender equality.
- Help women leverage a network that goes beyond the 'usual suspects.' Women need to leverage all sectors – business community, media, religious community, among others.
- Highlight commonalities by diminishing the differences among women and among the objectives.

Creating a Message

Messaging is a critical component of any advocacy campaign and monitoring effort. Messaging allows for an advocacy coalition to create a cohesive and simple argument that considers the key stakeholders that must be persuaded. In programs that advocate for issues of particular relevance to women, messaging becomes even more critical. Advocating for gender equality must take the target audience – most often men – into consideration and develop arguments that emphasize how all people will benefit from the political engagement of women through improvements to communities. This

requires a variety of messengers, such as male leaders, who can galvanize others to change their behavior. The message should be altered slightly depending on the audience to convey how each constituency would gain from the proposed reform. However, the core message must be shared and simple, must address the needs or concerns of more than just women, and must be repeated frequently.

- Program support to women's advocacy efforts must encourage women's networks to frame their message in terms that are compelling to those whose support is needed. Messaging that focuses on why a piece of legislation is good for women isolates the remaining 50 percent of the population who need to understand why they should give it attention. The entitlement argument is not an effective message because it does not explain why women's leadership is important. Furthermore, women are not a homogeneous group and should not be assumed to all share the same interests and opinions. Message development should also identify male allies and advocates. Effective messaging around gender equality should not emphasize issues as only relevant to women's rights, but as also as important community issues. An effective message should:
 - Appeal to the target audience.
 - Explain the benefit to all citizens and appeal to the broader public.
 - Make the issue mainstream, even if it is of general interest to women.

SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY: INFLUENCING PUBLIC POLICY THROUGH MONITORING AND OVERSIGHT

Political process monitoring consists of a broad range of citizen or NGO-driven initiatives that seek to hold

government officials accountable by observing and reporting on their actions such as legislative outcomes as well as processes, such as resource allocation. Various tools are used to hold legislators accountable to the public, all of which provide opportunities for women to influence and work together with men to meet the needs of the communities they serve. Monitoring is a critical component of the advocacy process that is undertaken to encourage citizen awareness of government activities, increase sustained citizen involvement in political processes, collect information to support advocacy and organizing campaigns, enhance government transparency, and accountability.

Political process monitoring initiatives should take place in environments where the political space allows for public access to information and decision-making processes, as well as a platform for citizens' voices to be heard. In addition to national, regional and local policies in a given country, specific opportunities exist for women to monitor policies that meet standards established by the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Millennium Development Goals, and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, to name a few, afford strategic opportunities to influence policies particularly at the national level that could over time affect policies at the state, provincial or local levels, depending on the structure of government. The targets established by these globally recognized documents provide unifying thresholds for advancing gender equality. The Key Resources section at the end of the guidebook offer more information about these international conventions.

There are three major components of political process monitoring which include:

1. Collecting, compiling and analyzing information,
2. Developing and disseminating findings, and
3. Using the findings to raise public awareness and government responsiveness.

The information gathering and analysis stage in a gender mainstreamed program requires that sex-disaggregated data is collected; this way monitoring can be informed by the process and content of public policies with relation to their impact on both men and women. Interviews, questionnaires and public discussions used by citizens to determine community priorities as well as tools that assess legislative performance should be designed to capture comprehensive information from both men and women. The methodology used to collect the information has an impact on the data collected and

program designers should be aware of whether it facilitates knowledge about gender differences that allow for special attention, or perpetuates hidden biases.

Compiling and analyzing information can be done through a monitoring process, which assesses performance on an ongoing basis, using various tools with a tracking or rating aspect. Monitoring tools should include measurements that assess whether gender equality legislation is prioritized and promoted; whether legislation is evaluated for its impact on men and women; and whether resources follow commitments.

Practitioners can use a variety of tools to develop and disseminate their findings. Tools to disseminate this information include community scorecards, citizen report cards, other kinds of surveys and legislator's voting records.

Citizen groups can raise public awareness by disseminating the information collected from the monitoring process to citizens, the media, community leaders, or others. Program staff and citizen groups should consider including an education component in their program design. Outreach strategies can be used to raise public awareness and improve government responsiveness. Based on the information gathered and the key findings from the analysis and monitoring process, specific outreach strategies can be developed to inform communities about the different impacts that policies may have on men and women.

Monitor Legislative Work and Implementation of Legislation

When NGOs monitor, evaluate and comment on legislators' work and performance, they are conducting legislative monitoring. Tools used for legislative monitoring include assembling performance scorecards, legislators' voting records, NGO scorecards, as well as candidate surveys and questionnaires. Evaluation of a legislator's performance should address whether or not and to what extent the policymaker is authoring, supporting and resourcing legislation that promotes gender equality.

When civil society monitors how well and the extent to which policies - such as domestic violence laws, power sharing accords and electoral reform laws - are implemented, they are monitoring policies. Citizen report cards and community scorecards are also used in policy implementation monitoring. Citizens must monitor laws and regulations to determine whether legislative and executive projects addressing issues of concern to women, for example, are being implemented and re-

sources adequately. For instance, if legislation related to the establishment and funding of health care clinics exists with the intention of increasing care for maternal and child health, citizens might track the number of clinics built and whether their service delivery corresponds with the initial objective to serve the health needs of mothers and children.

Track the Budget Process and Implementation

Budget monitoring is when citizens observe budget processes and examine budget documents in order to understand and raise awareness of how public funding is allocated. Budget monitoring, budget advocacy, and expenditure tracking initiatives are designed to increase citizen capacity to hold governments accountable; create more transparent local budget processes and expenditure management; lower levels of corruption; improve service delivery and public infrastructure projects; increase communication between civil society, government and citizens; and engage citizenry in political processes, especially at the local level. Because funding dictates whether a policy gets implemented, budget monitoring is one of the most empowering opportunities for citizens to inform themselves and advocate for change; this is especially the case for women who are so frequently left out of budgetary conversations and decisions in the public arena.

Participatory budgeting is a process through which citizens directly engage in the government budgeting process, most often at the local level. In some cases, citizens allocate a percentage of the budget according to community priorities, while in other cases citizens present and advocate for specific budget allocations. Budget advocacy is when citizens or groups advocate and campaign to bring about specific changes in the budget or budget process. Expenditure tracking is when citizens or civil society organizations monitor government resource allocations, spending and publicly funded projects to ensure that budgeted funds are spent as intended and are used efficiently and effectively.

All of these budget-monitoring exercises should be gender sensitive, which means that budget allocations should be evaluated based on whether they are commensurate with a community's needs, which is partly influenced by gender. Budget-monitoring exercises should also adopt relevant approaches from gender budgeting, which was developed to evaluate and construct budgets precisely to ensure that they take into account implications based on gender.

Use Gender-responsive Budgeting

UNIFEM defines gender-responsive budgeting as “government planning, programming and budgeting that contributes to the advancement of gender equality and the fulfillment of women’s rights.”¹⁴ Gender budgeting is a critical tool for assisting civic groups in seeing how the national and local budgets account for gender equality. Gender budgeting acknowledges the powerful role that financial resources play in improving the situation of women and realizing gender equality. The process entails collecting revenues and allocating expenditures in a way that addresses past inequalities and seeks to diminish the role that budgets can play in deepening inequality between women and girls and men and boys.¹⁵ Gender-responsive budgeting identifies and reflects needed interventions to address gender gaps in sector and local government policies, plans and budgets. Both men and women should be included in trainings on gender budgeting. For more information on gender-budgeting, see the resources in the appendix.

Gender-responsive budgeting also aims to analyze the gender-differentiated impact of revenue-raising policies and the allocation of domestic resources and official development assistance. While gender budgeting has its own methodology, its concepts can be applied to the various budget monitoring exercises mentioned above.

If the government often talks about its commitment to gender equality but fails to use the budget as a political tool to allocate resources towards sectors and or issues that pertain to women, then the government should be held accountable by its citizens. Gender budgeting can also be used to increase an allocation of resources.

Meaningfully participating in budget processes can be an entry point for citizens or civil society organizations working at the local level who want to increase their participation in local decision-making processes, and see immediate and concrete benefits such as changes in service delivery or public infrastructure projects. However, in order for this type of political-process monitoring to be successful, governments must be willing to open space for citizen participation and share budgetary information with the public.

14. “Gender-responsive Budgeting,” United Nations Development Fund for Women, <http://www.gender-budgets.org/>.

15. Bureau for Gender Equality, “Overview of Gender-responsive Budget Initiatives,” International Labour Organization (2006), http://www.ilo.int/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---gender/documents/publication/wcms_111403.pdf.

SHADOW REPORT: 19 CSOs UNITE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

A broad coalition of civil society organizations in Burkina Faso recently developed a report detailing discrimination against women in the West African country for presentation to a U.N. committee considering implementation of the international Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In partnership with the National Assembly, NDI discussed the content and historical implementation of CEDAW with members of parliament. This included helping them to identify ways to contribute to the successful implementation of CEDAW, such as enacting legislation against domestic violence. Based on the advocacy efforts of the coalition, the president of the parliament's Economic and Social Affairs Committee indicated implementation would require more follow up on the part of all parliamentary committees to harmonize national laws with the international convention.

Create a Shadow Report

Shadow reporting is a more recent approach to holding governments accountable, particularly on human rights issues. The approach involves developing and submitting reports – often called alternative reports – that provide an independent perspective on a government's performance. Civil society organizations often develop “shadow” reports to expose discrepancies between a country's obligation under a treaty or agreement and actual legal practices. Shadow reports are submitted to the United Nations and other international institutions and have become an important advocacy tool for civic organizations.¹⁶ For example, 185 governments now party to the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), are required to submit reports to the United Nations CEDAW Committee in Geneva every four years indicating their domestic implementation of CEDAW's priorities. The women's civil society organizations community has advocated within its networks to encourage local civil society groups to submit CEDAW shadow reports, which has become a regular process for many civic organizations around the world, some of which work collectively with other civil society groups in their country to produce them. The Convention's Optional Protocol provides for additional accountability because it allows for the process of individual complaints and requests for special inquiries regarding Convention violations.¹⁷

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

In order to ensure that gender is being adequately addressed throughout the program lifecycle, it must also be integrated into the monitoring and evaluation plan. Monitoring is the process of assessing the progress of a

program while the program is being implemented, an activity that helps with the ability to evaluate a program. Evaluation, performed through an internal or external process, is the process of measuring whether the outcome of a program has met its intended goals and objectives. Both processes inform decision-making, allow for adjustments to be made, help determine whether a program is meeting its objectives and thus aids in meeting them.¹⁸

Successful, comprehensive, and gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation requires that sex-disaggregated data be incorporated into the program design. A gender-sensitive monitoring process can document the obstacles to mainstreaming gender and help to identify appropriate measures. Greater progress toward achieving program goals may have been achieved by either men or women; it is important to know why so that adjustments can be made during the program to compensate.

Sample questions that may be asked early in the program development stage to allow for sufficient monitoring and evaluation include: “Does this problem or result as we have stated it reflect the interests, rights and concerns of men, women and marginalized groups?”; “Have we analyzed this from the point of view of men, women and marginalized groups in terms of their roles, rights, needs and concerns?”; “Are men and women participating equally in the project decision-making?”; and “Do we have sufficiently disaggregated data for monitoring and evaluation?”¹⁹

In considering how to monitor and evaluate programs, program staff must consider what kind of measurements will be used to evaluate performance as well as how often or when progress will be evaluated. Finally, who is responsible for monitoring progress? The per-

16. “Using Shadow Reports for Advocacy,” *New Tactics in Human Rights*, last modified August 3, 2009, <http://www.newtactics.org/en/blog/new-tactics/using-shadow-reports-advocacy>.

17. “Producing Shadow Reports to the CEDAW Committee: A Procedural Guide,” *International Women's Rights Action Watch*, last modified January 2009, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/iwraw/proceduralguide-08.html>.

18. United Nations Development Programme, *Handbook on Planning, Monitoring and Evaluating for Development Results* (New York: UNDP, 2009), <http://www.undp.org/eo/handbook>.

19. *Ibid.*

son responsible for monitoring must have the ability to make mid-program corrections in order to improve program performance or work closely with the person who is in charge of the program and understands the importance of evaluating gender mainstreaming as part of the monitoring and evaluation process.

Consider both the quantitative and qualitative impacts of a program that is gender mainstreamed. The quantitative results alone might not adequately reflect progress that has been made. In order to determine what to measure, the objectives of the program must be established; the changes that must occur for these objectives to be met and what indicators will demonstrate what has been achieved.²⁰

In any monitoring and evaluation plan, special indicators should be chosen to determine whether the program has effectively mainstreamed gender.

Sample Indicators

The following are some illustrative indicators that could be used to demonstrate progress of women in civic life:

- The number or proportion of women who belong to civic groups;
- The number or frequency of women attending public meetings;
- The number of women taking on leadership positions in civic organizations;
- The number or frequency of women interacting with public officials;
- The number or frequency of women using political monitoring tools such as community scorecards or shadow reports;
- The number of women who have used technology to inform people about an advocacy or policy issue;
- The percentage of legislation related to women's concerns that was passed;
- The number of seasoned civic activists that allow young women to shadow them;
- The amount of legislation on which activists held meetings with legislators or was on the agenda of a legislative committee;
- The amount of legislation on which activists held meetings with legislators that passed;

- The number of women's NGOs that drafted a shadow report; and
- Prevalence of issues of concern to women addressed in legislative bodies.

Some of the international tools and documents mentioned earlier in this chapter, such as the Millennium Development Goals, CEDAW, and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper can be used to inform indicators.²¹

Delivering on gender commitments requires efficient data collection, which includes sex-disaggregated from the start. By effectively integrating gender throughout the entire program lifecycle, the monitoring and evaluation portions will be less challenging, allowing for efficient tracking, adjusting and organizational learning around how a program performed including how it served women or had an impact on underlying causes that lead to gender inequality.

FURTHER READING

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20. Moser.

21. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers," International Monetary Fund, last modified October 13, 2010, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/prsp.asp>.

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ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES

INTRODUCTION

Elections present an important opportunity for strengthening women's participation in public life. In order for an election process to be democratic, it must include the effective participation of both men and women equally - as voters, candidates, election administrators and observers. Since women face specific barriers to fully participating in elections, particular attention to women's participation in elections should be integrated into election-related programs. In some cases, where barriers to entry for women are significant, election-related programs should be designed to address these constraints as well.

NDI conducts international election observation missions that assess the integrity of the election process, including the quality of women's participation in each stage of the process. The Institute also works with political parties to safeguard their interests through party pollwatching, an activity that should also integrate a gender perspective in order to protect the rights of women candidates and voters. Similarly, NDI works with civic organizations to promote the interests of citizens in elections through domestic, non-partisan observation. The broad scope and localized knowledge of domestic observer groups puts civic groups in a particularly strong position to identify obstacles to women's electoral participation. The Institute also provides commentaries on election laws and assists political parties and civil society organizations in making recommendations and advocating for legal reform. Such analysis provides the basis for advocacy efforts around specific issues, including those related to women's participation.

In many countries, a legal framework guarantees political equality for women, including their full participation in elections as voters, candidates and election ad-

ministrators. However women still face a number of challenges to fully exercising their right to participate. NDI election-related programs assess both the legal framework and the ability of men and women to exercise their right to participate during the election process against international standards so that any gaps can be identified. Putting such a critical eye on the barriers to fully engaging in elections provides an opportunity to address gender inequalities.

Obstacles to women's full participation in public life are varied and may include cultural and social issues, traditional political structures, educational and economic barriers, and gender-based violence. Because the factors affecting women's participation are complex and often specific to the country or region, each program's approach should be adapted for the particular context in which it is working. Specific obstacles to women's political participation or inclusion should be identified in the research and analysis underpinning the program design, so that the program can effectively address these issues.

Women's participation is not an isolated issue in an election, but instead affects all aspects of an election process. Domestic and international election observers should consider gender issues when they look at each stage of the election process. For instance, voter registration guarantees that the principle of universal suffrage is upheld and that all eligible citizens, including women, can participate in the elections. Similarly, voter education ensures that all voters understand the voting process and can make an informed choice. Political parties have a particular responsibility to facilitate the participation of women as candidates, but may present formal or informal barriers to the nomination or selection of women candidates.

Post-conflict situations present certain challenges for women that affect their participation in politics and public life, and election observers in such circumstances

should focus particular attention to these issues. Often the security situation is unstable. Women in particular face threats to their physical security in such environments. A pervasive atmosphere of fear cultivated by ongoing violence, especially sexual violence, may deter some women from voting or running for office. In addition, incidents of gender-based violence (the specific targeted killings of professional women by opposing groups, as in Iraq or Afghanistan, for example) and intimidation may be prevalent and used to discourage women from participating in elections. Women are also more likely to be displaced during conflicts, which may make it more difficult for them to be included on the voter register or to have adequate access to voter registration centers or polling stations.

However, when women are included in peace negotiations following a conflict, they may have opportunities to impact the formulation of a new constitution, legislation and other measures that affect their political participation. For instance they may be able to include provisions guaranteeing equality in the constitution and requiring the adherence to human rights instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). They may also be able to advocate for electoral systems that promote women's representation.

Election-related programs are most useful when the problems highlighted are used as a basis for advocating improvements for future elections. Domestic election observer groups, in particular, are well-placed to follow up on the findings and recommendations of legal commentaries and election reports. Issues related to women's electoral participation may be included as part of a broad campaign for election reform, or may be taken up by civil society groups or political parties whose objectives include the promotion of women in politics and public life.

This chapter aims to help ensure that all election-related programs include a comprehensive approach to women's participation. It will help to identify any specific gender-related issues that might require a particular program focus to provide additional in-depth analysis and raise public awareness in electoral processes. Practitioners will find guidance on program design, details on the main issues for women's participation in elections, and examples of how NDI partners have successfully addressed gender issues in their projects.

PROGRAM DESIGN

Because elections occur on a certain date and have a fixed timetable for electoral events, election programs are also conducted for a finite period and tied to these key events (for example, voter registration, candidate registration, campaign period, election day, complaints deadlines, and announcement of official results). To have an impact on women's participation levels, elections programming has to be timely and started in advance of the key moments in the process. Following the election, there is generally a window of opportunity for reform advocacy and citizen participation programming that can follow up on recommendations made during the election period.

A gender mainstreaming approach to elections and electoral processes means that all election-related programs should employ a gender perspective and take issues of women's participation into account as a critical part of a genuinely democratic election. A gender perspective means that the data will be interpreted with reference to the differential power relations between men and women. In countries where there have been particular obstacles to women's participation in previous elections or where such obstacles are predicted in upcoming elections, programs with a specific focus on women may be designed.

OBSERVER COALITION RAISES CITIZEN AWARENESS

A two-year postponement of Yemen's parliamentary elections gave domestic observer coalition Yemen Election Monitoring Network (YEMN) the opportunity to raise public awareness about election reform issues under consideration by the country's stakeholders, as well as to introduce issues of women's participation through a series of Citizen Forums. In 2009, YEMN held 35 Citizen Forums across the country with over 1,200 participants, including 331 women, one of several target groups. Among the main discussion topics were several issues related to women's participation including the implications of various election systems, the possibility of gender quotas in parliament and the inclusion of women in the election administration. Based on the outcome of the discussions, YEMN called on decision-makers to consider a number of recommendations, including the adoption of a women's quota for the parliament and further representation of women in the election administration.

As program design begins, it is first necessary to observe the context in which the election will take place. The legal framework, government systems, and political structures will determine in large part the work that can be done to increase women's political participation.

CONTEXT

Legal Framework

The legal framework for an election includes the country's constitution, election law and any other legislation or regulations that have a bearing on the election process. This varies between countries, but may include the political party law, as well as laws on party finance, voter registration and citizenship. All of these laws may impact the participation of women in elections. The regulations and instructions issued by the election administration or other authorities also form part of a country's legal framework for elections. At the same time, examining the legal protections afforded to women may give an overall indication of the degree to which women's rights are guaranteed and promoted. This analysis provides useful background when considering the legal aspects affecting women's participation.

Election programs should include gender analysis of the legal framework to determine whether it meets international standards and facilitates the conduct of democratic elections, including women's election participation.²² A thorough legal analysis should highlight any legal impediments to the full participation of women in elections. Women's groups and other organizations promoting women's participation may have a particular interest in determining whether there are aspects of the law that hinder women. Such an analysis should include specific recommendations on how legislation can be improved. This can serve as the basis for an advocacy campaign to promote the changes that have been identified.

A key question for the analysis is whether the legal framework is in compliance with international human rights instruments and other obligations to which the country is party. In particular, these include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Although some countries may not have signed or ratified CEDAW, it can still be considered a benchmark for internationally recognized standards on gender equality.

22. For more guidance on analyzing legal frameworks, see Patrick Merloe, *Promoting Legal Frameworks for Democratic Elections: An NDI Guide for Developing Election Laws and Law Commentaries* (Washington: NDI, 2008), <http://www.ndi.org/node/14905>.

In addition, countries may be party to regional human rights instruments that include obligations guaranteeing women's equal participation in public life and elections. For example, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance obliges State Parties to "take all possible measures to encourage the full and active participation of women in the electoral process and ensure gender parity in representation at all levels, including legislatures."²³

Another key question for the analysis of a legal framework is to determine whether the country's constitution guarantees equality between men and women, including their participation in public life and elections. The constitution should forbid discrimination on the basis of gender and should not contain any other provisions that might limit the full and equal participation of women. A country's constitution may incorporate international human rights standards, including CEDAW, or specify that these agreements take precedence over domestic legislation.

Some countries may also have specific gender equality or anti-discrimination legislation that may be relevant to an election process. Such laws should be reviewed to determine whether there are specific provisions related to women's participation in public life and elections or how they may impact these issues. The analysis of such laws should be included in the overall commentary on the legal framework that is issued.

Election laws and other laws related to the election process should be analyzed to consider the impact they may have on women's participation as voters, candidates and election administrators. Provisions determining the process for voter registration, for example, may make it more difficult for women to access and therefore to be included on the voter lists. In some countries, potential women candidates may be disadvantaged by requirements for a high number of signatures or monetary deposits. All such barriers should be taken into account when analyzing the legal framework that guides elections.

Key Questions: Analyzing the Legal Framework for Elections with a Gender Perspective

- Does the constitution guarantee equality between men and women? Are there specific guarantees related to women's participation in public life and elections?

23. African Union, "African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance" (2007), <http://www.un.org/democracyfund/Docs/AfricanCharter-Democracy.pdf>.

WOMEN'S GROUPS ADVOCATE FOR ELECTION REFORM

In 2008, several prominent Guatemalan women's organizations formed a coalition known as the 212 Group (after the article in the election law that they propose changing) to advocate for electoral reform that would include a gender parity requirement in the election law. The 212 Group teamed up with the Congressional Women's Committee, which submitted a draft proposal to the Congress in July 2009 to require that all political parties include a woman candidate in every other position on their candidate list. In November 2009, the coalition held a high-profile public forum in the parliament to promote the measure, which remains on the legislative agenda.

The 212 Group members had previously advocated unsuccessfully for quotas for women candidates in 1998 and 2000, but continued to put forward legislative reform proposals and use this issue as a basis for promoting dialogue and raising awareness about the political participation of women. In early 2010 the coalition members agreed to advocate for the congressional Electoral Committee to issue an activities report to the full Congress for debate. The 212 Group also agreed to provide technical support to the Women's Committee so that they may be in a stronger position to lobby for the proposed quota measure, and to meet with key stakeholders such as the President of Congress, the heads of committees and the First Lady, who is known to sympathize with their cause.

- Does the constitution expressly forbid discrimination on the basis of sex? Are there any provisions that might limit the full and equal participation of women?
- To what international and regional human rights treaties and agreements has the country acceded? Which of these have obligations related to women's participation? Is the legal framework in line with these commitments?
- What is the relationship between the constitution and the human rights standards agreed to by the country? Does the constitution incorporate these standards, or is there a reference that international human rights standards take precedence over domestic legislation?
- Does the country have any specific gender equality or anti-discrimination legislation? How does it relate to elections?
- How do election-related laws and regulations impact the participation of women? Do any of them contain provisions that are likely to disadvantage or disenfranchise women?

Election Systems

Related to the issue of legal frameworks is the type of election system operating in a country. There is a broad range of election systems that may provide for democratic elections and the selection of a particular system is often the result of historical developments and political circumstances. The design of a country's election system may have an impact on the number of women elected. An analysis of a country's election system that examines its impact on men's and women's

ability to fully participate in the elections can be included as part of a legal commentary. In countries that are considering changes to the election system, such an analysis may also form the basis for an advocacy campaign by civic organizations to highlight the potential impact of various factors that influence women's participation.

Below are several aspects of election systems that should be considered when assessing the potential impact on women's participation. While these considerations refer to parliamentary election systems, they may also be relevant for municipal and regional elections.

- **Quotas, reserved seats and other special measures:** There are a number of "special measures" that can be either included in election laws or adopted informally by parties in order to guarantee women's representation in political bodies. Such special measures are adopted in situations where women may be particularly disadvantaged or discouraged from participation. Certain mechanisms may be used as a transitional way to enhance women's representation in situations where it would otherwise be low or non-existent.

In some countries, legislation requires a number of "reserved seats" in the parliament to be designated for certain marginalized groups, one of which may include women. Candidates for reserved seats may be elected off a special list or in a special election. While such a mechanism ensures a minimum level of representation, it may lead to a "glass ceiling" where women are unable to win additional seats above the designated number of reserved seats. Such a system may also decrease pressure from po-

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY: AN AVENUE FOR REFORM

In March 2006, a 10-year civil war ended in Nepal with calls for elections and a new constitution. A working group of women political leaders founded the Inter-Party Women's Alliance (IPWA). These activists created a caucus to ensure that a set of reforms in policies to improve the status of women, called the Nepal Action Plan, would be enshrined in Nepal's new constitution. The IPWA, with support from NDI and in collaboration with other women's rights groups, successfully lobbied the government in a number of different areas: reserving 33 percent of all state positions (including in the elected Constituent Assembly) and decision-making positions in political parties for women; authorizing mothers to initiate citizenship certificates for their children (previously, only fathers had this right); and granting women full property rights, regardless of their marital status.

litical parties to adopt a more inclusive approach in their nomination activities.

- **Type of system:** Election systems are categorized as majority vote, proportional representation, or a mixed system.

In general, more women tend to be elected under proportional representation systems, where voters choose from among party lists and parties receiving a sufficient proportion of votes are awarded seats based on their share of the votes.²⁴ In such a system, parties choose a list of candidates to present to voters, and therefore have an incentive to diversify their list to reflect the population by including women, minorities and younger candidates. Depending on their position in the list, some women candidates may have a good chance of being elected.

In contrast, voters in a majority or "first past the post" system select from two or more candidates running for a single seat constituency, and the candidate receiving the majority of votes is the winner. Because parties choose only one candidate for the ballot in each constituency, they tend to choose more well-known or experienced candidates who are more likely to be men.

Mixed systems combine different aspects of majority and plurality systems, and can facilitate the election of women, depending on the system design and the political context. Because mixed systems tend to be chosen to maximize the benefits of majority and plurality systems, they can be designed

in ways that tend to promote the inclusion of women and other potentially marginalized groups.

- **Threshold:** The threshold is the share of votes necessary for a party to enter the parliament (or other elected body) in a proportional system. In most countries, the threshold for parliament is 5 percent or lower. Higher thresholds tend to increase the number of women elected. The fewer number of parties, the greater number of seats that each party will receive. Because of this, parties can put forward much longer candidate lists. But candidates not only need to be on the list, they need to be in positions that are high on the list in order to gain a seat. Therefore, the distribution of candidates on the party list is extremely important. It is common practice that positions further down the list are usually populated by women. Lower thresholds may encourage the participation of small parties, but they would gain fewer seats so may be less likely to place women in the top positions of their lists.
- **District size:** In a proportional system, the country may be divided into a number of electoral districts. Each district is allocated a certain number of seats. Alternatively, the country may serve as one single district. Generally, larger districts tend to favor women, as party lists are longer and more women may therefore be elected, provided that they are placed high enough on the lists. In a majority system, smaller districts result in a larger number of seats in the parliament, which may favor the inclusion of women.

Political Party Systems

Although discussed more thoroughly in the Political Parties Chapter, aspects of the political party systems that affect women's participation in elections must also be reviewed here as well. The participation of women candidates in an election is largely determined by the

24. *Handbook for Monitoring Women's Participation in Elections* (Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR, 2004), 20-21, <http://www.centaronline.org/postavljen/60/OSCE%20Handbook.pdf>. See also Richard E. Matland, "Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems" in *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), 99-103, http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/3._Enhancing_Women%27s_Political_Participation.pdf.

procedures of the political parties for selecting candidates. Candidate selection procedures vary widely between countries and among parties. Some political parties have centralized decision-making structures in which a small group of senior party leaders decides who should run on the candidate lists and in which positions. In other countries, such decisions are made at the regional level, and in some cases, parties may open up the process for party members to participate through a party primary or caucus system. In some countries parties may have adopted voluntary quotas for women's inclusion in the candidate lists or other measures for ensuring the representation of women on their lists. Generally speaking, women are more likely to be chosen as candidates when parties adopt democratic and transparent candidate selection procedures.

- **Party quotas:** Quota systems require a certain percentage of places on the party candidate lists to be filled by women. Because political parties may place the required percentage of women in “unwinnable” places lower on the lists, some countries require a “zippered list” so that every second or every third place on a candidate list is guaranteed for a woman.
- **Open or closed list:** In a proportional system, candidate lists may be “open” or “closed”. In an open party list system, voters have the opportunity to express preferences for certain candidates and potentially affect their position on the list. In a closed party list system, voters cannot change the order of the candidates as placed by the party on the list. Closed party lists generally increase the chances of women being elected, assuming that female candidates are placed high enough on the list. Because voters tend to express preferences for well-known candidates (who are more likely to be men), open list systems generally decrease the chances of women being elected. On the other hand, in an open list system, a well-organized campaign to choose women could have the effect of more women being elected.
- **Candidate lists:** Because candidate selection is considered to be an internal party activity, it is not generally the subject of election observation. However, the resulting candidate lists are available to the public and can be analyzed by election observers to determine the degree to which women have been included and whether they have been placed in “winnable” positions. Election observers should ask political parties about their policies on wom-

en's participation and what steps they take to ensure that women are represented among their candidates. Political party statutes and rules for the nomination and selection of candidates can also be analyzed for obstacles to women's inclusion.

- **Party platforms:** Political parties and candidates generally draw up a platform of issues during the campaign that serves as the basis for acquainting voters with their views on specific topics. Parties and candidates should include issues of importance to women in their platforms and campaign events so that the political debate is relevant for women voters. When those issues are part of the main political platform, they become priority issues for the elected representatives.

Domestic and international election observation efforts can monitor the inclusion of issues of importance to women in the campaigns of various political parties and candidates to determine to what extent they are being addressed. Civil society organizations may also want to advocate for the inclusion of specific issues in the campaign or organize candidate roundtables or debates to give prominence to issues that women voters have a special interest in, in the political debate. Often public opinion survey data is available to determine what the priority election issues are for women in a particular country or community. If such data is not available, surveys can be carried out by a civil society organization. Following elections, civil society organizations can also monitor the extent to which elected officials and successful political parties carried out their campaign promises on issues of importance to women.

Voter Registration System

Voter registration is the process used in most countries to identify and enumerate those eligible to vote. As such, it is the central mechanism providing for universal suffrage in an election, and is therefore key to guaranteeing women's participation. As well as ensuring the right to vote, voter registers are also used as the basis to determine eligibility to run for office. In a democratic election process, voter registration must be accurate, inclusive and transparent. Any problems with the voter registration process could potentially disenfranchise eligible voters, and for a variety of reasons, may disproportionately affect women.

Voter registration can either be passive or active registration processes. In a passive voter registration process

WOMEN FIND THEIR VOICE IN A NATIONAL PLATFORM

In the lead-up to the 2010 national elections in Iraq, NDI supported a high-profile consultative process to produce a National Platform for Women,²⁵ a set of policy priorities based on issues identified by Iraqi women. As women remained largely absent from decision-making processes, the main program objective was to increase women's visibility in the political discourse by encouraging nationwide debate on a common set of policy priorities.

In October 2009, over 200 women and men representing political parties, government institutions and civil society came together in an initial conference to identify policy priorities. Core working groups met in November and December to develop policy platforms for each policy area of significance to Iraqi women: healthcare, education, economic empowerment, and political participation. Participants then formed an Advocacy Committee to guide provincial and national strategies that advance the implementation of those policy proposals.

Two weeks prior to national elections, the Platform was published and distributed to civil society leaders, political parties, and legislators to focus attention on the issues and advocate for implementation of the recommendations. Following the elections, advocacy efforts continued with the aim of reaching newly elected legislators and influencing the policy debate. It also served as a tool for civil society representatives and voters to hold political parties and government officials accountable to their promises.

The policy platform on political participation advocated a broad set of actions to significantly increase the participation of women in politics and public life. In particular, it called on political parties to support training and provide the necessary resources for women candidates and urged the Council of Representatives to increase the percentage of female parliamentarians beyond the minimum 25 percent quota. It also recommended the enforcement of women's rights in line with the Constitution, and the creation of a Ministry for Women to play an influential role within the government.

(also known as a state-initiated process), the government is chiefly responsible for compiling a register of eligible citizens, either through an enumeration exercise (officials go door to door to compile voter lists) or by extracting the voter lists from other government databases such as the civil registry.

In an active voter registration process (also known as an individual-initiated process), each voter must take the initiative to register to vote with the authorities, either by visiting a registration center or other government agency, or by mail. Regardless of which system is used for voter registration, the process should be transparent and voters should have easy access to check the lists for any inaccuracies and to correct them.

A gender perspective on the voter registration system reveals that, in general, women are less likely to face specific obstacles to inclusion in a passive voter registration process, as it is automatic and does not require the individual to take any particular action. However, even in passive systems, errors can be made and it is important for all voters to verify that their information is correct during the display of the preliminary voter lists prior

to an election. Women who have married and changed their names and addresses may be inadvertently disenfranchised if their records are not automatically updated or if they have not reported their change of status to the appropriate authorities.

In active systems, there are a number of reasons why women might not be included in the voter lists. If voter registration centers are located a long distance from rural communities or if they have limited hours, some women might be prevented from registering because of childcare commitments or lack of money for transport. Higher rates of illiteracy among women in many countries may limit access to information about registration procedures. Women may also be prevented from registering because of harassment or intimidation, especially in communities where women's participation in public life is perceived to threaten traditional values. In systems where the head of the household is responsible for registering everyone in his residence, women or others may be left off the list inadvertently or deliberately.

For women from minority and indigenous communities, such barriers to voter registration are often compounded. These communities may have less access to education and may be more vulnerable to discrimination and harassment. Women who speak minority lan-

25. National Platform for Women Launched in Lead Up to Iraqi Elections," National Democratic Institute, <http://www.ndi.org/node/16079>.

guages might not have access to voter information. For some minority groups, there may also be questions of voter eligibility arising from perceived citizenship issues.

In post-conflict situations voter registration is a particularly challenging task and women may be disproportionately affected. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees tend to be mostly women, who may not have access to voter registration processes or may lack the necessary identification documents.²⁶ In such settings, women are even more vulnerable to intimidation and in some political circumstances this may include efforts to suppress voter registration.

Election Administration Agency

The election administration has primary responsibility for conducting most aspects of the election process, sometimes in coordination with other government agencies. For an election to be considered democratic, the election administration should carry out its duties impartially and enjoy a high level of public confidence. The decisions and actions of the election administration also have an impact on the level and quality of women's participation in an election process.

Election administrators have a responsibility to take gender considerations into account when carrying out their duties, so as to facilitate the participation of members of marginalized and disadvantaged communities as voters and candidates. This is particularly important in post-conflict situations and in countries where women traditionally have lower levels of participation. Although men as well as women should develop this gender awareness and take steps to promote women's participation, advocating for representation of women in the election administration can also help ensure that issues specific to women's rights and status are considered. Women should be represented in election administration bodies, both at the central and lower levels, and should also hold leadership and decision-making positions. Political parties that nominate or appoint members of the election administration should be encouraged to consider gender balance in their candidate selection.

Voter Education Plan

In every election, sufficient information about the process needs to be communicated to ensure that voters

are able to participate effectively. Voters need to be informed about procedural issues such as where and how to register to vote, how to check their names on the voter list, what identification documents are necessary, where to vote, what type of elections are taking place, what candidates are running and how to cast a ballot. At the same time, voters should also be informed about their rights, in particular, their right to vote in secret, free of intimidation. Voters should also be aware of how to file a complaint if their rights are violated.

Government authorities are primarily responsible for providing adequate voter education programs. Depending on the country, the election administration or state media organizations are often tasked with voter education. Civil society groups and political parties may also supplement official programs through voter education initiatives of their own. Such voter education efforts aimed at women voters may be more effective if they arrange for women to carry out the campaign or conduct the trainings.

Election Complaint Systems

A critical international human rights principle is the right to an effective legal remedy, which is also a fundamental principle for democratic elections. All election participants must have the ability to file a complaint against the violation of their electoral rights, including the right to stand as a candidate and the right to vote; and the authorities should respond in a timely manner that allows for genuine and appropriate redress of the issue.

In some contexts, women may experience particular obstacles in accessing justice, which extends to the ability to file a complaint during the election process. Such obstacles might include lack of information about the election complaints system, lack of access to the courts or other relevant authorities, the high cost of legal assistance, an atmosphere of intimidation, or repressive cultural norms that discourage many women from meaningfully engaging in public life. The timeframe for filing election complaints or appeals is typically quite short, especially in the post-election period, so women must quickly navigate the system in order to access judicial redress in a timely manner.

RELEVANT RESEARCH

In addition to the legal framework, government systems, and political structures in place, other factors affecting women's participation in elections vary from country to country depending on the specific social, cultural and political context. For this reason, initial research on is-

26. DPKO/DFS-DPA Joint Guidelines on Enhancing the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Electoral Process (New York: United Nations, 2007), 14, <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/topics/electoral-standards/DPKO-DFS-DPA%20election%20guidelines.pdf/view>.

DOMESTIC OBSERVERS LOOK TO NEW VOTERS TO CHANGE OLD HABITS

After observing countless elections with a high incidence of family and proxy voting, the Macedonian domestic observer association MOST (a long-standing NDI partner) adopted an innovative strategy to tackle these problems. Both of these illegal practices tend to disenfranchise women as well as young people and had become almost traditional practices in some communities. MOST decided that the most effective way to address them was to reach the next generation of voters. In 2009, MOST featured family voting (where family members enter the voting booth together or mark each other's ballots) and proxy voting (a person brings the documents of others and votes for them) in its First Time Voters Outreach project, which provides voter education to graduating high school students. Students in high schools across the country participated in interactive workshops addressing these practices and received printed materials in a First Time Voters Toolkit. MOST paired male and female trainers to lead each workshop session, which sought to generate discussion among participants about these practices and explain that universal suffrage is an important basic right that must be upheld. The project reached 19,500 first-time voters.

sues affecting women's participation in elections, as voters, as candidates, election administrators and observers should be conducted so that the program may be tailored to the particular situation in the country.

Such data collection efforts should make it possible to determine the level of participation by women in previous elections as well as to begin to identify any specific factors that may inhibit future women's participation. It is especially important to use an evidence-based approach to program design, rather than relying on "conventional wisdom" about the reasons for lower levels of women's political engagement or participation in a country. Sub-sectors of women should also be considered along relevant national cleavages such as socio-economic factors, ethnic lines, age, and rural versus urban. Sources of relevant information may include:

- Observation reports from previous elections by international and domestic organizations, which may have assessed the level of women's electoral participation and identified specific issues that affected it. Such reports may help to identify poten-

tial challenges and opportunities for program design, as well as possible local partners.

- Public opinion surveys or focus group research carried out by civil society groups, international organizations or research institutes may provide relevant data on the attitudes of women towards voting and other issues affecting their participation.
- Benchmark democracy surveys or "barrier studies" have been carried out by NDI and its partners in several countries to identify the reasons why many women did not participate in elections. This data can then be used to inform the program approach.
- Official election data available from the election commission, statistics office or other government agency should indicate the percentage of men and women who voted in previous elections (also disaggregated by region), the percentage of elected candidates who were women as compared to men, and possibly the percentage of election administrators who were women. Data may also be avail-

FOCUS GROUPS ILLUMINATE PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

In advance of the 2004 presidential election, focus group research in Indonesia identified that women candidates tended to confront familiar obstacles. Although participants agreed that women were just as qualified as men to hold office when asked directly, their perceptions of women politicians demonstrated that they did not expect them to be successful. In particular, they felt women were not well-enough educated and were too busy with family obligations. At the same time, women participants also described the advantages women bring to politics, such as being instinctive, sensitive, skillful, quick to complete tasks and balance several tasks at once. Trainings were designed with these perceptions in mind to help women politicians build on the positive perceptions of their leadership qualities and respond to concerns about their qualifications for public office. As a result, nearly 2000 women were trained in core political leadership skills, and Emmy St. Margaretha, was chosen by the Women's Political Caucus, KPPI, to head its fundraising team and Nur Kholisoh was promoted to vice secretary-general of the United Development Party at its national convention.

PRE-ELECTION STUDY IDENTIFIES BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Prior to the 2007 presidential election in Guatemala, the domestic observer coalition *Mirador Electoral* (“Election Watch”) sponsored a “barriers study” in several municipalities to provide detailed information about the obstacles to political participation, including among indigenous and non-indigenous communities.

The study looked at several demographic factors, including the different experiences of men and women, and found that indigenous women participated in elections the least of any group (60 percent reported that they did not vote in 2003). The main reasons given by all groups for not voting were the lack of proper identity documents and not being on the voter register. This finding demonstrated that the main barriers to participation were institutional rather than motivational, and required action by the government to correct. Among the report's conclusions was a recommendation that indigenous women, as well as youth, should be targeted by projects to increase electoral participation, and that the process for obtaining identity documents and registering to vote should be streamlined and made more accessible, as the costs and time associated with these procedures were highlighted as obstacles to participation.

The quantitative data collected through this study was used by *Mirador Electoral* to inform its approach to other election-related activities, including a voter registration audit (VRA) and a quick count carried out to verify the official election results.

able on the candidate lists such as which parties included women on their candidate lists, where women were placed on lists, and how many women headed lists.

- Official demographic data available from government agencies (including the women's ministry if there is one) helps to give a general picture of the status and position of women in society. In particular, education levels and illiteracy rates can be useful indicators.

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Interviews with key stakeholders from political parties, civil society organizations and women's groups may also be a good source of information on issues impacting women's participation in elections. Key questions to ask stakeholders are:

- What is the level of women's involvement in previous elections as voters, election monitors, and election administrators?
- What are the similarities and differences between previous elections and this one?
- What percentage of women are registered and vote in comparison to men? Is there a difference? If so, why?
- What is the track record of how women have participated in the voting process? Have they voted in the same proportion as men?

- Are there unique barriers to women's electoral participation? Have there been any threats unique to women?
- Have previous elections included voter education programs? Did any specifically target women voters? Have political parties reached their quotas (if they have them)?
- Who are the key actors involved in election monitoring? Is there a coalition? If so, are there women's organizations that are members of the coalition? What percentage of their monitors are women? Are there particular efforts to recruit women monitors to these organizations?

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH AND STAKEHOLDER INFORMATION

Using gender analysis to examine the data collected can provide qualitative and quantitative information on the opportunities and constraints that both men and women face in elections and the electoral process. This can enable practitioners to make more informed decisions, which benefit both men and women. Once the barriers have been identified and assessed, program staff should distinguish between the causes and effects, and develop program objectives that correspond to the causes. For instance, if public opinion survey data indicates that a large proportion of women are deterred from voting because of intimidation by party representatives outside of polling stations, then program staff may decide to design a program where observers remain outside of poll-

SEPARATE POLLING STATIONS BRING CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

In several countries (in Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan, for example), the election process is entirely segregated by sex. Women and men register to vote in separate facilities and vote in separately designated polling stations. These arrangements aim to provide a secure environment that allows voter identification in societies where women may traditionally cover their faces in public, as well as a safe place to vote free of intimidation. Election-related programs in such countries should be designed with careful consideration of how separate facilities may affect the process.

While separate election facilities intend to promote participation by women, they may also bring additional challenges. From an administrative perspective, a significant number of women must be recruited as polling officials and security personnel and trained separately. Political parties and domestic observer groups must also make special efforts to recruit women as pollwatchers and observers. In post-conflict situations it may prove particularly difficult to recruit women for these roles because of security concerns. In some circumstances, women-designated polling stations have been particularly targeted for fraudulent practices such as ballot box stuffing or altering the results protocols, as they are perceived to have weak oversight.

At the same time, in countries with separate polling stations, women may have more access to jobs in the election process than they would otherwise. The election authorities, political parties and domestic observer groups alike should prioritize the recruitment and training of women for those polling stations and must consider election day issues that may affect women voters. The process of recruitment and training focused specifically on women may also serve as a source of encouragement and motivation for women to participate more fully in the election process and in political life more broadly.

ing stations for part of election day. In such a case, the program objective may be to deter intimidation outside of the polling stations through the presence of non-partisan observers.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

NDI conducts international election observation missions that assess the integrity of the election process, including the quality of women's participation in each stage of the process. Gender mainstreaming in election processes helps to identify opportunities for improving gender equality in projects that would not otherwise consider gender issues. Gender analysis can reveal hidden biases that women may face, and help program designers include specific initiatives for women in participation and decision-making. Women's meaningful electoral participation - as voters, candidates, election administrators and observers - is inextricably linked to the integrity of the election process, and therefore should be considered a routine and integrated part of any election program. Election programs may be designed with a particular focus to help strengthen women's electoral participation. Whether a program takes an integrated approach, in which gender is mainstreamed into the larger program or has a particular focus on addressing the constraints that women face, there are a number of ways in which NDI and its partners can ensure that these issues are addressed.

MONITORING THE INTEGRITY OF THE ELECTION PROCESS

Assess the Election Process Well Before Election Day

Including a comprehensive pre-election monitoring component to an election program helps to ensure that issues related to women's participation during the pre-election phases can be identified and highlighted. In some cases, it is pre-election conditions that most drastically impact effective and informed participation of women on and after election day. In particular, pre-election monitoring should follow voter registration, the composition and effectiveness of the election administration, candidate registration, the election campaign, media coverage and the election complaints system.

Long-term observers (LTOs) deployed to cover the pre-election period also gain a deeper understanding of issues affecting women and their participation in public life and elections with a longer time on the ground. Greater familiarity with the host country context may serve to enhance their ability to report on any obstacles that women face. Knowing the particular obstacles women face in each country can help identify and address these constraints. For instance, oftentimes voter registration is the most intimidating part of the process for women, especially if they have to travel to police stations or other male-dominated administrative offices.

PROMOTING THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

In response to an NDI recommendation, the Yemeni Supreme Commission for Elections and Referendum (SCER) created a Women's Department in the run-up to the 2006 local council elections. The role of the Women's Department was to integrate activities involving women into other departments of the election commission, as well as to promote representation of women on lower level commissions and to conduct voter education targeting women. NDI held a series of workshops to help the Women's Department devise a strategic plan for its activities until the elections together with its SCER counterparts. The efforts of the Department to increase women's representation on election commissions became evident during the voter registration process, as 9.5 percent of governorate level commission members and 8.8 percent of parliamentary level commission members were women, compared to no women on the commissions during previous elections.

Election observer groups regularly assess the voter registration process as part of their overall observation effort. Domestic observer organizations in particular also conduct voter registration audits (VRAs), which seek to assess the accuracy and inclusivity of the voter lists through survey techniques.²⁷ Such efforts should always incorporate a gender perspective to determine whether women are disproportionately affected by any problems with the voter registration process or errors on the lists. Specific projects can also be designed to focus on whether women are included on an equitable basis in the voter lists and to identify any obstacles to their registration. At a minimum, all election observation efforts should request registration data disaggregated by sex and region to determine if the number of women registered is disproportionately low.

Assess the Election Administration

Election observers should take note of the number of women represented in the election administration at the central, regional and polling station levels, as well as the number who are in leadership and decision-making roles. Election observers should also assess the election administration bodies' awareness of gender issues, such as those outlined in the previous section, and gauge the responsiveness of those bodies to any related issues that arise.

Educate Voters

Voter education materials and programs should be accessible to all eligible voters. In some places, it may be necessary to conduct special voter education campaigns aimed at marginalized groups, such as women, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and minorities. Women voters may be less likely than men to be aware of their voting rights, either because they are illiterate or less ed-

ucated, or because they have not traditionally participated in public life and elections. Women also may be more vulnerable to possible irregularities such as intimidation, vote-buying, family voting (where family members enter the voting booth together or mark each other's ballots) and proxy voting (a person brings the documents of others and votes for them). If there is a history of or risk of such irregularities, voter education programs should focus on these issues and clearly convey that they are corrupt practices that violate a person's right to an individual and secret vote.

Family voting and proxy voting may be considered traditional practices in some communities and are then particularly difficult to address. However, such practices run counter to universal principles of secrecy and equality of the vote, and threaten the integrity of the election process. For voter education programs on such issues to be effective, they should target men as well as women, and explain why it is important that everyone cast her or his ballot individually and in secret. In Afghanistan, for example, voter education campaigns targeted messages to male religious leaders explaining why it was important to allow women to register to vote.

Election observers should analyze the voter education programs conducted prior to elections and determine who is responsible for them, what the key messages are and whether they are sufficient to address the specific needs of the electorate. They should also determine whether marginalized groups such as women have particular voter education needs, and if so, how they are addressed. Domestic observer groups may decide in some cases to carry out their own voter education initiatives addressing weaknesses they have identified during previous elections.

Integrate Gender in All Observation Activities

Observer trainings and briefings, whether for international or domestic observers, should always emphasize

27. For more information on conducting a voter registration audit, see Richard Klein and Patrick Merloe, *Building Confidence in the Voter Registration Process* (Washington: NDI, 2001), <http://www.ndi.org/node/12886>.

MEDIA CAMPAIGN MOTIVATES WOMEN VOTERS

In 2005, NDI assisted the domestic observer organization Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE) in developing a nationwide media campaign to encourage women to participate in the general elections. The “Use Your Voice” campaign featured five prominent Lebanese women who appeared on television, radio, public transportation and billboard advertisements to motivate women voters. During the 2009 parliamentary elections, LADE conducted the largest domestic election observation in Lebanese history with 2,500 domestic observers, working to ensure gender parity among its observers. LADE and its partners have also advocated for greater women’s participation through the Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform (CCER), which advocates for the passage of a more representative and reform-oriented electoral law and was the first civil society group in the country to assist parliament in drafting legislation.

the importance of monitoring both men’s and women’s participation and the particular barriers that disadvantaged men and women face, as well as how to monitor these issues during various stages of the election process. This information should also be incorporated into any written briefing materials or observer manuals.²⁸ Background information on the overall situation of women in the country should also be provided to observers. The checklist used by observers during the voting period should collect data that is sex-disaggregated and include a few key questions about women voters. Observation reports should also keep details about women’s participation, such as the number of women registered to vote and compared to the number of men registered to vote. Even if no discrepancy is apparent, this information should be included.

Election observers should be instructed to ask questions related to women’s participation and gender equality when monitoring all stages of an election process, including on election day. Relevant questions should be included in training materials, long-term observer (LTO) weekly report templates and election day observer checklists. For instance, election day observer checklists should include questions on irregular practices that affect women such as family voting²⁹ and proxy voting, as well as voter intimidation.

Reference International Standards

Referencing international and regional standards for democratic elections strengthens observer findings and advocacy efforts, including on women’s participation. CEDAW, for example, contains specific provisions obliging states to ensure women’s equal participation

and to eliminate discrimination in public and political life, including during elections. Regional human rights agreements and treaties also often contain commitments related to women’s equal participation in elections. Check which legal and political commitments a country has made in regard to women’s election participation, so that it can be held accountable if its practices fall short of these principles. A useful resource for determining the relevant human rights obligations of a particular country is the European Commission’s Compendium of International Standards for Elections.³⁰

Election observer groups should investigate the system for filing complaints for various election grievances and should determine whether there are any particular obstacles affecting the access of women to complaint mechanisms. Election observer groups should also follow the resolution of any complaints or appeals filed and note whether women appear to be able to access the process on an equal basis.

STRENGTHENING WOMEN’S ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

Work with Civil Society Organizations

Women’s organizations and other civil society groups with a gender-related focus are a resource for election observers on issues related to women’s participation. Such groups can provide important background information on the overall situation of women in the country. This information can be critical for understanding the reasons why women do or do not participate in politics and elections and the specific obstacles they may face in trying to do so. Additionally, working with women’s organizations is especially important in closed societies, where official data on women’s participation is non-existent or inaccessible.

28. A useful resource to include for observers is the EISA “Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections” available at <http://www.eisa.org.za/PDF/gc.pdf>. It gives an overview of international election standards as they relate to women’s participation.

29. Family voting is when family members enter the voting booth together or mark each other’s ballots. Proxy voting is when a person brings the documents of others and votes for them.

30. *Compendium of International Standards for Elections* (London: NEEDS/European Commission, 2007), http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/election_observation/docs/compendium_en.pdf.

Women's groups may also be interested in participating in election observation either as part of a coalition or on their own in order to specifically assess and highlight gender issues in elections. While it certainly is not the case that only women can effectively observe gender issues in an election, women may be more sensitized to these issues. Ensuring gender balance on election delegations and in observer trainings also promotes women's participation both in theory and in practice. For example, during the 2009 elections in Afghanistan, NDI worked with its local partner, the Free and Fair Elections Foundation of Afghanistan (FEFA), to help them monitor the election across the country with more than 7,000 male and female observers. Members of civic organizations such as the Afghan Women Service and Education, and the Educational Center for Women were trained on how to observe and report any irregularities in the process,

allowing women in polling stations to participate in verifying the quality of the election as well. In countries where there are separate facilities for women to vote, like Afghanistan, training women domestic observers and party poll-watchers is particularly important, since it is necessary to deploy all-women teams to these polling stations on election day. Women voters may be more comfortable approaching women observers or poll-watchers with their questions or concerns. This may also serve as an opportunity to raise the profile of women within political parties or civil society groups.

Include a Gender Analyst on the Observation Team

Both domestic and international observation efforts can benefit from the inclusion of an expert on gender issues as an analyst. The gender analyst would be responsible

DOMESTIC OBSERVER COALITION ADOPTS A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

The domestic observer coalition Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) has committed itself to incorporating a gender perspective in its activities. The coalition, which includes several women's groups, published a paper calling on election observers to pursue information on women's participation as part of their normal activities, and to include such analysis when considering various stages of the election process. This approach is evident in its election reporting as well as its advocacy activities.

In its report on the 2005 General Elections in Zimbabwe, ZESN included comprehensive information on the participation of women as candidates in the election. ZESN concluded that political parties should have done more to ensure the high profile of women candidates in the election. ZESN pointed out in particular that the number of women elected (16 percent of the House of Assembly) fell far short of the target 30 percent set out in the SADC Principles and Guidelines for Democratic Elections. ZESN reported a continued decline in women's representation in the 2008 elections to 14 percent of the House of Assembly. While women played a major role during the campaign period, this did not yield results in increasing women's representation in elected office.

In view of the forthcoming elections, ZESN has conducted several comparative studies of electoral systems and has advocated that a mixed system be adopted. Among its primary considerations, ZESN has concluded that a mixed system with some aspects of proportional representation would be more gender sensitive and serve to increase women's representation. ZESN has looked to the South African example, where proportional representation and a "zippered" candidate list has brought the level of women's participation in parliament to 42.1 percent, the highest in southern Africa and second in Africa only to Rwanda, which has a representation of 52 percent. ZESN has highlighted the fact that African countries that have adopted proportional representation have elected a greater number of women than others on the continent.

Recognizing that reform of the electoral system is not the only measure needed to increase women's representation, ZESN has also advocated for a quota to be embedded in the constitution, as well as the adoption of voluntary quotas within the parties. ZESN has also called for guaranteed representation of women as appointed members to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

ZESN continues to advocate for electoral reforms that will demonstrate Zimbabwe's commitment to implementing the various regional and international instruments that it is party to, including CEDAW, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008).

for working with the observer group to ensure attention to the different constraints and opportunities that men and women face, making sure the data collected is useful, as well as producing a detailed analysis of women's participation in all aspects of the election. If it is not possible to include a gender analyst, then another qualified and trained observation staff member may be designated as the gender focal point and take responsibility for ensuring a gender perspective in all stages of the observation effort.

All election observer statements and reports should include information assessing the participation of women in the election process and making recommendations for its improvement. At a minimum, observer statements or final mission reports should include the participation rate of women as voters, the number of women elected (compared to previous elections) and the prevalence of women in all levels of the election administration. Reports should also consider whether there were any legal, administrative or other obstacles to women participating as voters and candidates in the election process, including any evidence of intimidation, harassment or violence. Information included in election reports can serve as the basis for post-election follow-up activities on specific issues.

MONITORING THE MEDIA

In most countries, voters rely on the mass media to provide them with sufficient information about political parties and candidates so that they can make an informed choice at the ballot box. Broadcast media outlets provide voters with such information through regular news coverage, political advertising, free airtime and special election programs such as debates or roundtables, depending on the specific regulatory framework and socio-political context of the country. Through election-related programming, media outlets have a strong influence on the choices made by voters.

Because media coverage is so influential in elections, the access to media coverage should be equitable for all political parties and candidates, and the media's message should encourage broad participation in elections. As in other areas, women candidates may encounter particular disadvantages regarding media coverage. Media coverage in general, and around elections in particular, should promote the public participation of women in political and civic life, rather than perpetuate any gender stereotypes. Media is influential in whether some women go to vote, and therefore has an important role in encouraging the political participa-

GENDER ANALYST ENHANCES INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION

For the 2009 presidential and Provincial Council elections in Afghanistan, NDI identified a gender analyst to join its international election observer delegation, in order to provide a thorough analysis of women's participation in the elections. Because of the constraints placed on observation by the difficult security environment, NDI relied on publicly available information, including extensive interviews with women candidates and national women's organizations. This information formed the basis of a report on women's participation in the elections and was also reflected in the public statements of the international observer delegation.

The work of the analyst was also supported by information collected by long-term and short-term observers. Long-term observers were encouraged to engage local candidates, party representatives and government officials on questions of women's participation, and their weekly report template included these issues. Election day checklists filled out by short-term observers also had specific questions focusing on the participation of women and the conduct of elections in women-designated polling stations.

The comprehensive approach taken by the international observer delegation allowed for a detailed picture to be formed based on the various factors affecting women's participation in the process. For instance, NDI observers reported that the failure to recruit enough women officials and security staff for the women-designated polling stations did not guarantee an adequate security environment, which deterred women voters from participating and increased the potential for irregularities in those polling stations. Similarly, observers reported problems in the voter registration period, including incidents of "proxy registration" where male family members collected the voter cards for female family members, contributing to opportunities for election-day fraud. Overall, with the use of a gender analyst and long-term and short-term observers who were gender sensitive in their approach, NDI was able to document and highlight the atmosphere of fear and intimidation that women faced as candidates, voters and election officials in all stages of the election process and to make concrete recommendations on how to improve the situation in the future.

tion of women, both through voter education, as well as through its general portrayal of women in public life.

Election observers should assess the media campaign and election coverage as part of their overall observation efforts and should determine whether women candidates are fairly portrayed. Some observer groups organize media monitoring units that are able to provide in-depth analysis of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of election coverage granted to each candidate or political party. Such projects should include a gender perspective in their methodologies so as to determine whether women candidates receive the same amount and quality of coverage. Media monitoring can also analyze to what extent issues of particular interest to women are included in the campaign, as well as what political parties and candidates say about women and issues of importance to them.

PREPARING FOR ELECTION DAY

The critical test for assessing women's participation is election day. Women voters should be able to access the polling stations in a secure environment, mark their ballots independently and in secret, and make their choice free of intimidation. Women voters should have sufficient information about their rights as voters, how to vote and what choices are available to them.

Election observer groups should include a thorough assessment of women's participation as part of their overall election day observation effort. Short-term observers should be briefed on the importance of women's participation in elections, trained on how to observe gender-related issues and possible irregularities and the reporting forms they use should include relevant questions on gender issues. In particular election observers may observe:

- the atmosphere inside and outside of the polling station and whether there is any evidence of intimidation;
- the security arrangements for the polling station and whether there are any unauthorized persons present;
- the number of women on the polling station committee and the sex of the chairperson;
- the representation of women among party poll-watchers;
- women voters' level of understanding of the procedures;
- sex-disaggregated data on those who have voted;
- whether any voters have been turned away from the polling station and for what reasons, including how many women;
- whether the voting arrangements protect secrecy of the vote;
- any incidents of "family voting" and the reactions of officials to such incidents; and
- any incidents of "proxy voting" and the reactions of the polling officials.

At the central level, election observer groups should request the participation rates disaggregated by sex and check for any discrepancies, including at the regional level. They should also report on the number of women candidates elected to office.

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Because election programs are usually conducted for a short, finite period around an election, the monitoring and evaluation plan must be designed upfront to measure program impact on an ongoing basis as well as at its conclusion. Once the initiative is complete, the gender issues raised by the project should be examined. As with all programs, clear objectives should be identified at the beginning of the program so that there is a basis for measuring the impact of program activities. Illustrative objectives related to gender and women's participation in election programs overall might include:

- To assess the differences in the level and quality of men's and women's participation in specific aspects of the election process;
- To identify any obstacles to men's and women's full and equal participation, either in election-related legislation or its implementation, and suggest changes to policy or regulations;
- To raise public awareness about issues of women's participation in the election through reporting in a comprehensive and timely manner; and
- To facilitate the increased participation of women in future elections by making recommendations to authorities on how to improve their election process in regard to gender equality.

Ongoing monitoring is required to determine the impact of an election program, and should be conducted at key moments of the election process.

Pre-election Period

During the pre-election period, program staff should consider how effective an election program has been in identifying obstacles and problems related to women's participation and communicating them to decision-makers and the public. If specific aspects of the pre-election process have been observed (e.g. voter registration), the monitoring should focus on:

- What have been the gender-related findings of the pre-election activities?
- How have findings been communicated to the public and decision-makers? Has there been any media coverage?
- What has been the impact? Has there been any change made to the process or the regulations prior to the election? Have political parties or candidates made any relevant statements or changed their behavior?

Election Day

Immediately following election day, program staff should consider how well the program has collected information related to women's participation in the election process and on election day and how effectively it has been communicated.

- What have been the findings of the election program on gender-related issues? How have findings been communicated to the public, political parties and relevant government officials? Has there been any media coverage? What impact has this information had?
- How many women candidates have been elected? How does this differ from previous elections? What are the reasons for the difference?
- What has been the voter participation rate for women as compared to the general population? How has this changed from previous elections? What factors may account for the difference?

Post-election Period

Following the election period, the program staff should focus on the recommendations made concerning women's participation and their implementation.

- What recommendations specific to women's participation were made following the elections and how have they been communicated to government officials, political party leaders and policy-makers?
- Have any changes been made to relevant election legislation or practice as a result of the recommendations?

POLLWATCHER TRAINING TARGETS WOMEN

Prior to the February 2008 national and Provincial Assembly elections in Pakistan, political parties identified the need for more and better trained party poll-watchers, especially for women-designated polling stations, which had historically experienced a significant number of irregularities. Parties had reported that in the 2005 elections, especially in rural areas, many women had been prevented from voting by religious party activists, women poll workers had been replaced by men, and in some cases, women's polling stations had not been opened at all. Ballot box stuffing and vote count fraud had also been reported.

NDI responded by designing a training of the trainers program aimed at training a significant number of women to act as party poll-watchers in women-designated polling stations for the elections. While the scope of the program was eventually broadened to include men, training a significant number of women remained one of its main objectives. In two provinces, because of cultural sensitivities, NDI conducted parallel single-sex trainings for women to ensure that adequate numbers of women party activists were able to be trained as master trainers.

Through the program, NDI trained 499 master trainers, including 214 women, from 8 parties. They in turn trained 42,000 party poll-watchers, 41 percent of whom were women. This program significantly increased the number of poll-watchers that parties could deploy to women-designated polling stations.

In parallel to the party poll-watcher training, NDI conducted a multi-party women's forum to discuss challenges facing women in the election process, followed by 3 single-party women's roundtables. During these events participants identified security concerns, lack of education and resources, and cultural norms and practices as main barriers to women's electoral participation. NDI summarized the resulting recommendations and prepared a news release that generated significant media coverage in the country's leading newspapers.

- Has the public or civil society taken any additional initiatives to support or advocate for specific recommendations?

Evaluating the impact of an election program can identify important lessons learned and help identify the next steps for possible follow-on program activities. Possible options to evaluate the program could include:

- A lessons learned roundtable with project partners to discuss the impact and implementation of the election program in regard to women's participation;
- Seeking feedback from other key election stakeholders, for example through targeted interviews; and
- Participant questionnaires (for party pollwatchers, domestic and international observers).

FURTHER READING

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POLITICAL PARTIES

INTRODUCTION

Political parties are the primary mechanism through which women access elected office and political leadership. Even in single mandate electoral systems,³¹ the endorsement and support of a political party can play a critical role in the success of candidates. Therefore, the structures, policies, practices and values of political parties have a profound effect on the level of women's participation in political life.

Political parties are, by their nature, self-interested organizations focused on the contestation of elections. For some party leaders operating in this environment, the gains from women's political participation may not be readily apparent. The suggestion to promote women into decision-making positions may seem, risky at best, or at worst, an affront to the political party leadership. Therefore, political party program designers and implementers need to be familiar with the social, political and economic arguments for increasing and enhancing women's political party participation, and to be able to present the case for women's political participation with the specific interests and concerns of program partners in mind.

Parties that take women's political participation seriously benefit from stronger electoral positions, access to new groups of voters, and stronger relationships with their constituents. Voters perceive governments and governing institutions with more equitable representation as more credible, and are inclined to offer them stronger levels of support. Additionally, parties that can produce new faces and ideas maintain a vibrant and energized image in an age of declining

voter turnout. Some results are dramatic, some are subtle and some are achieved progressively, but the overall outcome for political parties is a net gain in every case.³²

Though political parties may appear to take an interest in women's advancement, often women are recruited for strategic reasons. The decision to promote women's political participation is rarely taken because it is 'the right thing to do.' Rather, it is typically part of a number of calculations taken to improve electoral gains, enhance legitimacy or credibility, or strengthen a governing position. For instance, the party may want to capture new voters, or is simply using women as tokens of progressive policies without a real commitment to women's advancement. In some places parties recruit women for the general elections at the end of the campaign period; these women are perceived as "vote getters" for the party rather than candidates who will add value, or who will have a voice in the party. Sometimes women are not aware of this hidden agenda.

Political parties that are purposefully structured to promote women are undeniably more successful at it. The most effective methods of women's promotion involve enforced policies of positive action to advance women as leaders and put them in viable positions as candidates. These can be voluntarily adopted by the parties, as was the case in Wales,³³ or imposed as a statutory obligation, as was the case in Rwanda.³⁴

Those parties that approach women's participation in a more passive manner are unlikely to see real progress in any reasonable timeframe. The National Women's Council of Ireland (NWC) recently calculated that

31. Single mandate electoral systems are those in which there is a single seat in each constituency, and therefore one winner among all the candidates who stand for office in that area. These are used for Congressional elections in the United States, for example. In this system, it is frequently possible for an individual to nominate herself or himself to stand as a candidate without the endorsement of a political party, i.e., as an independent, as long as the legal qualifications to run for office are met. However, since there is only one seat per constituency and only one of all the eligible candidates can win, the support and resources that a political party can provide make a real difference in determining the successful candidate.

32 Susanna McCollom, Kristin Haffert, and Alyson Kozma, *Assessing Women's Political Party Programs: Best Practice and Recommendations* (Washington: National Democratic Institute, 2008), <http://www.ndi.org/node/15121>.

33. The regional Assembly is 47 percent women as a result of voluntary actions by political parties. Female representation in the Welsh Assembly has not been below 40 percent in the three elections since it was formed.

34. The Rwandan constitution reserves 30 percent of seats in the national legislature for women. This has been exceeded and women currently hold 56 percent.

without proactive measures to promote women's political participation, it would take 370 years for women to reach 50 percent of seats in that country's national parliament.³⁵ The Fawcett Society in the United Kingdom made a similar assessment, determining it could take 200 years to achieve parity in the House of Commons if the political parties did not take positive measures to increase women's representation.³⁶

To truly benefit from women's political participation, a party's efforts must be genuine and proactive. Political parties gain when women not only participate in the electoral and governing processes, but influence them. Superficial efforts to increase the number of women involved in politics, but which offer no real qualitative influence or decision-making powers are unlikely to produce any new or immediate benefits. Typical examples of such efforts include women's wings without statutory authority or sway; the selection of female place holders on candidate lists; the ignoring of women officials once they are elected; placing women in un-electable districts as candidates; or, removing women from viable positions on candidate lists at the last minute.

The universal trend is towards democratic governance based on parity and equality among sexes and ethnic groups. Outreach to traditionally under-represented groups, such as women, is now considered a minimum standard for the democratic functioning of political parties.³⁷ In a recent inquiry into women's political participation by a Joint Committee of the Houses of the Oireachtas (Parliament) in Ireland, former Teachta Dála (Member of Parliament) Liz O'Donnell commented that, "It will come to a point where decisions taken, from which women are absent in large numbers, will lack credibility in a democracy."³⁸

This chapter is designed to serve as a resource for political party programs anywhere along the spectrum of women's political participation, whether such efforts are taking place in challenging or more progressive environments. Program staff are encouraged to pick and

choose among the strategies and activities outlined in this chapter, and to modify any of the models offered to suit a program's objectives and the context in which they are working.

To be successful, political party programs must recognize the realities of the environment in which they are operating, acknowledge that political transformation is a process that can be generational, work to support organic and meaningful changes in political parties that will deliver permanent and consequential levels of women's involvement, and make the case for equitable representation in all activities. By applying a gender perspective to all areas of programming, program designers and implementers can promote and support women's political participation in every aspect of their work.

PROGRAM DESIGN

Gender mainstreaming in political party programs has distinct advantages for the democracy practitioner because it uses the available resources in a way that benefits everyone—both men and women. Gender mainstreaming identifies inequalities, and the opportunities to address these in the program design. Once barriers are identified, programs can highlight where specific women's activities are needed or where they can leverage the overall goals of the program.

There is no one-size-fits-all program design when it comes to addressing women's participation with political parties. Rather than suggest a specific methodology or approach, this chapter seeks to offer a variety of tools, activities, programming ideas, standards and best practices which can be adapted to suit a range of political, cultural and economic environments, as well as all types of budgets.

CONTEXT

The best place to start when designing or revising efforts for women's political participation is with a fresh assessment of the political landscape. This may also be useful for pre-existing political party or women's participation programs, which are seeking to revitalize or redirect their efforts.

Start with an internal evaluation of the social, economic and political environment and core issues connected with women's political participation. Use this assessment to identify major and minor challenges and opportunities. NDI's *Win with Women Assessment Tool for Political Parties* offers a structured examination of a number of these areas and can be helpful identify-

35. The NWCI assessed the rate of increase as approximately 1 percent every 10 years. Ireland has one of the lowest rates of female parliamentarians in Europe at 13.8 percent. See "Political Equality and Decision Making," National Women's Council of Ireland, <http://www.nwci.ie/whatwedo/political-equality-and-decision-making/>.

36. Gordon Watson, "Letters to the Editor," *The Guardian*, May 5, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/may/05/missing-from-the-electoral-debate>. See also, "Fawcett Society," <http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/>.

37. National Democratic Institute, *Minimum Standards for the Democratic Functioning of Political Parties* (Washington: NDI, 2008), http://www.ndi.org/files/2337_partynorms_engpdf_07082008.pdf.

38. Joint Committee on Justice, Equality, Defense and Women's Rights, *Second Report: Women's Participation in Politics*, Houses of the Oireachtas, October 2009, 8, http://www.oireachtas.ie/documents/committees30thdail/j-justiceedwr/reports_2008/20091105.pdf.

ing key considerations when working with political parties.

Key Questions:

- What is the electoral system? How does this impact women's chance of winning? What do women need to be successful in this system?
- What is/are the candidate selection process(es)? Each party may have its own, including different procedures for each level of office. What factors influence women's chances of getting through this/these process(es) into viable positions as candidates?
- Where are the women who will take on these roles as candidates, elected officials and political leaders? Are they already in the parties, in civil society organizations, in business, in local communities or community organizations? Who are these women? How can they be contacted?
- Among the typical barriers to women's full participation in politics, which are most at play in this environment? How strong are they?
- Who are the most influential, sympathetic individuals who can help, both men and women? Who will be supportive within the political parties? Within civil society? Within the private or business sector? Within academia? Who can champion change effectively?
- Consider holding an internal focus group or brainstorming session with all relevant resident staff to begin to answer some of these questions. This may include staff at all levels and from all programs. It may be appropriate to include key program partners as well.

RELEVANT RESEARCH

Once an internal analysis is conducted, start to expand the circle of information. Bring in reports or investigations from other organizations and individuals to add context, texture and a broader perspective. Academic institutions, visiting research fellows and marketing firms can be good sources of additional information.

If the resources are available, more formal research can be helpful at this stage, which can provide a baseline for public perceptions of women as candidates and leaders, help categorize exact barriers to women's political participation, as well as identify women who already have public profiles. Gender analysis is critical at this early phase because it can help anticipate how programs will impact men and women differently, which will impact the effectiveness of the program overall. The baseline research should also include an examination of male leadership, how women are perceived by their male counterparts, and what would motivate male leaders to engage and support women candidates. Carefully considered research provides a tangible product, which is attractive to party leaders, and can be useful in securing meetings with high-level officials. Moreover, solid research can provide the basis of a persuasive case for women's participation.

If time or budgets do not allow for stand-alone research, there are other options. Consider adding a few questions to an omnibus survey, which a government agency or private sector research or marketing firm may already conduct on a regular basis. Find out what is already available from academic institutions, international organizations or civil society organizations, which can inform program planning. Program designers should also consider partnering with a civil society organization to conduct informal research, such as a survey or focus groups.

USING RESEARCH TO SHAPE POLITICAL PARTY PROGRAMMING

In advance of municipal elections in 2009, NDI's Morocco program conducted focus group research and in-depth interviews. The information from these efforts was used to develop a strategy to increase women's political participation in the elections. Findings from the project identified factors that were inhibiting the public's willingness to elect women, namely adherence to traditional gender stereotypes and negative perceptions of political parties in general.

The research provided information for women standing in the election and to NDI's program partners. It also informed NDI's training program for candidates to help prepare them for the election. NDI developed a training program that identified strategies for women candidates to overcome the negative stereotypes highlighted in the focus groups and helped them to incorporate these strategies into their campaign plans. These strategic efforts coincided with a new quota law, which helped increase the number of women elected to more than 3,400, up significantly from the 127 women elected in the previous local elections.

Ensure that a gender perspective is applied to any research conducted, whether formal or informal. Consider whether women are adequately represented in the research, whether the research mechanism allows women's views to be fully heard, and whether questions being asked take into account women's issues and perspectives.

Turn this research into a report or publication that can be shared with key stakeholders who may have a role to play in women's political participation. Whether this is a public or strictly internal document will depend on the particular circumstances in each country. In either

Political party programs should assess which stakeholders will feel that they should be contacted first, which will be most helpful and influential, and which will present the greatest challenge and will therefore require more time and effort. It is likely that in most situations, particularly when beginning a new program, discussions will begin with political party leaders or senior officials.

Program designers may find it useful to identify stakeholders and anticipate their likely reaction to suggestions for increasing women's political participation using the following matrix:

		DIRECTION OF INFLUENCE	
		Positive	Negative
STRENGTH OF INFLUENCE	Strong		
	Weak		

case, a professional examination of the political landscape for women can provide valuable insights for program planning and offer a meaningful product for program partners.

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Armed with fresh analysis of the landscape, the next step is to begin the conversation with stakeholders about women's political participation. Use these opportunities to build relationships with key players who will influence women's political participation, and bring in the perspective of stakeholders to inform program content and design.

Program planners must first identify with whom this discussion should begin. Any assessment or research conducted at the initiation of the program will likely produce a list of stakeholders affected by or affecting women's political participation. Review this list, consider whether additional names should be added, and identify where and with whom contacts should be made.

This analysis may help program planners and designers anticipate from where both support and resistance is likely to come. Increasing women's political participation represents a real change in the political culture of many countries, and program implementers should expect stakeholders to respond to this as they would to any serious reform. There will be those who embrace it enthusiastically, those who oppose it fervently, and a variety of reactions in between.

Program staff will best manage this situation by keeping communication open, consistent and proactive, achieving successes as early in the program as possible to demonstrate its value to political parties, and identifying champions of change from within the political establishment to assist with making the case for progress and reform. Some of these champions of change should be men.

Discussions with stakeholders will help gauge reactions to, and opinions on women's political participation, and should also allow program planners to begin to incor-

porate the experience and perspective of potential program partners and participants into program design. The feedback from stakeholders will inform, influence or update the types of activities and services that can be offered as part of the programming, and the most useful mediums for delivering these.

Communicating with Political Party Leaders

Political party leaders and senior officials are key stakeholders in efforts to increase and improve women's political participation. Any meaningful changes will have to involve them, and strategic decisions must incorporate their opinions and perspectives.

NDI's *Win with Women Assessment Tool for Political Parties* may provide a helpful structure for some aspects of discussions with senior party officials. The objective should be to leave these meetings with an agreed action plan for what the program will deliver for political parties to promote women's political participation, and what party leaders may be expected to do in support of this effort. The level of detail and commitment will clearly vary according to the situation, but staff should consider following up in writing to party leaders to begin to create as structured an arrangement as possible, perhaps working towards a Memorandum of Understanding or agreed action plan.

Program staff must determine the most appropriate way to approach senior party. Private discussions with the leadership of each political party with whom they are working can be scheduled to:

- present the findings from the initial assessment or research, making certain to highlight any measurable public opinion in support of women's political participation or clear benefits to political parties, which may have been uncovered;
- assess party leaders' perspective of women's political participation and whether the party is eager to make this a priority;
- discuss the measures the party may already have in place to promote and support women, and evaluate the effectiveness of these measures;
- outline the benefits to further development of women's participation to party leaders;
- survey what program activities or initiatives political parties would like to conduct; and/or
- identify individuals within political parties who will be supportive of efforts to advance women's political participation.

Communicating with Women Leaders and Other Key Stakeholders

As important as the political party leaders who can make women's political participation happen in theory are the women who can make it happen in reality.

To initiate or revive a women's political participation program, implementers need to build relationships with the women who will take the risks and do the work required to succeed in politics and with individuals from other sectors of society who can help support them. As always, the manner in which this is done will depend on local custom and culture, and the ease of communication and travel within the country.

Building a network of stakeholders who will have an impact on women's political participation is a first step. To build these relationships, identify the best way to communicate with each stakeholder group and use these opportunities to:

- present the findings from the initial assessment or research;
- strengthen existing relationships and build new ones;
- identify individual women who are interested in pursuing or advancing a career in politics, as well as individuals and organizations that can offer resources and support to these women;
- discuss measures already in place to promote and support women's political participation, and evaluate the effectiveness of these measures;
- gather specific feedback on what program activities or initiatives stakeholders would like conducted in support of women's political participation; and/or
- begin to develop a common cause of action and specific ideas for the way forward.

Some options for beginning the process of communicating with key stakeholders include, networking events, conferences, individual meetings or consultations, and electronic media. These tools are described in greater detail in the Appendices section of the guide.

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH AND STAKEHOLDER INFORMATION

Once program planners and implementers have garnered strategic information from research, built working relationships with stakeholders, and consulted with potential program partners, the next step is to use this

information and experience to design and deliver program activities. A gender analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data will inform program decisions that will benefit both men and women.

The types of activities selected should largely be led by intended program outcomes and the needs of program partners, but will be also influenced by a variety of other factors, including the political and cultural environments, the election calendar, the electoral system, the security situation, local transportation and infrastructure, language barriers, staff, budgets, and possibly even the weather.

Program designers and implementers can affect a degree of control over some of these issues, but have limited control over others. Design issues that program staff should seek to prioritize and influence are outlined below. Specific ways to implement each of these guidelines are described in the following section on program implementation.

Apply a Gender Perspective to All Activities

Awareness of gender inequalities, women's participation and the perspectives of women play a valuable role in all program activities conducted with political parties, whether these are trainings, consultations, study missions, research programs or otherwise. Program designers and implementers should be aware of, and sensitive to the different life experiences of women and men, disparities in access to resources, and variations in the ways in which women and men will be able to respond to program activities.

It is not necessary to have a stand-alone women's program to influence women's political participation. Gender mainstreaming can ensure that women's needs are considered and represented in every aspect of most activities. Examples of gender mainstreaming include the following:

- Program partners are asked to strive for delegations nominated to participate in program activities that are balanced in terms of male and female participation. There should be both men and women in delegations, trainings, meetings and consultations with senior party officials.
- When working with political parties on electoral and outreach strategies, ensure they have considered the specific issues and motivators of women voters, and that these strategies take into consideration that women voters are likely to outnumber men voters.

- Apply a gender perspective to research programs when designing questions and samples, when selecting a research mechanism and when determining who will carry out the research. A gender perspective means examining the differences between men's and women's roles, status, needs and priorities, and how these differences affect their ability to access and control resources and opportunities in society.

Women-only activities can also be a valuable part of women's participation programs. They give women a chance to build skills, confidence and networks in a supportive environment. This can be particularly important for trainings that involve a high level of personal risk such as public speaking, media skills and message development.

However, mixed-sex environments should also be included in program activities. Balance single-sex activities with mixed-sex activities. Integrated activities allow male and female party members to interact in a professional environment as peers and equals. Including men as program participants exposes them to the capabilities of their female colleagues and may facilitate them becoming more effective partners in promoting women within their parties. For example, in 2007 NDI organized a forum on women's participation in parliament in Burkina Faso. The project invited 150 male and female potential candidates to participate in forums which encouraged political parties to promote more women on their lists and within their parties. At the end of the forum, there was a unanimously recognized improvement of the intra-party's political dialogue concerning women's participation.

Including senior party officials allows them to see women party members in professional and leadership positions. Male trainers and speakers can also play a vital role by setting standards for interacting with women participants with the same level of consideration and respect as male participants.

Make sure to close the feedback loop by reporting back to party leaders and decision-makers on the capabilities and strengths their party members demonstrate during program activities, and ensuring they are aware of the potential among the individuals who participate in these activities. Feedback is an important mechanism for promoting program participants within a party. The value of a training or program activity is enhanced if senior party officials receive an assessment of the performance, hard work, and abilities of their party members who participated. This is particularly true in the case of

younger members and women, who are less likely to receive this attention otherwise.

Assessment information should be delivered in a manner which is professional, constructive and appropriate, and should focus on the strengths of those who demonstrated potential and showed dedication to the work. Participants should be notified in advance that their work will be evaluated. Depending on the detail of the evaluation, it may be appropriate for participants to have the opportunity to view and discuss these assessments before they are passed on to party officials. The method for delivering the information depends on the local culture. Written evaluations or letters create a permanent record, but a personal meeting with senior party officials delivers message directly and ensures it is received. A combination of both written and oral communication may be most effective if time and resources allow.

Programs should endeavor to model the message on women's participation that is being delivered to political parties. Managers should ensure that the program's own processes for hiring and contracting staff, trainers and advisor are balanced, fair and gender sensitive. Programs should seek to recruit local women for senior positions and provide skills and professional development opportunities to program staff, including programs designed to address gaps in access to formal experience and education for female team members.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Political party program implementers may consider a variety of innovative and traditional approaches. Additionally, some programs may already have several pro-

gramming streams running and women's political participation can easily be integrated as a component of these by applying a gender perspective to planning and implementation.

Many political party programs involve working with political parties on their internal structures, systems and strategies to assist them in becoming more accessible, inclusive and democratic organizations. Incorporating a gender mainstreaming approach to political participation is a key component in achieving all of these objectives. Without careful attention to how the projects will affect men and women, resources cannot be allocated where they are most needed. Furthermore, attention to gender helps to identify where a specific women's project may be needed to address these systemic biases.

Effective political party programs require sound working relationships with political party leaders and decision-makers, and many programs begin by focusing on this objective. In most countries, these officials are more likely to be men than women, but this is not always the case. Having women at the head of a political organization does not guarantee a sympathetic ear. Political parties tend to be self-interested organizations and party leaders of any gender or background may need to be persuaded by the benefits from focusing proactively on women's political participation.

Based on the strength of their working relationships with political parties, the political environment, and the organizational culture, program staff should determine whether women's political participation should be discussed explicitly and directly, or introduced progressively. Some parties will respond well to the message of increasing women's representation outright. Others will

ADAPTING TO THE NEEDS OF FEMALE PARTICIPANTS

In a number of countries, women who are younger or not married are oftentimes unable to travel or stay overnight alone, and must be accompanied by a chaperone if attending a training program away from home. NDI programs in Iraq and West Bank/Gaza incorporate the additional costs of chaperones, acknowledging that this is part of the important objective of having younger women participate in training programs.

NDI programs have also found creative ways to bring training and assistance to women in environments that pose security risks and restrictions on movement. NDI's Iraq program, for example, hired Iraqi Provincial Coordinators to support and monitor the activities of civic and political party partners at the grassroots level in each province. These Coordinators maintain contacts and relationships with politically active women throughout the country and perform trainings or consultations with women in a local setting, increasing program impact and flexibility and minimizing security concerns. NDI's program in Afghanistan employs the same types of outreach through regional offices, and uses radio to communicate with target audiences in more isolated parts of the country.

need to view the argument from the perspective of protecting the rights of both women and men, i.e., 'parity democracy,' in which the participation of men has the same status and priority as that of women. Still others may only cooperate when they understand that by increasing the engagement of women and other marginalized groups their party will become stronger and they can increase their vote share.

UNDERSTANDING THE CANDIDATE SELECTION PROCESSES

Candidate selection processes have a profound impact on a woman's ability to stand for office and be elected. Women must have a reasonable chance of being able to make it through a political party's selection process into a viable position as a candidate before any electoral campaign even begins.

The variety of candidate selection processes employed by political parties can make this a challenging issue to address. In many countries, each party has its own manner of selecting candidates, and these processes can vary even within a single party. Parties may devolve selection to local branches, with each branch developing its own system, or may employ different methods depending on the type of election.

Transparency can be a problem in candidate selection. Even in established democracies, many political parties operate non-transparent systems, or invoke inconsistent criteria when making choices. Highly centralized or less developed parties may hand-pick candidates without explanation or accountability. Whatever system a party is working with to select its candidates, the real questions are, "what kind of candidates does it produce and what does this mean for women's political participation?" The candidate selection processes that produce the most immediate results for women's political participation are those which involve enforceable measures of positive action, such as:

- **All-women shortlists or primaries:** All-women shortlists are typically used in the final stage of a candidate selection process. The selection panel that will make the definitive choice of candidates is given a list of potential women candidates only from which to choose for a certain number of seats.³⁹ A similar strategy is used in all-women pri-

maries. Political parties designate electoral areas in which only women candidates will be offered to selectors.⁴⁰

- **Quotas:** Quotas require a certain number of women to be on a candidate list or selected as candidates. To be meaningful, quotas must be enforceable (for example, a party's candidate list is rejected by the electoral regulation body unless the quota is met), and there must be a requirement that women candidates are placed in viable positions. Without these regulations, women are often selected for electoral districts in which a party has little hope of winning or are placed in unelectable positions in list systems.⁴¹ Quotas are an important mechanism to advance women's participation in a specific governing body and outside the party system.
- **Zippered lists:** Zippered lists are sometimes used in proportional representation⁴² systems with candidate lists. Those selecting candidates are required to alternate male and female candidates on the list, so that if a woman is in the first position, a man will be in the second position, then a woman, then a man, and so on.⁴³ For example, France currently uses zippered lists. The 2000 French Parity Law required 50 percent of the candidates in regional and general elections to be of either gender. Parties that failed to comply had their public funding reduced. While effective on the regional level (women's representation increased from 26 percent in 1995 to 49 percent in 2008), it had less of an impact on the national level where parties tended to put women lower down to the list, or to just accept the reduction in public funding rather than comply. A 2007 amendment to the law introduced a zipper sys-

40. The National Democratic Party's (NDP) provincial leadership in British Columbia, Canada use all-women primaries in districts where the incumbent NDP member of the provincial legislature is not seeking re-election.

41. Macedonia has legislated quotas for national and local office which require parties to nominate a minimum of 30 percent of the 'under-represented sex' as candidates. However, there is no requirement that these candidates be in eligible places on the candidate list. The 2002 gender quotas act in Belgium states that female candidates must make up half of the positions on a party's electoral list, including one out of the top two positions. In both countries, candidate lists which do not meet these requirements are rejected by the regulatory authority for elections and parties in violation are essentially unable to run in the elections.

42. Proportional representation (PR) systems attempt to closely match the number of seats a political party obtains with the percentage of votes it receives. There are a number of electoral mechanisms used to organize the vote in PR systems, including closed lists, open lists and the single transferable vote. Each of these affects how much influence a voter has in supporting and promoting individual candidates within the PR system. Zippered lists in a PR system ensure that women are well-represented in eligible positions on candidate lists.

43. See Second Report: *Women's Participation in Politics*, 26. Macedonia's zippered list system requires women to be in at least every third place on a candidate list.

39. Both the Labour Party and the Conservative Party used all-women shortlists to select candidates for the 2010 general election. National equality legislation, which previously prohibited any discrimination (positive or negative) based on gender, was modified to facilitate this. See Richard Kelly and Isobel White, "All-women shortlists," UK House of Commons Library, 21 October 2009, SN/PC/05057, <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/briefings/snpc-05057.pdf>.

SUPPORTING QUOTAS: INCREASING WOMEN'S ACCESS TO ELECTED OFFICE

In 2009, the National Assembly in Burkina Faso passed a law requiring candidate lists for National Assembly and local elections to be at least 30 percent women. To encourage compliance with the regulation, political parties that reach or surpass a threshold of 30 percent women elected to public office are rewarded with supplementary financing equal to the amount they would normally receive from the state during the electoral campaign period.

NDI helped bring together a large coalition of stakeholders from both political parties and civil society to launch a common agenda and coordinated plan of action to advocate for passage of the law.

The coalition developed and proposed amendments to the draft law, one of which was included in the version of the bill that finally passed. Coalition representatives held meetings with the General Institutional Affairs and Human Rights Committee of the National Assembly, and NDI assisted in the organization of press conferences and information sessions that helped gain support from the public.

The chance for women to become leaders on the local and national levels represents both a stark change and a significant opportunity. In the past, political parties were reluctant to nominate women, effectively keeping them out of the political process. With the new quota law, parties are seeking NDI's help to find and prepare more women candidates. The Institute is working to help parties strategize on ways to recruit potential women candidates for local elections in 2011 and legislative elections in 2012.

tem, which ensured that women would be placed at every second or third place on the list at the very least. Female representation in the French National Assembly increased from 12.3 percent in 2002 to 18.5 percent in 2007, as a result.

- **Reserved seats:** In systems with reserved seats, a certain number of elected positions in government are set aside for women, forcing political parties to nominate women as candidates to compete for these seats. A good example of this can be found in Rwanda. Rwanda's constitution requires that women comprise at least 30 percent of all decision-making bodies, including the national legislature, the cabinet and executive, local councils, and the judiciary. In the 2008 elections, this standard was also applied to political parties. Twenty-four out of 80 seats in the legislature are reserved for women. The combination of reserved seats and candidate lists that were at least 30 percent women delivered the highest level of women's political participation worldwide at just over 56 percent in the 2008 elections.

A few countries have been able to implement positive action measures for women's political participation on a voluntary basis. This has been the case in Wales, where the Welsh Assembly has not dropped below 40 percent women's participation in the three elections since it was established because of voluntary measures taken by the political parties to actively select and promote women as candidates.

However, results through voluntary means are the exception rather than the rule. More common are examples of systems set up for women's political participation, which are ignored or unenforced, and thus have little effect. This is the case in Brazil, for example, which has mandated quotas for candidates but very weak sanctions for political parties that do not comply.

Despite their effectiveness, and the associated benefits to political parties, more rigorous options remain controversial in many political cultures. Quotas, in particular, engender a debate about whether they undermine the effectiveness of women's participation by creating the appearance that women are not elected on their own merits. Advocates of quotas argue that the barriers to women's political participation are so significant and so entrenched, they cannot be overcome without an equally assertive response.

Any commitment to promote women as candidates must ensure that they are given a genuinely equal opportunity to compete, and that they are given the same level of authority and access to resources as their male counterparts. Political parties that promote women as place-holders or for largely ornamental purposes are not likely to achieve gains associated with enhanced women's political participation, regardless of the system for selection.

Those political parties that are uncomfortable with the language of equality because of their organizational or political culture may be more at ease with candidate selection systems that require a minimum percentage of

representation for whichever gender is under-represented.⁴⁴ This offers an assurance that the goal is gender equality, and not a reversal of roles in which women vastly outnumber men.

REVISING INTERNAL PARTY STRUCTURES, PROCESSES AND ACCESS TO PARTY RESOURCES

The manner in which political parties are structured has a direct impact on their effectiveness in supporting women's political participation. Rhetorical support for women in politics found in party platforms and speeches can positively affect public attitudes. But more significant progress is made when the systems and structures of political parties are designed to actively promote and support women.

Participants in political party programs in a number of countries have identified that work with party structures and party leaders as critical to improving women's political participation. Despite progress towards democracy, political parties in many countries remain inaccessible to both voters in general and women.

It is important to focus on women's political participation when working with political parties on their organizational development, decision-making, and daily functioning. To start, examine the current arrangements for governing bodies, party manifestos and platforms, women's wings or organizations, voting rights at party conferences or conventions, and financing. After working closely with political parties in Serbia for more than decade, in 2006, NDI assisted the women's forum of the ruling Democratic Party to amend the party statutes to guarantee the inclusion of at least one woman in the party presidency. NDI also assisted the G17 Plus party in formally establishing a women's network, as well as a party policy committee on gender equality.

NDI's Assessment Tool for Political Parties can be particularly helpful in identifying areas in which internal party structures can be modified to support women's political participation. Program staff should look not only at the content of a political party's internal statutes and by-laws, if there are any, but also at what is actually implemented and practiced.

A number of approaches which political parties can adopt to formalize support for women's political par-

ticipation within their internal structures are outlined below. The degree and manner in which these can be adopted by individual parties will depend on a number of factors, including how a party is currently structured and how decisions are made.

Work with program partners to tailor any of the suggestions below to fit their specific needs and objectives. Parties that embrace and implement these practices have the potential to benefit from enhanced legitimacy among voters. More structured, open, and equitable systems may also engender interest and backing from groups and individuals who had previously not been interested in politics, potentially increasing the party's base of support. Parties that actively seek to recruit and promote women are in a better position to deliver winnable candidates and party tickets as the trend towards women's political participation progresses and voters increasingly expect equitable numbers of women in decision-making positions.

Establish Minimum Participation Levels for Women within the Party

- Establish minimum levels of female representation on governing boards and bodies. Recent research from the private sector demonstrates that a gender balance among decision-makers significantly improves outcomes of governing and decision-making processes.⁴⁵ Minimum levels of participation for women should be implemented at the executive level at least, but may run to every area of the party's organization, including local branch boards.
- Establish minimum participation levels for women at the party's congress or convention, and ensure that women have a role as decision-makers in this body with the authority to vote and influence outcomes.
- Establish minimum participation levels for women as candidates.

Create Structures to Recruit and Promote Women and the Issues Important to Them

- Establish an equality or equal opportunities commission within the party to monitor party decisions and efforts towards gender equality.

44. Daniela Dimitrievsky and the Macedonian Women's Lobby, "Quotas: The Case of Macedonia" (paper presented at the International Institute for Democracy and Election Assistance (IDEA)/ CEE Network for Gender Issues Conference, Budapest, Hungary, 22-23 October 2004), <http://www.quotaproject.org/CS/Macedonia.pdf>.

45. D.A., Carter, B.J. Simkins, and W.G. Simpson, "Corporate Governance, Board Diversity, and Firm Value," *The Financial Review*. Vol. 38 (2003): 33-53. In this study of the top 1,000 *Fortune* companies, companies with at least two women on the board performed significantly better than those without. See also, Ernst & Young (2009), "Groundbreakers: Using the strength of women to rebuild the world economy," http://www.cwwl.org/media/Groundbreakers_FINAL.pdf.

IDENTIFYING OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHANGE

There are many ways to assess opportunities for women's leadership. In Botswana, NDI conducted assessments of three major political parties to determine the degree to which women were incorporated in leadership positions, and to identify both the obstacles and opportunities they faced in seeking such positions. From these assessments, NDI generated specific recommendations on how each party could increase women's political participation, such as developing a strategy to actively recruit and train women with leadership potential and establishing a quota to ensure that a certain percentage of party leadership positions were filled by women. These findings were presented to party leaders and also informed the content and design of a skills-building workshop for women potential leaders from each party. In Kenya, all 6 of NDI's political party partners developed action plans with specific recommendations on how to strengthen women's participation in each of their parties. These plans were subsequently submitted to their parties' national executive committees for implementation.

- Develop participatory processes for policy development, which consult with key stakeholders. Ensure that the women's wing of a party is structured to influence the party's platform on all issues of interest to women.⁴⁶
- Establish mechanisms to actively recruit and promote women through the party's structures, using local party branches and local government as the 'feeder teams' where women can gain experience and build networks.
- Maintain a database or resource list of women potential candidates for recruitment, training and preparation.
- Develop a mentoring program to give younger or less experienced female party members access to the support and advice of established party leaders and elected officials, male and female.
- Establish a training or skills-development program to assist women activists in addressing gaps in formal experience or education and to provide a supportive environment for practicing political skills.

Build Effective Women's Organizations

- Establish, support and resource active women's wings, caucuses or organizations. Ensure that they are mainstreamed into the party's operations, have voting powers in decision-making processes, and have the authority to influence policy and strategic outcomes.
- Construct party bylaws and budgeting with the current party leaders to ensure women's organiza-

tions are well-funded and have access to resources necessary to fully function.

Ensure Women Have Equal Access to Party Resources

- Help them create a goal and plan for the organization, which will help with structure and skills building within the membership.
- Ensure women have access to support mechanisms once they are elected, including skills development, training and technical assistance.
- Consider whether a grant system or additional subsidies are necessary to facilitate women's participation. In some countries, equal access to or distribution of a party's resources may be adequate, but in many situations women start from a position of financial disadvantage⁴⁷ and extra monetary supports for female candidates and party activists may be necessary. Some parties in Canada and South Africa, for example, offer subsidies to candidates to cover childcare costs.

Develop a Specific Plan and Enforcement Mechanism

Work with senior party officials to develop a specific plan of action, either as a specific issue or as a core component of other assistance that is offered to program partners. Formalize this plan as much as possible and as much as is appropriate. Help program partners define what the full participation of women in their organizations would look like, what the intended benefits would be, how they would achieve these, and on which pieces of the program they would need support. To the extent possible, program implementers should direct parties towards proactive

46. Parties should be cautious about assuming which issues are of importance to women. While issues traditionally associated as women's issues, such as families, health and education, are often important, the priorities of women voters shift with the political landscape. At certain times, law and order or issues related to economic development can easily overshadow other issues.

47. Women are more likely to earn less than their male peers and are also less likely to have access to traditional networks of support. They may also incur additional expenses as a result of household responsibilities, such as the costs of childcare or cleaning services, if they are expected to fulfill these roles as well as their work in politics.

CREATING A CROSS-PARTY PLAN FOR INCREASED PARTICIPATION

Projects and initiatives on internal political party reform are often conducted on a single-party basis, but several NDI programs have organized initiatives around political party reform on a multi-party basis. For example, NDI's Argentina program worked with a local women's organization to create a computerized directory of qualified women candidates. The 'databank' was created in response to political party concerns about a lack of information on capable women candidates at a time when a new quota law was being implemented. Women from a number of political parties served on regional boards for the databank project and assisted in conducting outreach and identifying potential women for the databank. Information on women to include in the databank was compiled by questionnaire and incorporated work experience, political affiliation, education and professional interests. The questionnaire was completed on a voluntary basis by women potential candidates. The databank helped political parties identify and connect with women potential candidates who they had not previously known or considered. This assisted senior party officials in recruiting women beyond their immediate networks, professional circles and family members.

and enforceable measures for women's political participation, and discourage the use of voluntary approaches. Research has found this to be ineffective, even in political parties with an equality-based ethos.⁴⁸

LINKING ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE AND CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

Focus on What Parties Gain

As with any change, the most successful approach is to focus on what political parties gain by increasing women's political participation. Senior party officials are more likely to consider changes in which the benefits to them and the parties they lead are clear. The dominant trend worldwide is that parties that expand the participation of women at senior levels improve their chances of electoral success over the long-term, particularly if the presence of women is maintained.

Political parties that fail to consider women voters separately risk leaving votes behind. Research in a number of countries demonstrates that women and men are likely to identify different issues as their priorities when deciding which party or candidate to support. This is typically referred to as the gender gap in politics. Even when men and women generally favor the same party, candidate or policy, they may do so to different degrees and therefore may experience different levels of motivation to actually vote.⁴⁹

48. *Speaker's Conference (on Parliamentary Representation), Final Report*, UK House of Commons, January 6, 2010, 49, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/spconf/239/239i.pdf>. Voluntary positive measures introduced by UK political parties were deemed ineffective in breaking a persistent, if unconscious, bias against potential electoral candidates perceived as 'risky' because they were female and/or from an ethnic minority group. This mirrors findings from other countries where passive measures were introduced.

49. Felicia Pratto, "The Gender Gap in Politics Goes Deeper than a Liberal-Conservative Split," *Stanford University News Service*, October 30, 1996, <http://news.stanford.edu/pr/96/961030gendergap.html>.

Because adult women typically outlive adult men, female voters outnumber male voters in most countries, making them the majority of the eligible voting population. In countries experiencing declining voter turnout, women voters often deliver the margin of victory for successful parties and candidates. Therefore, political parties should start to pay particular attention to women as voters, candidates and policy-makers in campaigns and elections. Even in countries where the head of a family or clan ordains how the family will vote, parties should not make assumptions about what women voters will do in the privacy of the voting booth.

Programs working with political parties on their electoral strategies may consider assisting program partners with one or more of the following strategic options.

Run a Gender-Sensitive Vote Count or Voter Targeting Exercise

In the months before an election, political parties should be looking at exactly where their support is likely to come from among the voting population. A vote count is an assessment of how many votes a party or candidate will need to win on election day; voter targeting determines which voters will cast these votes. Programs working with political parties to identify their supporters can help strategists examine the voting patterns of women separately from those of men. This may expose different trends in motivation, turnout, and policy interest, and also help parties get in the habit of considering women voters as distinct. Gender-sensitive vote counts and voter targeting exercises can be conducted by combining the results from the last similar elections with exit polls, survey research, voter registration, and/or census information, depending on what is available. The objectives are to:

STRATEGIC RESPONSES TO WOMEN VOTERS

In Serbia, NDI has assisted several political parties in conducting research on voters' perceptions of the capacity for both women and men to hold public office. The research revealed that a large majority supported women's equal capacity to govern, identified issues of priority for men and women voters, and found differences between the two. NDI presented this information to program partners and worked with party leaders to help them use the research strategically to develop campaign materials and messages specifically targeting women voters, and to appointing more women to public office. The Institute also worked with the Union of Roma in Serbia to amend its candidate list, making it 30 percent women, and therefore potentially more attractive to voters who prioritize issues related to women, transparency or responsive government.

Similarly, for the 2003 legislative elections, NDI's program in Morocco conducted a national media campaign to increase awareness of women candidates and gender issues in the elections. The Institute produced advertisements which targeted women voters and promoted gender-related issues as compelling reasons to vote. The campaign received significant media attention and helped to raise the profile of women candidates, women voters and the issues they identified as important.

- identify exactly where a party is getting its support on a geographic and demographic basis;
- assess where it needs to build support using the same criteria;
- ensure that parties are looking specifically at trends among women voters in terms of issue preference, party or candidate preference, and likelihood of voting; and
- gauge what impact candidates, policies and message will have on targeted voting populations.

Plan Voter Outreach and Mobilization Efforts with a Gender Perspective

Political parties should consider a number of outreach techniques for voter contact, including survey or voter identification canvassing, voter registration drives, and rallies or other public events. Parties often use these

opportunities to gather information on potential supporters, including voting intention, priority issues and contact information. Work with political parties to integrate gender awareness into these efforts and ensure that women voters are part of a party's outreach and mobilization efforts; that events are designed specifically for women; and that candidates and party representatives go to locations where women will be comfortable communicating with them.

Canvass (or door-to-door) activities which gather information from voters should also track the gender of the respondent, as well as priority issues and political preferences. The same should apply to any activity where voter details are collected, such as rallies, events and voter registration drives. Only by specifying whether the voter was male or female will party strategists be able to track whether men and women are expressing different concerns and motivations.

APPLYING A GENDER PERSPECTIVE TO RESEARCH

NDI's Indonesia focus group program was designed to assist political parties in gaining insight into voter behavior and to identify policy issues of importance to voters. A gender perspective was applied throughout the design and implementation of the focus groups. NDI personnel working on the project included questions that were both gender-sensitive and addressed issues of particular concern to women and men. They also recognized that women's views may not be adequately heard in mixed focus groups.

The project staff developed focus group questions about women's political participation and perceptions of women in politics, and conducted an equal number of separate focus groups for men and women. Recognizing that men and women often have different perspectives on the same issue as a result of their life experiences, NDI also disaggregated the results of the focus groups according to gender and used a gender analysis to more accurately interpret the responses of male and female focus groups. The result was strong, relevant and gender-sensitive data that was used to inform future programming, including candidate training and orientations for new candidates.

BUILDING CAPACITY IN COLOMBIA

NDI has worked with nine political parties in Colombia to strengthen the participation of women in politics. Program activities have included presentations and workshops on women's political participation, leadership, campaign management, addressing gender in policy and platform development, and the effect of the electoral systems on women's participation.

NDI has also supported the strengthening of Colombia's congressional women's caucus by providing consultation and advice and fostering communication with women's civic groups. Additionally, NDI facilitated an exchange of experiences between Colombia's congressional women's caucus and women legislators from other countries. To conduct these activities, NDI forged alliances with UN bodies and governmental aid agencies from North America and Europe.

Colombia's women's caucus and grassroots women's organizations, along with the commitment and support of other women in parliament, was crucial to winning approval for a comprehensive law on women's rights to a life without violence.

Canvass exercises can be particularly effective in building relationships with voters and collecting valuable information about their preferences and intentions. Work with those constructing questionnaires for survey canvasses to make certain that they are gender sensitive and do not exclude choices for respondents which women may be more likely to select.

Conduct Gender-Sensitive Research

If a political party is in a position to conduct its own research, work with party strategists to ensure questions are incorporated that look specifically at the priorities of different demographics, particularly women. Apply the same standards for any research conducted on behalf of political parties to inform their electoral strategies.

Consider whether the research mechanism being used will adequately extract the opinions of women. In a focus group project conducted for political parties, NDI's party program in Indonesia determined that the views of women were less likely to be fully represented in mixed-gender focus groups. For this reason, the program ran an equal number of groups that were exclusively women and exclusively men.

It may also be useful to measure the profile or image of women candidates, and to identify opportunities and challenges in promoting women as candidates. NDI's program in Morocco conducted focus groups in advance of municipal elections in 2009 and discovered that voter unease in selecting women was connected to a general disillusionment with political parties, as well as traditional views of women's roles. This information helped inform the agenda for NDI's training program

for women candidates as well as the electoral strategies of program partners.

Develop Messages and Policy Initiatives for Specific Demographics

During the 1992 presidential election in the United States, Democratic Party strategist James Carville famously described the gender gap in politics as the great tradition in which a husband and wife travel miles together to a polling station just to cancel out each other's vote.⁵⁰

Many of the factors which make this an issue in the United States, including the different life experiences and social expectations of women and men, are at play in other countries as well. Political parties should not assume that the campaign message that mobilizes male voters will have the same effect on women.

Messages designed to target women voters should be based on research and an assessment of their priorities and motivators. Political parties should be certain to include these issues in their communication efforts, and ensure that the issues identified by women voters as important are included in platforms and manifestos.

Work with party strategists and decision-makers to deconstruct any assumptions about the issues that women identify as priorities in an election. While policies affecting families, health and education are often important to women, the priorities of women voters shift with the political landscape. At certain times, law and order issues or those related to economic stability can easily

50. Chris Hegedus and D.A. Pennebaker, *The War Room* (USA: Focus Features, 1994), Documentary Film.

overshadow what might be characterized as traditional women's concerns.

CREATING MEMBERSHIP AND CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT PROGRAMS

Political parties that focus on member and candidate recruitment have the potential to tap into new sectors of support, bring in new ideas and energy, and benefit at the ballot box from promoting women as candidates. The more representative of a community a political party is, the more likely it is to earn community support. Program partners seeking to embark or expand efforts to recruit new members and candidates can work in a number of ways:

- Focus recruitment efforts on civil society, and help program partners build links with like-minded civil society organizations and associations. Many politically active women and young people focus their energies on affecting change through civil society organizations, the so-called 'third sector'; and many of these organizations are run or led by talented, experienced women who may be interested in making a contribution to politics.
- Develop a culture of accommodation. Political parties must find specific ways to become attractive to busy women, including offering flexible meeting times and financial supports for expenses incurred during party activities.
- Organize recruitment efforts around shared values. What values does the party represent and seek to advance that would motivate women to join or stand as candidates? Tie these into any research political parties are doing on women voters and their unique priorities and motivators, or into a candidate recruitment campaign message.
- Use the internet and social media for outreach. Worldwide, the majority of users of social media websites including Facebook, Twitter, Ning, and Flickr are female.⁵¹ The internet and social media can be valuable for membership recruitment because they allow parties to get a message out quickly to a broad audience with minimal cost.
- Create healthy competition within the party. Give each local branch a regular target for recruitment, including a minimum number of new women members. Promote a reward or acknowledgement

system within the party for whichever branch can recruit the most members in a quarter and the most women overall.

- Develop a database or resource list of potential members and candidates for recruitment.

DELIVERING EFFECTIVE TRAINING AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Training and skills development programs that emphasize and support women's political participation are one of the most effective and powerful ways to overcome some of the barriers to women in politics and to facilitate a lasting transformation in the quality of leadership and decision-making in a country.

Effective training and skills development programs help women in politics build networks of support, develop meaningful political and personal skills, and cultivate the confidence they will need for the competitive world of politics and governance. They also expose male participants to the capabilities of their female colleagues and build useful professional relationships. Mixed-sex environments can help breakdown cultural and class barriers as well.

Political parties that support training programs for their members, staff and elected officials stand to gain more professional and competitive organizations, stronger ties with voters, more effective and efficient campaigns, and elected officials better able to deliver on policy initiatives.

Political parties that support the professional development of women members also stand to gain in terms of public perception and interest. Women candidates and officials can be far more credible delivering the party's message on issues that are important to female voters. Political parties with women in visible leadership positions distinguish themselves from an often crowded field of men of a certain age and social class.

The appendices at the end of the guidebook offer more guidance on best practices for designing and delivering training programs to support women's political participation. A few key points:

- Balance single-sex and mixed-sex environments. Women-only activities are a valuable part of women's political participation programs. This is particularly true when it comes to training. However, mixed-sex environments should also be incorporated into training activities. Integrated activities allow male and female party members to in-

51. Greg Pellegrino, Sally D'Amato and Anne Weisberg, *Paths to power: Advancing women in government*, (USA, Deloitte, 2010), <http://www.deloitte.com/pathstopower>.

MAKING TRAINING ACCESSIBLE AND EXPANSIVE

Training of Trainers Model

NDI's *Supporting Women Political Leaders* program in South Asia conducted candidate and elected representative training for women political party members in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. By using a training-of-trainers model, the program was able to assist more than 700 women in these countries to strengthen their political and campaign skills, take on greater leadership roles within their parties, serve their constituents once in office, and improve their self-confidence in general.

Regional Trainers Model

NDI's Regional Trainers program in Serbia began in 1999, as the Institute evacuated most staff in Belgrade prior to the NATO bombing over the conflict with Kosovo. NDI identified 6 activists from 3 political parties who could remain in country to train and prepare their party colleagues. NDI brought these activists out of Serbia for a number of training, skills development and regional networking opportunities.

In 2000, when the chance presented itself to challenge the regime of President Slobodan Milosevic, Serbian political parties were far more prepared than they would have been without the assistance of these young trainers and activists.

These efforts were formalized as the Regional Trainers program, which expanded to 68 trainers by 2006 representing 18 political parties throughout Serbia. NDI currently works with about 50 trainers, extending outreach to regions throughout the country.

Interact in a professional environment as peers and equals. Including senior party officials, male and female, in training activities as observers, speakers or even participants, allows them to see women party members in professional and leadership positions.

- Disseminate information as far and for as long as possible. Some of the challenges for women interested in participating in a training program include difficulty traveling, excessive demands on their time, and language barriers. There also may be an issue of numbers: many more women may be seeking assistance than the program has the capacity to train given time or budget constraints. Many of these issues can be addressed by designing trainings that are easily portable and transferable.
- Allow enough practice time. Allow enough time for women to practice new or more challenging skills, such as public speaking and media training. Incorporate confidence-building measures in trainings for women who are new to politics. All of these topics can take up a lot of training time, but they are important opportunities that help women develop long-term skills and build self-confidence.
- Cater to the participants. Consider the needs of the audience in terms of childcare, transportation

and travel time, work or home demands, whether a chaperone or escort will be required, when designing the training. Try to accommodate as many of these needs as possible.

- Support and follow-up after trainings is critical. Include follow-up and support for program participants, particularly women candidates. For many, the hard work is just beginning and continued assistance and support from NDI staff and programs can make the critical difference in a woman's decision to pursue politics or not. The iKNOW Politics website can be used as an ongoing resource.
- Don't forget about staff. The focus of women's political programming is frequently on the women who will be candidates for public office, particularly during an election year. While this is certainly important, it is also valuable to help build a population of professional campaign and political staff who will work with these women in the parties on their campaigns and once in office.
- Ensure trainers are well-prepared. Participants in training programs appreciate the exposure and experience of international trainers, but are frequently frustrated by their lack of awareness of cultural issues and the local political context. External trainers should be well-prepared, ensure that training materials are relevant and use

FOLLOW-UP AND SUPPORT FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES AND ELECTED OFFICIALS

NDI's program in Sierra Leone conducted training for more than 150 female candidates in the 2008 local elections. During the campaign period, NDI staff remained in regular contact with women candidates through telephone conversations and personal meetings to discuss the progress of their campaigns and help identify solutions to any problems. This was particularly important when there were incidents of political and election-related violence and intimidation. Program participants identified these regular communications as an important source of support during the campaign.

After the elections, NDI conducted a seminar for newly-elected women councilors and developed a manual covering vital information and skills they would need in their new positions. As a result of these efforts, women councilors in the Northern and Southern Regions went on to form regional associations to support each other as councilors.

In Burkina Faso, NDI conducted monthly capacity building workshops with almost 100 local councilors, most of whom had never held public office before. The sessions were held in 8 towns and cities throughout the country and covered a variety of topics, including accounting and budget management, roles and responsibilities in the decentralization process, which devolved more powers to local councils, leadership and communication skills, as well as a variety of campaign skills and fundraising.

Participants appreciated the regular access to information and training and reported an increase in their knowledge about the government decentralization process, as well as an improvement in their public speaking and management skills.

examples from the local area, and/or that trainers from the region or from countries with similar political structures are used as much as possible.⁵²

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Gender mainstreaming requires that concerns about the different impact that the program will have on men and women are integrated into the program. A gender perspective helps to identify the hidden biases that lead to inequitable situations for men and women. Most often, it is women who are most affected by these biases. Therefore, when evaluating the effectiveness of a program, not only the number of people trained should be recorded, but also the number who subsequently stand for office, and win elections. Practitioners must keep in mind that monitoring and evaluating women's political participation is more than just a numbers game.

In the case of political party programs, outcomes for women and for the parties to which they belong are often highly qualitative, making it important that the more nuanced indicators of progress and change are monitored as closely as the quantitative results.

Programs are at an advantage when they have a clear picture from the outset of which areas of program impact they will need to monitor and evaluate and what

tools can be adopted or designed to track these with as much accuracy as possible. Media monitoring, for example, can be useful in assessing whether program participants are impacting the public discourse in an election, moving into positions as party officials or spokespersons, or actively pursuing public speaking and outreach opportunities.

However, it is not always possible to anticipate how individuals or organizations will respond to activities and assistance over time and it may be necessary to maintain a degree of awareness of the general dynamics around and within political parties during the life of a program. Recognizing that transformation is often progressive or even generational, look for indications of change in some of the following areas.

Political Parties and Senior Party Officials

- Has the nature of the relationship between NDI and senior party officials changed in any way? Is there more open communication? Are there more or less requests for information and assistance, particularly regarding women's participation?
- Has the nature of the relationship between senior party officials and women party activists changed in any way? Is there more dialogue? Are there any indications of pressure or growing support for structural or policy change within the party?

52. McCollom, 29-30.

- Have any structural or policy changes been realized within the party? Are these being implemented?
 - Has the nature of the relationship between political parties and civil society changed in any way? Is there increased communication or consultation?
 - Have there been any changes in the way the party conducts business? Are women's needs being accommodated?
 - Have any party bylaws changed? Has the conference or congress process become more inclusive? Are there any signs that women tend to have more influence in decision-making? Are there any indications of initiatives in these directions?
 - Have there been any changes in the women's wings of political parties? Have women's wings formed in parties that previous did not have one? Have women's caucuses or organizations been given any new rights or authorities within the party?
 - Have there been any changes to the party's candidate selection process, or is a new system being discussed or debated? Who influenced this and how?
 - Have any parties adopted a more consultative or inclusive process on policy or platform development? What was the result of the new process?
 - Are women being promoted within the party? How is this being done and why is it being done?
 - Are any parties developing electoral, outreach or recruitment strategies that consider the specific needs and interests of women?
 - Are there signs of political parties paying particular attention to women outside of elections?
 - What is happening with the party budget? Are there any indications that the particular needs of women are being considered in the distribution or use of party resources?
 - Have there been any changes to the policies or platforms of political parties? How deep do these go? What degree of change do they represent?
 - Are there any indications that women are simply being taken more seriously by political parties?
- Women as Candidates, Party Officials and Elected Officials*
- Are there any visible manifestations of increased self-confidence among program participants?
- Are any participants moving into leadership positions who may have previously hesitated to put themselves forward? Are any participants speaking more frequently in public or to the media? Are more women standing as candidates?
- Have women elected officials taken any legislative initiatives? If so, on what topics? How likely are these to be successful? What are they doing to garner support? Are there signs that the different governing styles of women are having an impact?
 - Do any women program participants appear to have more drive or ambition when it comes to politics? Do they talk more about a career in politics, or use more robust language to describe what they would like to do as political activists?
 - What is happening to campaign and party staff members who participated in the program? Are they demonstrating signs of stronger political or professional skills? Are there any indications that they may move into leadership positions as well?
 - Are there any visible impacts on the political environment from the increased involvement of women? Are there fewer instances of violence, for example? Are topics or policies being discussed as part of the election that previously would not have received attention?
 - Have there been any changes in women's access to resources for campaigns or political initiatives? What are these and what brought this about?
 - Has any polling or research indicated a change in perception among voters when women candidates are more prominent or when women elected officials are pursuing a particular policy agenda?

Outreach and Sustainability

- To what extent was the program able to adapt to the needs of women participants? In what ways did it adapt? What were the effects of these efforts? What did this mean in terms of program impact, efficiency and value for money?
- To what extent was the program able to develop local capacity?
- To what extent was the program able to produce relevant and easily accessible materials? In what ways was this done?

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GOVERNANCE

INTRODUCTION

Governance is the way in which governments and public sector institutions guarantee the rule of law, promote economic growth and provide some measure of social protection to citizens. Generally, the term “democratic governance” refers to a government’s ability to deliver on these promises while adhering to the democratic values of transparency, representation, pluralism, and accountability. NDI’s governance programs seek to promote effective public-sector institutions and processes that operate in a manner consistent with these democratic values by working with legislatures, executive offices, and local governments. NDI delivers technical and institutional support to these bodies, while emphasizing the significance of their political dimensions.

Research indicates that whether a legislator is male or female has a distinct impact on their policy priorities.⁵³ There is strong evidence, for instance, that as more women are elected to office, there is also a corollary increase in policy making that emphasizes the priorities of families, women, and ethnic and racial minorities. When women are empowered as political leaders, countries experience higher standards of living, and positive developments can be seen in education, infrastructure and health.⁵⁴ Women must be actively engaged in governance to represent the concerns of women and other marginalized voters and to suggest policy alternatives.

Several studies show that women’s political participation results in tangible gains for democratic governance, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs,⁵⁵ in-

creased cooperation across party and ethnic lines,⁵⁶ and more sustainable peace.⁵⁷ Women’s participation positively affects communities, legislatures, political parties, and citizen’s lives, and helps democracy deliver.

Research specifically looking at gender styles in legislative committees shows that women’s leadership and conflict resolution styles embody democratic ideals and that women tend to work in a less hierarchical, more participatory, and more collaborative way than male colleagues.⁵⁸ Women are also more likely to work across party lines and strive for consensus, even in partisan and polarized environments.

Moreover, women lawmakers say in studies that they see issues like health care, the environment and combating violence, more broadly as social issues, possibly as a result of the role that women have traditionally played in their communities,⁵⁹ and that women more than men see government as a tool to help serve underrepresented or minority groups.⁶⁰ Women lawmakers are often perceived as more sensitive to community concerns. Recent focus groups convened by NDI in Kenya, for instance, showed that both women and men regard female members of parliament as performing better than men in terms of constituent representation.

Women are deeply committed to peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction and have a unique and powerful perspective to bring to the negotiating table. Research and case studies suggest that peace agreements, post-conflict reconstruction and governance have a better chance of long-term success when

53. *Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality* (New York: UNICEF, 2006), http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/11_12_06SOWC2007.pdf.

54. Li-Ju Chen, “Female Policymaker and Educational Expenditure: Cross-Country Evidence,” *Research Papers in Economics 2008: 1* Stockholm University, Department of Economics, revised, Feb 27, 2008, http://ideas.repec.org/p/hhs/sunrpe/2008_0001.html. L. Beaman et al., “Women Politicians, Gender Bias, and Policy-making in Rural India,” Background Paper for UNICEF’s *The State of the World’s Children Report 2007*, 11, 15-16, http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/beaman_duflor_pande_topalova.pdf.

55. A. Cammisa, A. and B. Reingold, “Women in State Legislators and State Legislative Research: Beyond Sameness and Difference,” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Vol. 4, No.2 (2004): 181-210, <http://sppq.press.illinois.edu/4/2/cammisa.pdf>.

56. C.S. Rosenthal, “Gender Styles in Legislative Committees” *Women & Politics* Vol. 21, No. 2 (2001): 21-46, http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J014v21n02_02.

57. C. Chinkin, “Peace Agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring the Participation of Women” United Nations: Division for the Advancement of Women (2003), <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/peace2003/reports/BPChinkin.PDF>.

58. Rosenthal.

59. Karen O’Connor, “Do Women in Local, State, and National Legislative Bodies Matter?: A Definitive Yes Proves Three Decades of Research By Political Scientists” (paper presented at the Why Women Matter Summit, Washington, DC, March 3, 2003), 24-28, http://www.thewhitehouseproject.org/culture/researchandpolls/documents/Briefing_book.pdf.

60. Cammisa and Reingold.

women are involved.⁶¹ Furthermore, there is strong evidence that establishing sustainable peace requires transforming power relationships, including achieving more equitable gender relations.⁶²

This chapter is written primarily for program staff and practitioners who are seeking to increase women's participation and to improve governance by promoting gender sensitive approaches. It is also anticipated that the chapter will be a useful tool for public servants, as well as their partners in civil society, who are advocating for more inclusive governance.

An overview of the key components of good governance and a variety of strategies for improving democratic governance programs by increasing women's participation and representation are provided here. This is not meant to be an exhaustive introduction to democracy and governance. Instead, it is designed to illuminate key issues related to women and gender as they intersect with governance. Particular attention is paid to those program areas in which NDI concentrates its efforts – legislative and local government strengthening.

PROGRAM DESIGN

Democratic governments that fail to deliver basic levels of stability and services risk losing their legitimacy. NDI programs address these issues through programs that assist governments in listening and responding to the most pressing citizen concerns. Governance programs build capacity to address specific policy issues, such as poverty reduction and HIV/AIDS. Both of these issues affect women disproportionately: according to UN reports, 70 percent of the world's poor are women⁶³ and an estimated 50 percent of people living with AIDS are women.⁶⁴

NDI programs target legislators, legislative staff, executive offices, and local governments and build the capacity of representative institutions. Programs should be designed to help shape laws and policies that reflect national and constituent interests—both men's and women's—and oversee the work of the executive branch, particularly with regard to the national budget. Governance programs also strengthen local councils and

other local government entities. Programs that focus on local governance aim to help local entities work with citizens more effectively, to improve the monitoring of local budgets, and to improve the delivery services to the public.

Programs that specifically promote women's participation in each of these areas of governance are critical for narrowing the gap that exists in all societies between women and men, in terms of access to resources, decision-making authority, and political power. Gender mainstreaming in governance programs ensures gender equality at all levels - in research, legislation, policy development, and program activities. It also helps to ensure that women as well as men shape, participate in, and gain from these activities. Program staff trained to run a gender assessment and integrate gender in governance programs can design and implement programs that promote equality and do not entrench existing disparities. While, separate, stand-alone women's programs can be extremely effective, too often they are an after-thought or an "add-on." Frequently, they are under-funded and not integrated into overall programming goals. Programs to support women's participation should, instead, be an important component of a comprehensive strategy to build democracy and improve governance.

CONTEXT

In order to begin the process of developing programs in governance, staff needs to understand the current status and structure of different governing documents and institutions, including the constitution, the legislative branch, the executive branch, and sub-national or local government. Moreover, the status of women within the government must be researched and analyzed to create a baseline understanding on which activities will be based.

The Constitution

Some countries have been governed by the same constitution for centuries. The United States, for example, adopted its constitution in 1787. It has been amended, or modified, 27 times in the intervening years, but the fundamental principles remain the same. Other countries have more recent constitutions. France, for example, adopted its current constitution in 1958. Lithuania adopted its constitution in 1992. It is common for countries to draft new constitutions in the aftermath of war or major political upheaval. Germany and Italy, for example, each drafted new constitutions after World War II. South Africa's constitution was drafted in 1996, after the fall of apartheid.

61. Chinkin

62. Richard Strickland and Nata Duvvury, "Gender Equity and Peacebuilding: From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way," International Center for Research on Women (2003), http://www.icrw.org/docs/gender_peace_report_0303.pdf.

63. "Women, Poverty and Economics," UNIFEM, http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_poverty_economics/.

64. "Gender Inequalities and HIV," The World Health Organization, http://www.who.int/gender/hiv_aids/en/index.html.

Historically, the drafting of constitutions was conducted by a few elites behind closed doors. Increasingly, however, countries are employing democratic and participatory processes to draft new constitutions. Such processes involve the participation of citizens and of civil society organizations in broad public consultation. Thus, the drafting process is a window of opportunity for ensuring women's participation, as well as enshrining women's rights and gender equality principles. Designers should find out the status of a country's constitution before they begin to design a governance program.

Women's Rights

Constitutions should establish basic human rights, including the rights of the individual, the protection of minorities, and the equality of women and men. Constitutions should seek to eliminate discrimination in both the letter and the application of the law. Civil, political, social, and economic rights are all detailed in international human rights laws, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Social and Economic Rights. Gender equality is addressed in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Domestic constitutions often cite the language of these international standards.

The South African constitution, arguably one of the most progressive in the world, includes a broad explanation of women and men's equality before the law, equal protection, and non-discrimination in Section 9. This section also provides for affirmative action to "protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination."⁶⁵ In 2008, Ecuador adopted a new constitution that calls for the "eradication of inequality and discrimination towards women, and proposes putting a value on unpaid domestic work."⁶⁶ These examples illustrate the need to know what women's rights are included in the constitution of the host nation that the program is working in.

Legislative Branch

A healthy democracy must have an independent and effective national legislature. NDI has worked with national and regional-level legislatures in more than 60 countries to build the capacity of representative institu-

tions to communicate with citizens and respond to their concerns, to shape laws and policies that reflect national and constituent interests, and to oversee the work of the executive branch, particularly in the promulgation and implementation of the national budget.

Globally, there is an emerging consensus that women have a significant role to play in elected bodies, and the number of women in national legislatures is growing. In the last 10 years, the world average rose from women comprising 13.1 percent of seats in national legislatures to 18.9 percent. Regionally, the Nordic countries lead the world; women there hold 42.1 percent of seats. The most rapid growth has been seen in Sub-Saharan Africa, which jumped from 11.3 to 18.8 percent in the last 10 years. This is due in large part to the growing use of quotas for women. The only country in the world with a majority female legislative body is Rwanda. Its lower house, or Chamber of Deputies, is 56 percent female.⁶⁷

Executive Branch

Executive offices – offices of presidents, prime ministers, and ministers – are responsible for directing the development of their countries. They oversee the implementation of laws enacted by the legislature, and ensure that government ministries deliver programs and services to citizens. Yet executive office officials frequently lack the skills and capacity to identify, prioritize, and develop the policies or manage their implementation effectively. In the same vein, executive offices often lack the understanding, capacity, and political will required to effectively mainstream gender considerations. The failure of government to effectively implement laws and policies and meet the needs of all citizens – women and men – undermines democratic reforms.

As in the other branches of government, women are significantly underrepresented in the executive branch. Currently, there are only 14 women Heads of State or Government. And globally, women hold only 16 percent of ministerial portfolios.⁶⁸ Women ministers are typically assigned sex-stereotyped portfolios, such as women's affairs, education, or health. Program designers should ask what ministries exist in the government and what roles women play in the government.

65. "Constitution of South Africa, Chapter 2, Section 9," South African Government Information, <http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/index.htm>.

66. Duroyan Fertl, "Ecuador: New progressive constitution adopted," *Green Left*, October 10, 2008, <http://www.greenleft.org.au/node/40408>.

67. "Women in Parliaments: World and Regional Averages," Inter-Parliamentary Union, last modified March 31, 2010, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

68. Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Parliament in 2009: The Year in Perspective," *The World of Parliaments Quarterly Review*, Issue No. 3 (March 2010), 17, http://www.ipu.org/PDF/wop/37_en.pdf.

Local Government

Sub-national or local government is a powerful force in most people's lives. Citizens rely on local government for the provision of services, the maintenance of public infrastructure and resources, and the resolution of disputes. Women and men are more likely to come into contact on a daily basis with representatives of their local government than with representatives of the national government. Thus, both women and men should be represented in local government, and local-level institutions and policies should be gender-sensitive.

Ensuring democratic governance at the local level has taken on additional importance in recent decades, as many developing countries have begun to decentralize government functions and authority. Decentralization means devolving political, administrative, and fiscal responsibility from the national to the sub-national level, such as provinces or districts. Often encouraged by donor countries, decentralization is based on the idea that some government functions, such as national defense, must be reserved for the national level, while other functions, such as education, policing, and some public services, are better and more efficiently managed at the local level.

The local level is also where many elected officials begin their political careers, gaining experience before moving on to the national level of government. In this way, it can serve as an important training ground for democratic governance. Although comparative statistics on women's participation in local government are incomplete, particularly with regard to Asia and Africa, the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) published a global survey in 1998 that estimated women's participation at the local level generally to be higher than their presence at the national level.⁶⁹

RELEVANT RESEARCH

When conducting background research on governance issues, international reports can be examined to understand how the country's government functions, and to identify the most pressing policy issues. Consider partnering with local groups to find information on the legislative and executive branches. Information on local governance issues may be harder to find from publicly available sources, but local groups may be able to provide this information more easily since they might be

tracking particular issues on a regular basis. Research should also include a gender audit of existing laws and policies. An audit of public opinion polls can reveal more about what citizen concerns and policy issues the government is or is not addressing. It might be necessary to consider how to build the capacity of the Women's Ministry to conduct this research, do gender analysis, and complete the required needs assessments. Make sure to convene single-sex and mixed-sex groups to consult with about the constitution drafting process. Speak with women of voting age and ask whether they voted in the last election or not, and if not, why? Questions should be designed to elicit the barriers to their participation and shed light on how programs can be designed to overcome those barriers.

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Consulting with key male and female stakeholders is crucial to the success of any program. Consultations should include the following key stakeholders: any government "watchdog" groups, women's organizations; women's advocacy groups working on issues like domestic violence, health care, and poverty; members of the media; the legislative leadership; female office holders; and the Women's Ministry, or other government experts, and business and religious leaders. Make sure to invite members of the Women's Ministry to participate in all democracy and governance programs, not just those that are specifically about women's rights. Also make sure that all the other ministers are invited to participate in activities focused on gender. When working with partners make sure to choose a variety of partners that have a track record of collaborating with women candidates, women voters, and women's civil society organizations. These partners can and should include organizations that have a mostly male membership and male champions of gender equality. Working specifically with local women's organizations can help to build their capacity to develop a gender analysis of draft constitutional provisions, proposed electoral systems, legislation and budgets.

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH AND STAKEHOLDER INFORMATION

After conducting the research and consulting with stakeholders, the final step is to analyze the data with regard to governance issues. A key aspect of applying a gender perspective is to seek to understand how gender roles will limit or enhance the program's intended short-term outputs and long-term outcomes. Typically, a critical look at the differences between men and women will reveal that women are more disadvantaged than men as

69. *Women in Local Government*, Stockholm: International Union of Local Authorities, 1998, cited in: *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2000), <http://www.undp.org/governance/docs/Gender-Pub-21stcentury.pdf>.

candidates, appointees, staff and elected officials. A gender analysis will determine what the barriers to women's participation and representation are, and can help design programs and budgets to address them.

Based on the findings of the analysis, programs could help to advocate or support the parliamentary gender committee, the women's caucus, and/or the parliamentary staff in conducting a review of existing legislation to determine where there are discriminatory rules, laws, or practices that need to be revised. Programs should aim to have a review team that is composed of both male and females. Program designs should be gender-sensitive based on the analysis.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Working with individual members, parliamentary leadership, committees, staff, and political party caucuses, NDI governance programs are tailored to help overcome the hurdles that developing legislatures commonly face. Ongoing training and advice are offered on a number of issues, including, committee structure and operations, constituency relations, executive-legislative relations, legislative and constitution drafting, negotiation skills, legislative agenda development, party caucus operations, legislative analysis and research, legislator roles and responsibilities, and legislative budget processes.

All these areas are relevant to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women. Gender mainstreaming requires attention to the different impacts of governance programming on men and women. Program designers and implementers should keep in mind how legislation or government norms might affect men and women differently and might perpetuate disparities between them. Practitioners should clarify the opportunities and constraints to developing equitable legislation and emphasize the importance of developing gender-sensitive budgets.

Additionally, if local governments are to effectively shoulder increased responsibility, local elected officials should represent the interests of the men and women who make up their constituents, manage local development service delivery projects equitably, and coordinate with regional and national-level governments to address both men's and women's concerns. Yet, too often local elected officials lack the necessary experience, access to information, and skills to carry out their jobs effectively. This is especially true of women, who face many obstacles to gaining the necessary experience, and access to information that they need, due to their low status.

Program implementers need to ensure that both men's and women's needs and priorities are addressed throughout the life of the project—whether they are political leaders, government officials, or staff constituents.

CONSTITUTION DRAFTING

Drafting Committees

Constitution drafting committees vary widely. Drafting committees can be elected or appointed. They can be closed or open. They can be independent commissions or legislative commissions. They can include public consultation at a variety of stages – before the drafting begins, during the process, once a final draft has been produced, or throughout.

The fundamental rights of women are established and protected by the constitution. Some countries, as described below, have gone further and adopted constitutional provisions that actively promote women's political participation. Women should be members of constitution making bodies. In East Timor, at least 40 percent of the constitutional commissioners were women.⁷⁰ In Rwanda, only 3 of 12 commissioners were women, but they were credited with working closely with civil society activists to ensure that women's concerns were relayed directly to the commission.⁷¹

In addition to advocating for women's presence as members of drafting committees, program implementers or practitioners can also work to ensure that all members of constitution making bodies – women and men – receive training on how to draft a gender-sensitive constitution. Women's rights and gender experts could be brought in, for example, to work with the drafting committee. Culturally appropriate and regionally specific model language for key constitutional provisions should be circulated widely.

Constitutional drafting committees should be instructed on gender equality and non-discrimination issues, and should be provided with sample language and relevant examples of constitutional protections for women that exist in other countries.

Consult and Educate Citizens About the Constitution Drafting Process

Drafting committees can solicit citizen input or com-

70. United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) Press Office, *Fact Sheet 11: Gender Equality Promotion* (April 2002).

71. Elizabeth Powley, "Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition," (Washington: Hunt Alternatives Fund, 2003), http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/10_strengthening_governance_the_role_of_women_in_rwanda_s_transition.pdf.

ments at various stages in the drafting process. Public consultation can take the form of roundtable discussions, public meetings, opinion polls, “teach-ins,” national conventions, public referenda, or other mechanisms. Experts caution, however, “whatever method is chosen, it is essential for [public consultation] to be fully representative of the social groups and political interests within society. No party or interest should have a dominant voice.”⁷² The greater the public input during the process, the more opportunity there is to build public support for the final document and the more likely the public is to feel “ownership” of the constitution.

Often constitution drafters or drafting committees assume that women’s views will be included in general consultations. This is a mistake. Unless specific, proactive efforts are made to solicit women’s views, they are often not heard. Ensuring that women and men are included in equal numbers is imperative to gender equality goals. This is particularly true in cultures where women have not historically participated on public forums or do not feel comfortable speaking in front of men. In these situations, conducting separate, single-sex consultative meetings to complement larger community-wide consultations can help to address the problem and ensure that women’s perspectives are included. A constitution drafting process cannot be considered open, consultative, and transparent unless all sectors of society have the opportunity to engage – including women.

In the same way, civic education campaigns that are conducted during the constitution drafting process need to include special efforts to reach out to girls and women. Across much of the world, women have less access to education than men. They are less likely to engage in public debates, interact with government represen-

tatives and authorities, and receive official information. In post-apartheid South Africa, for example, civic education campaigns designed to inform and educate the population about the elections and the constitution drafting process convened separate, women-only sessions in addition to general public meetings.

In addition to engaging directly with citizens, constitution drafting committees should be encouraged to solicit input from representatives of civil society, including women’s civic organizations. Constitution drafting activities may include supporting civil society efforts to draft and propose specific language for inclusion in the constitution.

Influence the Political and Electoral System that is Adopted

Many constitutions establish a political and electoral system (in some countries, parts of the electoral code are established by subsequent legislation). As discussed in the previous chapter, some electoral systems are more advantageous to women than others. Proportional systems tend to produce more female members of parliament than single member constituency, or majoritarian, systems.

In addition to establishing either a proportional or majoritarian system for the election of legislators, some constitutions establish quotas for women participation in elected office. This is an opportunity for a constitution to go beyond simply establishing and protecting women’s rights, to establishing the value of women’s participation. While many countries have enacted quotas through national legislation, a constitutionally mandated quota has greater immutability. The 2003 Constitution of Rwanda mandates the participation of women at the level of “at least 30 percent” in “all decision-mak-

FACILITATING A PARTICIPATORY DRAFTING PROCESS

In Sudan in 2005, NDI held focus group discussions on key constitutional issues, including women’s rights, in advance of Southern Sudan’s constitution drafting process. Focus groups of men and women were convened separately. These were the first citizens to be included in the drafting process. NDI briefed the constitution drafting committee on the findings of the citizen focus groups. This was particularly important because the government had neither the time nor the capacity to conduct a broadly inclusive process without support. A publication on the focus group process, entitled *A Foundation for Peace: Citizen Thoughts on the Southern Sudan Constitution*, is available online.⁷³

72. Jolynn Shoemaker, “Constitutional Rights and Legislation,” *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (Washington and London: Hunt Alternatives and International Alert, 2004), http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/87_inclusive_security_toolkit.cfm.

73. Traci D. Cook with Luka Biong Deng, *A Foundation for Peace: Citizen Thoughts on the Southern Sudan Constitution* (Washington: NDI, 2005), <http://ndi.org/node/13490>.

ENSURING CITIZEN INPUT TO THE CONSTITUTION DRAFTING PROCESS

In Nepal, NDI supported a series of programs to increase civic awareness and participation in the constitution writing process. NDI worked with its local partner, the Democracy and Election Alliance Nepal (DEAN), to train and deploy more than 80 trainers throughout the country for a civic education campaign that ultimately benefitted more than 4,000 Nepalis by increasing their knowledge of the constitution-making process and ability to provide their opinions to the constitutional drafting committees.

A specific target of this work was female political and civil society leaders. In collaboration with NDI and USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives, DEAN conducted an initial training of trainers (TOT) in Kathmandu in early 2009 for 24 participants, including 8 district coordinators and 16 facilitators from selected districts. Training topics included: federalism, the role of women in the democratic process, the Constituent Assembly, the role of citizens in the constitution making process, and the rule of law. Following the Training of Trainers workshop, the 24 master trainers conducted local events in 8 districts, each targeting 50 women from marginalized communities, political parties and civil society.

NDI, in collaboration with DEAN, prepared a comprehensive report on the civic education campaign implemented in 80 localities across 20 districts. The report, entitled "Building Public Awareness on the Constitution Making Process," was distributed in remote areas where it was difficult for officials to organize public opinion meetings. The NDI and DEAN trainers solicited feedback on the report, and those recommendations were then presented to the legislature and related constitutional committees.

ing organs."⁷⁴ This has been interpreted to mean that women must be no less than thirty percent of the legislature, the judiciary, the Cabinet, and local government. Other countries with some form of quotas written into the constitution include Afghanistan, France, India, Iraq, and Nepal. NDI is educating partner organizations about the pros and cons of different electoral systems and sharing best practices. Practitioners should be prepared to share examples from other countries about the different political and electoral systems that are most advantageous to women.

Address the Differences Between International Law and Customary or Religious Law

All constitutions must establish the relationship between international and domestic law. International law,

as it tends to be progressive on women's rights and gender equality, can be very useful in the drafting process and beyond, for the protection of women's rights. Practitioners should work to provide copies of international laws and standards such as the ICCPR, CEDAW or UN Security Council Resolution 1325 to their partners and the constitution drafting committees and examples of constitutions that integrate the principles of international law.

In countries with a history of customary or religious law, where cultural and religious beliefs have served as the basis of law, a constitution must establish a system of reconciling customary or religious law and fundamental human rights and resolve conflicts that arise between these traditions. This is of particular concern

INCLUSIVE PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS INFORM CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFTING

Opinion research conducted by NDI – both qualitative and quantitative – can support a public consultation process. In Kenya, for instance, NDI conducted single-sex and mixed-sex focus groups to assess attitudes about proposed affirmative action provisions in the draft constitution. The results showed that men, as much as women, perceived women MPs as performing better than men on several measures. While there were divided views on affirmative action as a strategy, there was significant support for increasing the number of female MPs. This data contributed to the public consultation process by increasing the constitutional drafting committees' understanding of the wide support for women's increased representation at the national level.

74. "Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, Title IV, Chapter 3, Subsection 3, Article 82," Ministry of Defense," <http://www.mod.gov.rw/?Constitution-of-the-Republic-of>.

with regard to Sharia law and women's human rights in Islamic countries. Afghan women have pointed out, for instance, that Afghanistan's constitution includes language on equality and has a 25 percent quota for women's participation in the legislature, but also includes language recognizing the supremacy of the "beliefs and provisions" of Islam. This could lead, they fear, to the discriminatory application of religious law to women.⁷⁵

STRENGTHENING THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Provide Support to Women Legislators

Once elected, women legislators need support, training and advice in navigating the institution. Training should be provided in the core responsibilities of legislators: constituent relations, legislative duties, and executive oversight, including consideration of national budgets.

In addition to the provision of standard technical assistance such as tutorials in rules of procedure, committee structure and operations, legislative roles and responsibilities, and executive-legislative relations, training programs for newly elected women legislators should take into account their specific circumstances. For instance, women legislators are less likely to be professional politicians than their male colleagues and more likely to have a civil society background.⁷⁶

Training and mentoring programs should address the gaps in women's formal or political education, while seeking to maximize or "translate" their existing skill sets (e.g. service delivery, advocacy, household business and management skills) into the political realm. Training should be conducted in a supportive, non-threatening environment that allows for growth and learning. Trainers should consider conducting mixed-sex and single-sex sessions. Single-sex sessions for women have proven useful in building women's self-confidence. Training programs should be ongoing and progressively more advanced; the "one-off" training model should be avoided. Women should be offered training in subjects such as finance, security, and defense so that they are able to access influential parliamentary committees where women have not traditionally served. Another type of training program that has been used successfully with women legislators is the study tour. These programs provide an education in comparative democracy and an opportunity to see

how women in other countries have influenced the legislative agenda. They also foster international parliamentary networks and build the confidence and credibility of women legislators.

When designing training or mentoring programs for legislators, make sure that training on gender analysis and gender budgeting includes male and female participants. Create a supportive environment in training and mentoring, and show how leadership experience in other sectors, within civil society, for example, can translate into the political sphere. Offer ongoing, sequential training sessions that allow legislators to apply what they have learned.

Strengthen the Institution

In addition to supporting individual members of governing bodies, programming can also provide institutional assistance to legislatures – such as training for legislative staff, supporting legislative libraries, collecting relevant publications, instructing research staff with regard to information management, and providing guidance on the effective functioning of a Speaker's Office. There are several types of support that can be provided to strengthen both women's participation and gender integration efforts within legislative institutions.

When women enter a legislature, they often encounter an institutional culture that does not accommodate their needs. There can be infrastructure challenges such as the actual architecture or location of the building where the legislature meets, and there can be cultural challenges such as dress codes or how parliamentary members refer to each other.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union has conducted research on the question of gender-sensitive parliaments and institutional culture. In a survey of parliamentarians from more than a hundred countries "respondents were asked if the presence of women in parliament had brought about a change, particularly if parliamentary language and behavior were less aggressive. Responses were diverse, although overall two-thirds thought that there was a 'noticeable' or 'small change' in parliamentary language and behavior, and this was more strongly felt among men than women. Interestingly, those who believed that a 'substantial change' had resulted tended to be women from the Arab States and Africa where an increased women's parliamentary presence is a relatively new occurrence."⁷⁷

75. Masuda Sultan, "Afghanistan's new constitution deserves acclaim for granting women equal rights," <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/events/docs/sultanarticle.doc>.

76. Julia Ballington, *Equality in Politics: A Survey of Men and Women in Parliaments* (Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2008), <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf>.

77. "Members of Parliament Form the Somali Women Parliamentarians' Association," National Democratic Institute, <http://www.ndi.org/node/15489>.

78. Ballington.

BUILDING THE CAPACITY OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS:

Use Examples and Experiences of Women in Other Countries

Somali women are seeking to play a greater role in government and the political process. To aid in this effort, NDI organized a study tour to Uganda and workshops in Mogadishu to help women members of parliament and civil society representatives plan legislative and advocacy initiatives.

The Uganda study mission focused on the role women played in drafting the Ugandan constitution and on the operation of the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA), including how it prioritizes issues, builds consensus and crafts legislative strategy. UWOPA members explained the importance of women's caucuses and how they complement parliamentary women's/gender committees. The information was particularly useful for the Somali women, who have faced a backlash from some members of the Somali Transitional Federal Parliament who argued that a women's caucus is unnecessary because a parliamentary gender committee already exists.

The study mission also stressed the value of coordination among women in parliament and civil society with the Ugandan women MPs and NGO leaders sharing examples of successful collaboration. The Somali NGO leaders also met with representatives of Ugandan NGOs, who shared strategies for interacting with lawmakers and influencing public policy.

At the workshops, the Somali women developed a legislative advocacy agenda, which led to the decision to form a Somali women's caucus. Participants drew on NDI's experiences from other regions to explore different caucus models, identify priority issues and develop the guiding values, vision, mission and internal policies to govern the caucus. NDI continues to support the women MPs as they formalize the caucus and take steps to increase cooperation with civil society.⁷⁹

Often the changes that women put in place benefit men as well as women, and staff as well as members of parliament. When women entered South Africa's first post-apartheid parliament, for example, they initially had difficulty balancing family and political responsibilities. Women fought to eliminate evening and nighttime parliamentary sessions, which conflicted with family responsibilities. They also instituted child-care services in the parliament building. Eventually, men began to use the childcare services for their families, too.⁸⁰

Similarly, all members of parliament – not just women – should learn how to conduct gender analysis and to review and revise legislation for gender-responsiveness. Training on gender issues and gender analysis skills should be included in workshops that are about other topics so as to reach beyond the usual suspects who are likely to self-select gender workshops. For example, a training session on budget analysis should include at least one section on gender-responsive budgeting. Or, training on constituent relations should include a review of the differences between men and women cit-

izens' policy priorities and abilities to access legislators. In other words, practitioners should ensure that their own training and capacity building programs are gender mainstreamed.

Promote Women's Cross-party Caucuses

Women's caucuses serve to amplify women's voices. By coming together in a formal caucus, women are more likely to be able to shape the parliamentary agenda. In sharing resources such as staff time, training materials, and research budgets, women caucus members can more efficiently and strategically advance their agendas. Such caucuses not only advance women's policy priorities, they provide an important model of democratic governance and collaborative policymaking, particularly in post-conflict or highly polarized environments.

Women have proven themselves to be particularly adept at cross-party collaboration. This is a critical skill when forming a women's caucus. Because their leadership style tends to be less hierarchical, more participatory and collaborative, women are more likely to work across party lines than their male colleagues. This commitment to collaboration holds true even in highly partisan environments, and has particular implications for post-conflict countries. In Sri Lanka, NDI identi-

79. "Members of Parliament Form the Somali Women Parliamentarians' Association," National Democratic Institute, <http://www.ndi.org/node/15489>.

80. Gisela Geisler, "'Parliament is Another Terrain of Struggle:' Women, Men, and Politics in South Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 38, 4 (December 2000): 605–30.

fied non-partisan issues on which women politicians from all parties came together, despite extreme political tensions, to draft and endorse a platform for improving women's political participation. They demonstrated that women party members are prepared to cross the boundaries of parties, ethnicity, religion, language and districts to meet their objectives.

Women's caucuses are not without their challenges. In developing countries, often they get no budgetary or staffing support from the parliament and have to look for donors and partners among the international community. In some countries, particularly those with very few women parliamentarians, a women's caucus can be easily marginalized, particularly in its early days. Some caucuses feel the pressure to focus on issues of interest to men as well as women, in order to gain the respect of the institution and become fully established. Caucus members can quickly become overwhelmed, particularly if they have greater capacity or commitment to analyzing and drafting gender-sensitive legislation than the members of the parliament's gender committee.

Governance programs should provide technical and financial assistance to women's caucuses worldwide, including support for research, legislative drafting, constituent services, and skills such as public speaking and lobbying, and strategic planning. Support like this enhances not only individual women's capacity, but also overall institutional capacity.

Work with Women's and Gender Affairs Committees

In addition to meeting in plenary with the full body, most legislatures or parliaments conduct a significant portion of their work through committees. All legislatures organize themselves according to internal rules of procedure, and committee systems vary from country to country. Usually, however, they include some combi-

nation of standing (permanent) committees and select or special committees. There are typically committees in parliament that serve as legislative counterparts to and correspond with each government ministry.

Many, but not all, legislatures include committees that have jurisdiction over women's affairs or gender affairs. Typically a committee with jurisdiction over women's affairs will review legislation that *specifically* addresses women's status, rights, or needs. This could include, for example, a national maternity leave policy, legislation mandating non-discrimination in employment, or funding for reproductive health care. "Gender" committees, on the other hand, may have a wider mandate. In some cases, they have the authority to review *all* legislation from a gender perspective. A gender perspective includes a consideration of the needs of both women and men and recognition that a policy may have a different impact on women and men. For example, a gender committee might review a pending land rights bill, even if it does not mention women specifically, to ensure that men's and women's equal right to land ownership is not undermined and that both women and men will have access to redress if their land is seized.

Either a women's affairs or a gender affairs committee can be an effective vehicle for ensuring the gender-sensitivity of legislation. The strength of such committees is dependent on several factors, including the capacity of the staff and committee members, the seniority or influence of individual committee members, and the rules and procedures that regulate its jurisdiction. Both men and women should serve on the committee so that the committee's recommendations are not dismissed or marginalized as "only women's issues." Likewise, committee members and committee staff must have training on gender analysis and legislation drafting. NDI supported the creation of such a committee in

ESTABLISHING A WOMEN'S CAUCUS

In July 2005, NDI assisted 36 women MPs in Kosovo in convening the first informal caucus of women parliamentarians. Today, the multi-party, multi-ethnic Women's Informal Group (WIG) is the largest cross-party grouping in the Assembly.

In 2008, just three years after its establishment, the WIG embarked on an unprecedented one-year television debate program aimed at putting issues of particular importance to women on the national policy agenda and increasing women's political participation. The live series airs on national network television, engaging WIG members of various parties in constructive policy dialogue and promoting their involvement in decision-making structures. In advance of the first debates, NDI conducted workshops on public relations and communication skills to prepare the WIG members for their appearance before a national audience. The inaugural program in the debate series addressed the subject of women's leadership. A subsequent debate addressed the topic of domestic violence in Kosovo.

CAPACITY BUILDING FOR NEWLY ELECTED CONGRESSWOMEN AND MEMBERS OF THE GENDER AND EQUITY COMMISSION

In August 2009, NDI collaborated with Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INMUJERES, National Institute of Women) and the Gender and Equity Commission (CEG) in Mexico to design and implement skills building workshops for congresswomen-elect. More than 70 women, 35 of whom had been recently elected to the lower house, attended the program. These women came from 21 different states and represented 6 political parties.

The workshops began with the discussion of the principal disparities between men in women in Mexico's economic, political and social realms. The Executive Secretary of *INMUJERES* presented the Institute's basic gender agenda for the upcoming legislative session. This was followed by message development training, a panel of women who discussed lessons learned in the current legislature, and a half day legislative consensus building workshop based on best practices. The day ended with the presentation of a case study that described the benefits that local non-profits garnered in establishing a working alliance with the CEG to monitor the budgetary process in terms of gender. The second day featured a political negotiation and advocacy workshop, including skills such as alliance building and political mapping to identify allies and opponents.

A portion of the workshops was dedicated to a "passing of the torch" from the outgoing CEG to the recently elected congresswomen. Mexico's electoral law prohibits the reelection of any public official, and as a result, the institutional memory of legislature is particularly short. To address the drastic change from one legislature to another, NDI worked with both *INMUJERES* and the Gender and Equity Commission to develop and incorporate into this workshop a session designed to help bridge the information gap and ensure that members of the new CEG were prepared to begin where the last left off.

Outgoing congresswomen from the CEG highlighted their achievements, identified pending legislative issues to be tackled, and shared lessons learned from the outgoing legislature and best practices for collective action of women deputies in the Mexican Congress.

Serbia in 2004, which helped to establish a non-partisan atmosphere, and define a work plan for the first year. NDI staff reported that the main challenge was to ensure that the committee was not marginalized. In order to demonstrate its worth, the committee had to ensure that legislative initiatives were reviewed from a gender perspective *throughout* the policy process and that interventions were well timed so as to be successful.

Another option for ensuring the gender-sensitivity of legislation is to include a committee staff person, called a gender focal point, whose responsibility it is to review all legislation before every committee from a gender perspective. Again, the capacity and authority of the focal points will determine whether this is an effective mechanism. In Rwanda, men and women play a leadership role in all parliamentary committees. If the chair is female, her deputy is male and vice versa. This structure is designed, in part, to ensure that a gender perspective is included in all committees, and not relegated solely to the gender affairs committee. Legislatures can also appoint independent commissions to carry out specific tasks. While committees are a subset of larger legislative body, commissions are typically semi-independent entities. Many countries have Gender Equal-

ity Commissions tasked with reviewing and evaluating both legislation and its implementation or enforcement. Commissions can be convened on a short-term to investigate a specific problem, or established as long-term, ongoing bodies.

Examine Legislative Agendas for Gender Biases

All legislation affects both women and men. Women legislators can be influential on all issues – from defense to health care, financial reform to education policy. There are, however, certain categories of legislation that have a direct and specific impact on women's rights and that women tend to prioritize. These issues are key to ensure the long-term equality of women in society.

Key areas of concern for women in developing and post-conflict countries include nationality and citizenship, succession and property ownership, marriage and family law, and protection from gender-based violence.

In addition to concern for women's rights, research shows that women legislators tend to prioritize different issues than their male colleagues. A 2008 survey by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), which compiled the views of parliamentarians from 110 countries, found

KEY LEGISLATIVE ISSUES RELATED TO WOMEN'S RIGHTS⁸¹

Citizenship and Nationality Laws

- right to pass citizenship through both paternal and maternal lines
- equal rights to retain nationality if a spouse is a foreign national
- equal rights to naturalization of foreign spouses of women

Property and Succession Law

- equal rights to acquire, hold, transfer, exchange and sell property
- equal rights to inherit land
- equal access to all property upon the death or divorce from spouse
- equal rights to hold non-land property

Family Law

- equality of men and women in marriage
- voluntary consent of both parties to enter into a marriage agreement
- equal minimum age for marriage for men and women
- equal rights of divorce and fair divorce procedures
- protection of legal rights in customary marriages

Laws Addressing Violence against Women

- adequate criminal penalties and procedures and legal redress for acts of violence against women
- fair procedures relating to evidence and testimony that do not discriminate against women
- adequate laws and programs for the protection and assistance of victims

that male and female legislators emphasize different priorities. According to the IPU, women tend to prioritize three types of issues:⁸²

- Social issues: childcare, equal pay, parental leave and pensions.
- Physical concerns: reproductive rights, physical safety and gender-based violence.
- Development: human development, poverty alleviation and service delivery.

It is important that these issues are included within the larger legislative agenda. Evidence demonstrates that when women are represented in a legislature in significant numbers – typically, with a critical mass of at least 30 percent – they can bring their priorities forward to influence the legislative agenda. For example, an examination of Rwandan women parliamentarians' legisla-

tive record on child rights showed that the greater the number of women parliamentarians, the more assertive and effective the MPs were in advocating for children.⁸³ In addition to critical mass, other factors – including seniority, access to party leadership, and holding key committee chairs – contribute to women's ability to advance their agendas. It should be noted however, that women are not a monolithic group, and that there may be significant differences among women within a large group. However, because of women's common experience of being marginalized, they are able to find several issues around which they can successfully organize. For example, broad coalitions of women have been formed around issues such as combating violence against women, and advocating for peace agreements.

In fact, there is significant evidence that women legislators not only prioritize, but take action on and fund these issues. Using data from 19 countries of the Organi-

81. This list is excerpted from "Key Issues for Women to Consider," Shoemaker.

82. Ballington.

83. Elizabeth Powley, "Rwanda: The Impact of Women Legislators on Policy Outcomes Affecting Children and Families," UNICEF (2007), <http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/powley.pdf>.

PASSING A GENDER EQUALITY LAW

In December 2009, Serbia's first Gender Equality Law was adopted by the parliament. The vote took place on December 11th, exactly 4 months after NDI led a series of consultations with a multiparty group of women MPs. This was the third time that a Gender Equality Law was considered, but the previous efforts had failed due to a lack of political will and a lack of solidarity among women MPs.

During the August 2009 consultations with NDI, women MPs reached consensus across party lines for the first time. They continued to work together to ensure enough support for adoption of the law. The MPs demonstrated their solidarity by supporting each others' amendments to the law. Apart from the adoption of this important law, the female MPs ongoing cooperation with each other resulted in significant improvements of the law itself during parliamentary debate. The 3 most important improvements in the legislation were: 1) The obligation of employers to develop plans to ensure women's equal participation in the workforce, in management, in equal access to training, and to report annually on the implementation of these plans; 2) The insertion of language that prevents exclusion and discrimination of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender population; and 3) The obligation of local governments to establish bodies responsible for monitoring local policies from an equal opportunity perspective.

zation of Economic Cooperation and Development, for example, researchers found that an increase in women legislators results in an increase in total educational expenditure.⁸⁴ And in a study of Swedish women local legislators, women showed a strong preference for childcare and elder care over other social issues. These differences in priorities were reflected in local spending patterns, with more money directed towards childcare and the elderly in districts with more female representation.⁸⁵

Program staff should work with women legislators to support them in articulating their policy priorities, advocating for their agenda, improving their legislation drafting skills, and influencing policy outcomes.

WORKING WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

National Gender Mechanisms

As noted in The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, National Gender Mechanisms (NGM) are "the central policy-coordinating structures inside government machinery, whose main task is to support government-wide mainstreaming of a gender-equality perspective in all policy areas."⁸⁶

NGM should have a mandate to coordinate, facilitate and monitor policy formulation and implementation to ensure that gender equality and women's empowerment perspectives permeate all national policy formulation,

reviews, and program development. NGM vary across countries – in type, size, and effectiveness. Key executive branch components of the NGM are described here.

Often the most visible, and arguably most powerful, component of the NGM is a cabinet-level ministry dedicated to women's or gender affairs. The advantages of a ministry are its high-level executive position from which it can raise the profile of women's issues and its ability to coordinate the implementation of policy and legislation. The disadvantages, according to critics, is that the ministry can become a "dumping ground" for women's issues and its existence may serve as an excuse to ignore or limit mainstreaming efforts in other ministries and departments.

In the last few decades, as the development community and national governments have shifted from a "women's empowerment" agenda to a "gender agenda," the mandates of ministries have also shifted. Typically, a Ministry of Women's Affairs is charged with promoting women's empowerment and coordinate all policy related to women. In contrast, a Ministry of Gender Affairs has responsibility for identifying disparities between men and women, and implementing and monitoring gender mainstreaming policies to promote equality. There are challenges and opportunities associated with each approach. In countries where the social, economic, and legal disparities between women and men are profound and entrenched, a separate focus on women is often preferable. Separate programming and funding dedicated to women may be the best approach to empowerment. The risk with this approach is that women's issues can become marginalized. Other government ministries and departments may feel justified in ignoring women's is-

84. Chen

85. Helena Svaleryd, "Women's Representation and Public Spending," IFN Working Paper No. 701 for the Research Institute of Industrial Economics (March 2007), http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=988885##.

86. "Beijing Platform for Action: Chapter IV," UN Documents, <http://www.un-documents.net/bpa-4-h.htm>.

SUPPORTING GENDER FOCAL POINTS

NDI supported gender focal points (GFPs) at the *local level* in Serbia following the 2003 elections. The GFPs were individuals appointed at the municipal level to promote gender equality and equal opportunity policies in their communities. Because of their effectiveness, the GFP system has evolved into a system of local Gender Equality Commissions. There is now a law being considered, which will require the creation of a commission in each municipality to engage women, particularly in rural areas, in governance issues and improve the status and rights of women.

sues or abdicating responsibility for women's programming because of the existence of the women's ministry. A ministry for gender affairs provides an opportunity to ensure that the rights, needs, and status of both women and men are addressed throughout all government policies and programs. A risk with this approach, particularly when the ministry's capacity to conduct rigorous gender analysis is limited, is that attention to women's needs can be diluted.

In practice, the effectiveness of either approach often rests more with the capacity and influence of personnel than with the ministry's official mandate. Women's and gender ministries are often under-funded and sidelined, and not called upon to contribute to national policy formulation outside of a narrow scope of issues related to women. They often find themselves subsumed within "Social Affairs" ministries or with portfolio additions, such as youth or cultural affairs. Thus, investments in capacity building for ministry officials and staff as well as in the development of a robust civil society to hold government accountable for promoting equality are crucial.

A look at the evolution of the women's ministry in Uganda in the 1990s is instructive. It began as the Ministry for Women in Development in the Office of the President. Then in 1991, it became the Ministry for Women in Development, Culture and Youth. And in 1995, it became the Ministry for Gender and Community Development. Finally in the late 1990's, the women's affairs portfolio became a single department within the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. The experience in Uganda is not unique. It reveals what critics claim is another major problem with women's ministries – that too often, particularly in the developing world, they have been manipulated in order to mobilize women in support of government policies, not to truly empower women or to affect policy change for women.⁸⁷ This threat is exacerbated by the limited capacity of executive offices and some civil servants.

Practitioners can strengthen the ability of governments to empower women and mainstream gender by providing support to Women's and Gender Ministries helping them develop strategic plans, define staff roles and responsibilities, formulate policies and communication campaigns, engage citizens in the policy-making process, and develop strategies and mechanisms to implement laws and policies that promote gender equality.

In addition to strengthening Women's and Gender Ministries, however, efforts must be made to promote women in non-traditional cabinet posts. Because the executive branch, including the public administration infrastructure, oversees the implementation of policies into programs, women should hold senior government positions across all disciplines. It is also necessary to improve the capacity of both male and female government officials to design equitable programs and ensure gender mainstreaming. Scholarships that target women in the executive branch can help national education and training programs for civil servants recruit and train more female candidates for non-traditional posts and ministries.

Another key component of NGM are gender focal points or gender desks situated in all government ministries. Theoretically, these focal points are the "eyes and ears" of gender mainstreaming in the various ministries and can serve as in-house experts, helping to ensure that policies and programs respond to the needs of both women and men. For example, the gender focal point in the Ministry of Agriculture should ideally be an individual or an office with expertise in gender and land issues, and should be poised to contribute to policy and program development in the Ministry of Agriculture. Too often, however, gender focal points are low-level staff without the authority to affect policy change. They are further marginalized if senior ministry officials do not support their role, or if the Ministry of Gender's coordinating capacity is weak. "The location, seniority level, resources and participation of gender units/focal points in all policy-making and programming process-

87. Amanda Gouws, "Women in the Executive: Can Women's Ministries Make a Difference?" *Gender Advocacy Program*, Policy Brief 2 (2010), [http://](http://www.boell.org.za/downloads/GAP_Policy_brief_2.pdf)

www.boell.org.za/downloads/GAP_Policy_brief_2.pdf.

es, and support at the most senior management and decision-making levels are also crucial in translating the gender mainstreaming mandate into practical reality.”⁸⁸

Subsequent to the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action, gender mainstreaming became a part of government strategy in many countries. This included conducting gender analysis of all policies and legislation to ensure that the constraints and needs of both women and men were reflected. It also necessitated the drafting of National Gender Policies, which are blueprints for gender mainstreaming throughout government.

Officials and staff within the NGM spearhead the development of National Gender Policies. They coordinate consultative processes to enable stakeholder participation, and ensure the finalization and approval of the national gender policy by the Cabinet. They are involved in the capacity building and training to enable dissemination of the gender policy and its implementation at all levels. In general, the capacity of civil servants within the NGM to develop, promulgate, and implement national gender policies needs to be strengthened. When working with staff in various government ministries to build planning and budgeting capacity, include gender analysis skills on the agenda and invite the ministry's gender focal point to attend all sessions.

Gender-responsive Budgets

The national budget is arguably a government's most important policy tool, as ultimately no policy or program can be implemented without a budget. Responsibility for developing national budgets rests first with the executive branch and later with the legislature, which must review, discuss, and possibly amend the government's budget.

A gender-responsive budget is an application of gender mainstreaming. A gender-responsive budget recognizes that “there are a number of gender-specific barriers, which prevent women and girls from gaining access to their rightful share in the flow of public goods and services. Unless these barriers are addressed in the planning and development process, the fruits of economic growth are likely to completely bypass a significant section of the country's population.”⁸⁹

88. Economic and Social Council, “Gender Mainstreaming,” United Nations (1997), <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/GMS.PDF>.

89. “Concept and Definition of Gender Budgeting,” in *Gender Budgeting Handbook for Government of India Departments and Ministries* (Government of India, 2007), <http://wcd.nic.in/gbhb/Link%20hand%20pdf/Hand%20Book%20Chap%202.pdf>.

Gender-responsive budget analysis, for example, can reveal the divergent impact of policies and budgets on men and women, thereby pointing to areas where resources should be reallocated to address inequalities. Gender-responsive budgets are important instruments for making governments more accountable and ensuring that governments live up to international and domestic policy commitments related to advancing gender equality.

It is critical to understand a country's budget process when designing programs. In many countries, the opportunity to influence the budget process is when the budget is still in the executive branch. Many legislatures have limited power to influence or change a budget. In those situations, gender budgeting programs must target the executive branch. Training for officials and staff within the executive branch (as well as Members of Parliament and civil society activists), to engage in gender-responsive budgeting advances gender equality in policy-making and appropriations, and makes governments more responsive to citizens.

Gender-responsive budgets analyze the dimensions of the economy that affect men and women differently. They attempt to measure, for example, the informal sector and women's unpaid domestic work. Gender-responsive budgets also quantify the amount of government spending that benefits women directly. A health budget, for instance would be scrutinized to determine how much funding was going toward sexual, maternal, and reproductive health issues.

Beyond just providing a description of revenues and expenditures from a gender perspective, gender-responsive budgets should proactively contribute to the advancement of gender equality and the fulfillment of women's rights. According to UNIFEM, gender-responsive budgeting requires corrective action, or “identifying and reflecting needed interventions to address gender gaps” in government policies, plans and budgets.⁹⁰ Gender budgets restructure revenues and expenditures to advance gender equality.

The first country to implement gender-responsive budgeting was Australia's Labor Government in the 1980s (then called “women's budgets”), though the practice fell away in the 1990s. Today, very few governments systematically or comprehensively implement gender-responsive budgeting, but more than 50 countries have

90. “Gender-responsive Budgeting,” United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), <http://www.gender-budgets.org/>.

TRAINING ON GENDER-RESPONSIVE BUDGETING

In an effort to promote gender-responsive budgeting, NDI held a workshop on the budgetary process for members of Nepal's Constituent Assembly in June 2009. Participants included 34 women parliamentarians representing 8 political parties, and other government officials. Budget experts and NDI staff led the sessions. The major subjects covered included:

- Gender Sensitive Budgeting;
- Gender Analysis of Government Policy;
- Role of Legislature in the Budget-Making Process;
- Budget Priority Setting;
- Comparative Budgeting; and
- Budget Making Processes in the U.S. and Nepal.

Similar training has been held with members of parliament in Burkina Faso, to assess the differential impact of the budget on men and women, boys and girls, in order to more appropriately allocate public funds.

attempted to use gender budgeting principles in some manner – for example, conducting a gender review of specific ministries' budgets. Often women's civil society groups will conduct "gender audits" of government spending as part of an advocacy campaign or to pressure the government to change spending patterns. Program designers and practitioners should be aware that gender-budgeting is a valuable skill set and training on gender budgeting should be included in any finance related programs.

COALITION BUILDING

Coalition building is one of the most effective strategies for ensuring women's rights, women's political participation, and gender-sensitive policy making. Although the topic is discussed in other chapters, it is also a critical component of and competence among actors in robust democratic governance. A coalition is a group of individuals, organizations, or parties that work together – even temporarily – to achieve a common goal, such as the passage of a specific piece of legislation. Women's typically collaborative leadership style is well-suited to coalition building. Another factor that aids women in the development of coalitions is their willingness and ability, in many instances, to relate to other women *as women*. As described above in the section on women's multi-party legislative caucuses, women have frequently demonstrated their ability to work with women from other political parties on issues of common interest to women, even in highly polarized environments.

Women, like men, have many identities – including gender, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, caste, and class. Because of their shared experience of gender dis-

crimination, however, women can often build alliances with other women across the divides of the other identity markers. One of the most well-known examples of this was the establishment of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, the first non-sectarian political party in Northern Ireland. The party brought together Catholic and Protestant women to fight for women's direct participation in the Good Friday Peace Talks. Women from vastly different backgrounds were able to set aside the political disagreements between their communities, and set aside their religious identities, in order to work together as women.

Coalition building is a key component of an advocacy strategy aimed at shaping public policy. Coalitions are effective because wider the range of voices in support of a common objective, the more likely it is to find a broad base of support and be successful. Building a coalition requires discipline and organization, an honest assessment of constituent members' strengths and weaknesses, and a willingness to suspend other disagreements in order to come together around a common goal.

Key Components of Successful Coalition Building⁹¹

Successful coalitions have specific goals and a defined plan of action. Members must clearly define the mission and goals of the coalition at the beginning of their collaboration. The goals should incorporate the self-interests of the coalition's various constituencies. Membership in coalitions must be inclusive, and all who endorse the mission and goals of the coalition should be free to

91. These key components are adapted from a document entitled "Principles of Coalition Building," iKNOW Politics, www.iknowpolitics.org/files/Principles%20of%20Coalition%20Building.doc.

WOMEN'S MULTIETHNIC POLITICAL COOPERATION

Women in the war-torn city of Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina built an advocacy network that is one of the few examples of multiethnic political cooperation in a country fractured by seemingly insurmountable ethnic divides. These women had witnessed how problems go unsolved when ethnic affiliation dominates social relationships, education, employment and governance. They decided to make the political process work for them.

The Mostar Women's Citizen Initiative brought together women—political activists, civic leaders, ordinary citizens—to address common issues without regard for the ethnic affiliation of its members or those it assists. The Initiative represented a profound attempt to transcend historic ethnic divisions in a city where students enter its one high school through two different entry doors, learn on two separate floors and study two curricula. The women have used the tools of democracy—community organizing, public outreach, petitioning government—and the values of democracy—tolerance, pluralism and compromise—to bridge the city's sharp divisions, and solve pressing community-wide problems. They have solved complex problems and worked collectively to become leaders. They developed, coordinated, and launched advocacy initiatives at the local level, including a successful effort to amend the municipal maternity law to better protect female workers. The cooperative work of these women exemplifies a larger message to put aside harmful differences and use the democratic political process to build better lives for themselves and their community.⁹²

join. In order to be effective, coalitions must actively recruit both the most powerful and least powerful in the community.

The organizational structure of a coalition is another key component for success. In order to perform tasks effectively, coalitions must have a clear organizational structure and each member of the coalition must have a clearly defined role. There six aspects to organizational competence and structure that affect the success of any coalition:

- Effective leadership;
- A democratic decision-making process;
- Experienced staff;
- A developed system of planning;
- Communication (both within and outside the coalition); and
- Effective use of resources.

Finally, a coalition needs to have plans for action and advocacy. Coalitions should plan an advocacy campaign for maximum impact. Start small: search for small projects that offer the greatest potential impact. Look for the early win. Focus on projects with maximum visibility and minimum investment risk. Coalitions should be careful not to over promise. Action plans that identify the small steps that contribute to the big picture help avoid this pitfall.

Government and Civil Society Cooperation

Some of the most effective coalitions are those that bring civil society activists together with women in government. Each sector can use its different capacities, types of authority, and relationships with constituents to advance a common agenda. In Bolivia, for example, NDI has been working with the Association of Bolivian Councilwomen and other political actors to convene a series of meetings on the problem of gender-based violence (GBV). Such a campaign requires the combined efforts of legislators, service providers, researchers, and policy implementers – from the legal, policing, and public sectors.

Another strong example of government-civil society cooperation comes from Rwanda. In 2003, during the drafting of Rwanda's new constitution, women in civil society (represented by Pro-Femmes, an umbrella organization for women's civic organizations) formed a coalition with women in the legislature (represented by the women's caucus) and women in the executive (represented by the Women's Ministry). "To elicit [women's] concerns, interests, and suggestions regarding a new constitution, Pro-Femmes held multiple consultations with its member civic organizations and women at the grassroots level throughout the country. They then met with representatives of [the Women's Ministry] and the [women's caucus] to report members' concerns. Together the three institutions contributed to a policy paper, which was submitted to the Constitutional Commission ... Once the draft constitution reflected their interests, Pro-Femmes engaged in a sensitization and mobilization campaign encouraging women to sup-

92. "Bosnian Women Healing Wounded City," National Democratic Institute, <http://www.ndi.org/node/14125>.

WOMEN'S COORDINATING GROUP IS AN EFFECTIVE COALITION

Women in Mali are under-represented in politics. In the 147-member National Assembly, only 15 representatives are women, and in the 28-member cabinet, only 4 ministers are women. Yet Malian women, united in their commitment to increasing women's participation in government, have joined together to fight for change.

In 2003, with support from NDI, women activists from across the political spectrum created a network dedicated to promoting women in politics – the Women in Political Parties Coordinating Group (CCFP). The group has remained active and engaged in the political sphere. In 2005, they successfully lobbied the National Assembly, securing a provision to the party finance law that bases 10 percent of the total public funds parties receive on the number of women office holders in the party.

Working in partnership with NDI and the Support and Strengthening Program for Man/Woman Equity, a government-run gender program, CCFP organized a series of 10 workshops in late 2006 and early 2007, in advance of Mali's elections. The workshops focused on ways to invigorate women's participation in the elections by addressing women's roles as decision-makers in elected offices and in political parties. More than 40 men and women—including national-level party activists and election managers—attended each workshop.

The workshops were not only an excellent opportunity to raise public awareness and support for CCFP's efforts; they also helped to increase confidence among women political leaders. Several government officials, including the Minister of Women's Affairs, attended the closing ceremony. The minister praised CCFP's initiative and commended its determination to not only ensure that women are included in all party activities, but to also secure party leaders' support in promoting the women's political participation.

port the adoption of the document in the countrywide referendum.”⁹³

Engage with Men on Women's Issues

There is a growing awareness among women who work on women's empowerment issues about the importance of working with men to advance equality. So-called “male involvement” programs are the result of women's efforts to recruit male allies for anti-violence campaigns, and to form coalitions with men's organizations. Ensuring that programs reach a mixed-sex group even though the program itself may be on increasing women's political participation, is important to expand the dialogue and not alienate potential male allies. For instance, NDI organized a politics retreat in Guinea, which included over 250 women and men when it launched in early July 2007. The retreat was so successful that the trainers replicated the workshops in the country's 7 regional administrative capitals. More than 400 people participated in these subsequent workshops.

Cross-party Cooperation

As described previously, women have frequently demonstrated their ability to work with women from other political parties on issues of common interest to women. For example, in Algeria, women ac-

tivists from 8 political parties, both ruling and opposition, launched the *Win with Women Initiative* in Algeria and endorsed the Global Action Plan⁹⁴ as “a tool and a strategy with which we can bring pressure to bear on our leaders.” Participants in the initiative created a series of recommendations for short- and medium-term measures that their political parties should take to promote women into leadership positions. This platform was then sent to party leaders, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Women's and Family Affairs in November 2004. This project was one of the rare times that representatives of such a diverse group of Algerian political parties lent their support to a common initiative.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Decentralization efforts underway in many developing democracies can present an opportunity for inclusive governance that is responsive to local needs. There are several reasons why opportunities for women to play a larger role in policy creation and implementation exist at the local level:

93. Powley, “Strengthening Governance.”

94. The *Win with Women Initiative* is NDI's global effort to promote strategies for increasing women's political participation worldwide. The *Global Action Plan* outlines practical recommendations for political parties to broaden their appeal by addressing women's role as voters, candidates, party activists and elected officials. See “Win with Women Global Action Plan,” National Democratic Institute, <http://www.ndi.org/WinWithWomen/GlobalActionPlan>.

- Qualifications for office are generally lower at the state, county, or city levels. Moreover, meetings and proceedings are often conducted in a local language, which may also make local government more accessible to women, as women are less likely than men to have had the benefit of formal education⁹⁵.
- Often it is easier for women to balance work and family responsibilities, such as childcare, when serving in government at the local level. National politics may require a move to the capital city and is generally a “full-time” job, which puts an additional strain on women. Local politics is more likely to be a “part-time” job.⁹⁶
- Local government service may appeal to women more than national politics because they have experience dealing with the issues that local government control, such as education and community resources.

There is some evidence that women's participation in local governance can be a gateway to their greater involvement at the national level. One study found that 71 percent of female members of parliament interviewed had come into their post after previously serving as councilors in local government.⁹⁷ This provides even more reason for program staff to focus on activities that will increase the participation of women in city and council government.

Local government also presents significant and specific barriers to women's participation in decision-making processes:

- As decentralization processes are implemented, and local government becomes more powerful and better funded, it becomes more attractive to male candidates. This can push women out of the system.⁹⁸
- Traditional attitudes about women's leadership, often conservative and patriarchal, can be more in-

fluential at the local level. These attitudes can restrict women's behavior. Women can be subjected to intimidation and abuse if they try to enter politics.

- Less oversight or scrutiny at the lower levels of government sometimes allows for discriminatory practices to flourish. For example, amendments to the Indian constitution established local councils, or *panchayats*, and mandated that women constitute one-third of councilors. In practice, some *panchayats* instituted rules that prevented women with more than two children from serving as members. And others set the quorums for voting deliberately low so that high-level men could meet and make decisions without the women councilors present.⁹⁹
- Women may have less access to public information and communications technology, such as radios, telephones and the Internet. Research on Rwanda's 2006 local elections found that women were disproportionately affected by late announcements of candidate registration regulations because they had less access to information than men.¹⁰⁰

Build the Capacity of Local Officials

In order for local governments to effectively take on increased responsibility and authority, locally elected officials must be equipped to represent the interests of their constituents, manage local development and service delivery projects, and coordinate with regional and national-level governments. Too often at the local level, both women and men lack the experience, access to information, and capacity to govern effectively. Therefore activities could include training to enhance the capacity of local elected officials. In Afghanistan, for example, NDI has assisted provincial councilors to assess local development needs, produce provincial development plans, present the plans to higher-level government officials, and monitor development expenditures.¹⁰¹

Because of discriminatory attitudes and their relative lack of access to education and resources vis-à-vis men, women candidates and elected officials often face additional hurdles. Training programs adapted to women's specific needs can be especially productive. In Bolivia for example, a nationwide women's leadership school, *Winning with Women*, trained more than 2,000 women

95. Josephine Ahikire, “Gender Equity and Local Democracy in Contemporary Uganda: Addressing the Challenge of Women's Political Effectiveness in Local Government,” in *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policymaking*, eds. Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim (London: Zed Books, 2003); Elizabeth Powley, *Engendering Rwanda's Decentralization: Supporting Women Candidates for Local Office*, The Initiative for Inclusive Security (Washington: Hunt Alternatives Fund, 2008), http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/1091_engendering_rwandas_decentralization.pdf.

96. Amanda Evertzen, *Gender and Local Governance*, (Amsterdam: SNV and the Netherlands Development Association, 2001).

97. Catherine Bochel and Jacqui Briggs, “Do Women Make a Difference?” *Politics* 20, 2 (2000): 63-8.

98. Evertzen.

99. Niraja Gopal Jayal, “Engendering Local Democracy: The Impact of Quotas for Women in India's *Panchayats*,” *Democraticization* 13, 1 (2006): 15-35.

99. Powley, *Engendering Rwanda's Decentralization*.

101. “Democratic Governance: Local Government Strengthening,” National Democratic Institute, http://www.ndi.org/democratic_governance?page=0%2C2

THE INTER-PARTY WOMEN'S ALLIANCE REACHES OUT TO RURAL WOMEN

In Nepal, NDI assisted women leaders from 7 political parties to form the Inter Party Women's Alliance, a group dedicated to supporting increased women's participation in the political process. The IPWA has established chapters, or sub-committees, in 52 of the country's 75 districts, effectively reaching women from the Dalit caste, minority ethnic and linguistic groups, and other marginalized communities.

With support from NDI, the IPWA conducted a series of capacity building workshops for members of its district chapters on topics such as women's leadership development, the constitution drafting process, federalism, and organization and communication skills. Participants included women from heterogeneous backgrounds and a wide array of political party affiliations. The trainers, which included women MPs, were skilled at handling the diverse groups and encouraged active participation. The IPWA's sub-committees, many in extremely remote areas, provide rural women access to national-level political issues, information on upcoming political events, and training programs designed for women across party lines. These sub-committees are instrumental in advocating for funding and supporting women's initiatives at the local and national level.

on political leadership skills and campaign strategies for the 2004 municipal elections, and responsible municipal management practices.¹⁰²

Globally, research shows that there is also a confidence gap between men and women. Women report that a lack of self-confidence is one of the biggest barriers for entry into politics. Women with the same level of preparation and capacity as men often feel less prepared to hold public office than men do. Training programs that address this confidence gap and teach leadership skills are particularly effective for women.

Another effective component of training for women candidates, particularly at the local level, is the provision of role models and mentoring programs. The need for political role models is also echoed in other contexts. A study of American women working in nonprofit organizations found that a "strategy for promoting women's political voice is to hold up role models for women's political activism, in order to expand their sense of what is possible and appropriate for women's lives."¹⁰³ A study of women in local leadership positions in Colombia, Iraq, and Serbia found that "establishing support systems, mentorship programs, and exchange of experiences with other women in leadership" was helpful for building women's self-confidence and encouraging them to seek leadership positions.¹⁰⁴ More resources on this topic can be found in the Appendices section of this guide.

102. "Latin America and the Caribbean Past Programs," National Democratic Institute, http://ndi.org/past_programs.

103. Amy Caiazza, *Called to Speak: Six Strategies That Encourage Women's Political Activism* (Washington: Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2006), <http://www.iwpr.org/pdf/I916.pdf>.

104. "Women's Involvement in Local Leadership (WILL): Facilitating Effective and Sustainable Participation in Community Organizations and Democratic Culture Building – Executive Summary" (Washington, CHF International and USAID, 2006), <http://www.chfinternational.org/>

Make Local Government More Responsive

NDI's governance programs also engage with local councils and other local government entities, helping them to work with citizens more effectively, and to better monitor local budgets and delivery of services. As national governments decentralize, there is added pressure on local governments to build confidence in and support for democracy among local populations. This necessitates the effective management of resources, and demonstrating local governments' responsiveness to citizens.

There is some evidence that women's political behavior exhibits a greater concern with local issues and constituent relations than that of men. In the United Kingdom, for instance, women politicians at the national level prioritize constituency work, such as helping individuals with problems, holding meetings with constituents, and representing local interests in parliament, more often than do their male peers.¹⁰⁵

When women serve in local government, there is evidence that they prioritize the social welfare of constituents. A study of women's presence on local councils in Norway found that increases in female representation during the 1970s and 1980s correlated with improved policy outcomes related to provision of child-care. 38 Municipalities with more than 50 percent women on their local councils provided more childcare services between 1975 and 1991.¹⁰⁶

[files/4339_file_WILL_Executive_Summary.pdf](http://www.ndi.org/files/4339_file_WILL_Executive_Summary.pdf).

105. Pippa Norris, "Women Politicians: Transforming Westminster?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 49, 1 (1996): 89–102.

106. Kathleen Bratton and Leonard Ray, "Descriptive Representation, Policy Outcomes, and Municipal Day-Care Coverage in Norway," *American Journal of Political Science* 46, 2 (April 2002): 428–37.

DECENTRALIZATION CREATES UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

During Burkina Faso's first-ever country-wide municipal elections in April 2006, many women candidates were running for the first time, so NDI provided them with intensive training sessions on the decentralization process, the local elections' legal framework and the fundamentals of running an electoral campaign. Over 6,400 women local councilors (about one-third of the total local councilors) were elected, but then faced a different set of challenges new elected officials.

Immediately following the elections, NDI set up a roving team of trainers that traveled throughout the country to train the newly-elected women in an effort to prepare them for their new roles and responsibilities. The trainers held workshops in local languages and organized interactive, role-playing activities for the women on how to listen to citizens' concerns, assert their political positions and improve interpersonal communication skills. NDI also provided training on women's roles as local councilors and the ongoing challenges of implementing the decentralization process. As a complement to the trainings, NDI produced handbooks for the local women councilors to help them better understand the legislative process and the role of elected officials.

Enhance Citizen Participation

Decentralization also offers an opportunity to make government more accessible to constituents and to make service delivery more gender-sensitive by giving local officials the ability to respond to women's needs.¹⁰⁷ The emphasis on increased citizen participation offers opportunities for women and other groups that have been traditionally excluded from politics.

In an effort to increase the responsiveness of local government to citizen concerns, programs should assist local governments to develop systems for more effective interaction between local officials and citizens. By supporting women in local government and local women's organization, practitioners can enhance citizen participation in government decision-making, thereby building confidence in the democratic process.

Women's presence in local government also seems to affect attitudes towards women and gender relations among constituents. In India, families report greater sharing of household responsibilities since women have begun to serve in local government, and women note that they receive more respect now that they occupy positions of local authority.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, their participation and greater visibility in politics can generate self-confidence, enabling other women to assert themselves in local decision-making.

Women's representation—or lack of representation—at the local level has significant implications for the sustainability of women's leadership. When women serve

in local government, they gain experience and exposure that can allow them to move into leadership at the national level. Supporting women at the local level helps prepare a future generation of national-level leaders who have experience responding to the needs of constituents.

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

When evaluating the effectiveness of a governance program and in order to ensure that gender is being adequately addressed throughout the program lifecycle, it must be integrated into the monitoring and evaluation plan, both quantitatively and qualitatively. While it is helpful to make sure that monitoring and evaluation specialists have gender expertise so that gender-sensitive indicators can be identified, the following suggestions can help with this process.

A successful monitoring and evaluation plan will take into account how many women and men are represented at all stages of the program, in terms of staff and participants, and how actively they are participating. Also, consider how many technical experts, guest speakers, and panelists are women during training programs. A sex- and age-disaggregated baseline should be established before the program starts and sex- and age-disaggregated data should be collected throughout the program. Requiring trainers and those providing short-term technical assistance to track the number of female and male participants in their sessions is especially helpful for collecting this data. In addition to assessing women's participation within the program, the number of women serving in elected office, the number serving in appointed office, and the number elected to local government should be tracked, and the results publicized as a method of legislative oversight.

107. Jo Beall, *Decentralizing Government and Centralizing Gender in Southern Africa: Lessons from the South African Experience—Occasional Paper 8* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2005).

108. Gopal Jayal.

Programs should be evaluated on the basis of whether or not they promote gender equality. As the program is being designed and implemented, program staff should ensure that gender differences are reflected in the objectives, methodology, expected outputs and anticipated impact of all projects. When creating governance programs, it is especially important to consider the contributions of women and the outcomes of their participation in the legislature, the executive branch, in National Gender Machineries and in local governance. Program staff should design impact indicators to measure the ability of women to influence the political process and whether programmatic support resulted in more gender-sensitive legislation, budgets, policies, and delivery of services. Some sample indicators are:

- Percentage of national and local government expenditure targeted at gender mainstreaming and gender equality initiatives;
- Percentage of trained men and women political candidates;
- Percentage of leadership-trained men and women government officials, staff and civil society members;
- Number of national policies formulated with national capacity, procedures and systems in place to promote gender-sensitive planning and implementation; and
- Sex-disaggregated data on the number of parliamentarians participating in sessions that include gender sensitivity training.

FURTHER READING

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA). “International IDEA: Supporting Democracy Worldwide.” <http://www.idea.int/>.

Inter-Parliamentary Union. “Information on National Parliaments.” <http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm>.

National Democratic Institute. <http://www.ndi.org/>.

Quota Project. “Global Database of Quotas for Women.” <http://www.quotaproject.org/>.

Shoemaker, Jolynn. *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. Washington and London: Hunt Alternatives and International Alert, 2004. http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/87_inclusive_security_toolkit.cfm.

United Nations. “Millennium Development Goals.” <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>.

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). <http://www.unifem.org/>.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP). <http://www.undp.org/>.



VII. GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS: GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action means positive steps taken, in the form of public policies, programs and regulations, in an attempt to compensate for discriminatory practices, which have in the past prevented or impaired members of a certain part of the populations' fair consideration or equal enjoyment of human rights. These programs and regulations may involve granting to that population segment certain preferential treatment in specific matters as compared with the rest of the population.

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx>

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/affirmative-action/>

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx>

ALTERNATIVE AND SHADOW REPORTING

When a country ratifies a U.N. human rights treaty, it becomes bound by its provisions and obligated to submit regular, periodic reports on its compliance with the treaty's obligations. These reports are submitted to the treaty-monitoring body – or committee – that has been established for each treaty to monitor the compliance of state parties. The shadow reporting process plays a critical role in holding governments accountable to their treaty obligations.

It is important to note the difference between a shadow report and an alternative report. When an NGO writes its report, with access to the government report submitted to the CEDAW Committee, this is called a shadow report. When an NGO writes its report where no government report is available (e.g. either because their government has not written one or it writes it too late), this is called an alternative report.

http://www.iwraw-ap.org/using_cedaw/sreport_guidelines.htm

http://www.globalrights.org/site/DocServer/Guide_to_Shadow_Reporting_July_2009.pdf?docID=10544

BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION

The Fourth World Conference on Women was convened by the United Nations in 1995 in Beijing, China. The aim of the conference was to assess the progress since the Nairobi World Conference on Women in 1985 and to adopt a platform for action, concentrating on key issues identified as obstacles to the advancement of women in the world. The conference focused on 12 areas of concern including education, health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, poverty, women and the economy, power and decision-making, human rights, media, the girl-child, and the environment. The participating governments adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in order to address these concerns.

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>

CAUCUS

Women's caucuses are a critical component of building democratic governance. Worldwide, women's caucuses or committees have been essential in integrating a gender perspective into the policy development process and in introducing legislation that addresses priority issues for the achievement of gender equality. Women's parliamentary caucuses frequently represent a unique space within legislatures for multi-partisan debate and to amplify the ability of the women's caucuses and commissions to be effective within the larger legislative, civic and political processes. Women's caucuses play a number of roles and help consolidate women's political power in a variety of ways.

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (CSOs)

Civil Society refers to all groups outside government such as community groups, non-governmental organizations, labor unions, indigenous peoples' organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations and

foundations. Civil society expresses the interests of social groups and raises awareness of key issues in order to influence policy and decision-making. In recent decades, civil society organizations (CSOs) have been successful in shaping global policy through advocacy campaigns and mobilization of people and resources.

COALITION

A coalition is a group of individuals, organizations, or parties that work together – even temporarily – to achieve a common goal, such as the passage of a specific piece of legislation. Coalition building is one of the most effective strategies for ensuring women’s rights, women’s political participation, and gender-sensitive policy making. It is also a critical component of and competence among actors in a robust democratic governance.

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (1979)

Adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, [CEDAW] is often described as an international bill of rights for women. It defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The Convention takes an important place in bringing the female half of humanity into the focus of human rights concerns. The spirit of the Convention is rooted in the goals of the United Nations: to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity, and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women. The present document consists of 30 articles that spell out the meaning of equality and how women’s rights can be achieved in areas such as: individual rights against discrimination; political and civil rights; and social, cultural and economic rights. In so doing, the Convention establishes not only an international bill of rights for women, but also an agenda for action by countries to guarantee the enjoyment of those rights. The Convention now has 98 signatories and 186 countries are party to the treaty.

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

CULTURE

Culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive patterns of ideas, beliefs, and norms that characterize a society or social group within a society. In addition to art and literature, culture encompasses lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf>

<http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re55.pdf>

ENFORCEMENT MECHANISMS

Procedures or remedies that are available to seek redress either at the national or international level for violations or non-compliance of a treaty, law or policy related to women’s rights.

http://www.stopvaw.org/Enforcement_Mechanisms_In_The_United_Nations.html

GENDER

Gender refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in our families, our societies and our cultures. The concept of gender also includes the expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviors of both women and men (femininity and masculinity). Gender roles and expectations are learned. They can change over time and they vary within and between cultures. Systems of social differentiation such as political status, class, ethnicity, physical and mental disability, age and more, modify gender roles. The concept of gender is vital because, applied to social analysis; it reveals how women’s subordination (or men’s domination) is socially constructed. As such, the subordination can be changed or ended. It is not biologically predetermined nor is it fixed forever.

<http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/11483/10649049699Definitions.doc/Definitions.doc>

GENDER ANALYSIS

Gender Analysis offers a framework for illuminating the opportunities and constraints in program activities that are based on the relations between women and men. The analysis of information about men’s and women’s roles in society, their interdependence, access to resources, and relative participation and power provides essential insights needed to build, policies, programs and projects that identify and meet the different needs of men and women. Including gender analysis as a part of the program planning process, helps the practitioner identify key gender issues to build into program design and implementation.

http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/gender/gender_analysis.html

<http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/11483/10649049699Definitions.doc/Definitions.doc>

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Gender-Based Violence is any act or threat that inflicts physical, sexual or psychological harm on a person because of their gender. Gender-based violence both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and wom-

en and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims. It encompasses a wide range of human rights violations, including sexual abuse of children, rape, domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, trafficking of women and girls and several harmful traditional practices. Any one of these abuses can leave deep psychological scars, damage the health of women and girls in general, including their reproductive and sexual health, and in some instances, results in death. Gender-based violence also serves – by intention or effect – to perpetuate male power and control. It is sustained by a culture of silence and denial of the seriousness of the health consequences of abuse.

<http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re55.pdf>

<http://www.unfpa.org/gender/violence.htm>

GENDER EQUALITY

Gender Equality means that women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and for contributing to, and benefiting from, economic, social, cultural and political development. Gender equality is therefore the equal valuing by society of both the similarities and the differences of men and women, and the roles they play. It is based on women and men being full partners in their home, their community and their society.

<http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/11483/10649049699Definitions.doc/Definitions.doc>

GENDER EQUITY

Gender equity denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men and recognizes their different needs and interests. To ensure fairness, measures must often be put in place to compensate for the historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from operating on a level playing field, such as a redistribution of power and resources. Equity is a means. Equality is the result.

<http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re55.pdf>

<http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/11483/10649049699Definitions.doc/Definitions.doc>

GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Gender Mainstreaming is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for ensuring that women's and men's concerns and experiences are considered and represented in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men

benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=29008&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

GENDER PARITY

Gender Parity refers to an equal number of women and men represented in any body, organization, group or activity.

GENDER QUOTA

Gender quotas, generally used in reference to women, are mandated targets or minimum thresholds for the number of women (or men), often as candidates proposed by a party for election or reserved seats for women in the legislature. Quotas may be constitutionally or legislatively mandated or take the form of voluntary political party quotas. Gender quotas are generally put in place in response to the slow rate at which the representation of women in decision-making bodies has increased in a country.

<http://www.idea.int/>

GENDER RELATIONS

Gender Relations are hierarchical relations of power between women and men that tend to disadvantage women.

<http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re55.pdf>

GENDER-RESPONSIVE BUDGETING

Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) is a tool used to analyze public spending from a gender perspective to identify the impact of government revenue and expenditures on women and men, boys and girls. It entails identifying the gaps between policy statements and the resources committed to their implementation. GRB initiatives aim to strengthen citizen advocacy and monitoring, hold public officials more accountable, and provide the needed information to challenge discrimination, inefficiency and corruption in order to propose feasible policy alternatives. Additionally, by highlighting the ways in which women contribute to society and the economy with their unpaid labor, and the needs of the poorest and most powerless members of society, GRB initiatives are important mechanisms for promoting social equality.

GENDER ROLES

Gender roles are learned behaviors in a given society, community or other group that condition which activities, tasks and responsibilities are perceived as male

and female. Perceived gender roles are affected by age, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion and by the geographical, economic and political environment. Changes in gender roles often occur in response to changing economic, natural or political circumstances, including development efforts.

<http://www.undp.org/>

GENDER SENSITIVITY

Gender sensitivity is the ability to recognize gender issues, and the ability to recognize women's different perceptions and interests arising from their different social location and different gender roles. This concept was developed as a way to reduce barriers to personal and economic development created by sexism. Gender sensitivity helps to generate respect for the individual regardless of sex. It helps members of both sexes determine which assumptions in matters of gender are valid and which are stereotypes or generalizations.

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001281/128166eb.pdf>

INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE NETWORK OF WOMEN IN POLITICS (IKNOW POLITICS):

iKNOW Politics is a joint project of the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). Its goal is to increase the participation and effectiveness of women in political life through a technology enabled forum that provides access to critical resources and expertise, stimulates dialogue, creates knowledge and shares experiences.

www.iknowpolitics.org

MARGINALIZATION

Marginalization is the social process of relegating or confining a social group to a lower social standing. Through the process of marginalization, women have been historically or traditionally excluded by wider society from political and decision-making processes. Political marginalization also refers to the circumstances of under-representation or misrepresentation of women in decision-making bodies.

WIN WITH WOMEN INITIATIVE

Because the meaningful inclusion of women is integral to vibrant democratic development and strong political parties, NDI and its chairman, Madeleine K. Albright, launched the Win with Women Global Initiative to pro-

mote strategies for increasing women's political leadership worldwide. Central to the initiative is the **Global Action Plan**, a document that outlines practical recommendations for political parties to broaden their appeal by becoming more inclusive and representative. The Global Action Plan was created in 2003, when the National Democratic Institute (NDI) convened in Washington, D.C. an international working group of women political party leaders from 27 countries to identify how best to establish mechanisms within political parties that enhance opportunities for women. In 2005, NDI established the Madeleine K. Albright Grant as a means of acknowledging and supporting small or developing grassroots organizations around the world that have effectively worked to promote women's participation in politics.

http://www.ndi.org/womens_programs?page=0%2C4#GlobalInitiatives

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy is a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominant and superior. Patriarchal systems that are embedded in our government, economic, political and social institutions perpetuate structural inequalities between men and women.

PROTOCOL TO THE AFRICAN CHARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

In 2003, the African Union adopted the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, a supplementary protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. Advancing the human rights of African women through creative, substantive and detailed language, the Protocol covers a broad range of human rights issues. For the first time in international law, it explicitly sets forth the reproductive right of women to medical abortion when pregnancy results from rape or incest or when the continuation of pregnancy endangers the health or life of the mother. The Protocol explicitly calls for the legal prohibition of female genital mutilation as well as an end to all forms of violence against women including unwanted or forced sex, and a recognition of protection from sexual and verbal violence as inherent in the right to dignity. It endorses affirmative action to promote the equal participation of women, including the equal representation of women in elected office, and calls for the equal representation of women in the judiciary and law enforcement agencies as an integral part of equal protection and benefit of the law. Articulating a right to peace, the Protocol also recognizes the right of women to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/Text/Protocol%20on%20the%20Rights%20of%20Women.pdf>

SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

In 2008, Leaders of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) signed this binding Protocol on Gender and Development with the objective to “provide for the empowerment of women, to eliminate discrimination and to achieve gender equality and equity through the development and implementation of gender-responsive legislation policies, programmes and projects”. The Protocol Articles are grouped under eight headings: constitutional and legal rights; governance; education and training; productive resources and employment; gender-based violence; health and HIV/AIDS; peace building and conflict resolution; and media, information and communication. There are 23 set targets, including that women will hold 50 percent of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors by 2015. Other key targets include ensuring that provisions for gender equality are contained in all constitutions and include affirmative action clauses, halving gender-based violence, and abolishing the legal minority status of women enshrined in many of the member states’ constitutions based on the dual legal systems that recognize customary law. A section on ‘final provisions’ includes sections on remedies, institutional arrangements, and implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

<http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/465>

SEX

Sex refers to the biological characteristics that categorize someone as either a woman or a man. These characteristics are generally universal and determined at birth.

<http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re55.pdf>

<http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/11483/10649049699Definitions.doc/Definitions.doc>

SEX-DISAGGREGATED DATA

Data that is collected and presented separately on men and women.

<http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/11483/10649049699Definitions.doc/Definitions.doc>

SEX DISCRIMINATION

Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex that has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, on a basis of equality of men and women, of hu-

man rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/cedaw_en.pdf

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX (HDI)

The Human Development Index measures a country’s achievements in three aspects: longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living. Longevity is measured by life expectancy at birth; knowledge is measured by a combination of adult literacy rate and the combined gross primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratio; and a decent standard of living, as measured by gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (PPP US\$).

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>

UNITED NATIONS MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

United Nations Millennium Declaration was adopted in September 2000, committing nations to a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty and setting out a series of time-bound targets that have become known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs provide concrete, numerical benchmarks for tackling extreme poverty in its many dimensions. They include goals and targets on income poverty, hunger, maternal and child mortality, disease, inadequate shelter, gender inequality, and environmental degradation. Goal number 3 is to “promote gender equality and empower women,” including women’s political participation. The international community aims to meet their targets for each goal by 2015.

<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>

<http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml>

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 (UNSCR 1325)

UNSCR 1325 was passed unanimously on October 31st, 2000. It is the first resolution ever passed by the UN Security Council that specifically addresses the impact of war on women, and it stresses the importance of women’s equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote sustainable peace and security. The resolution underscores the responsibility to protect women and girls from human rights abuses, including gender-based violence, and emphasizes the vital importance of mainstreaming gender perspectives in all aspects of conflict prevention, resolution, and reconstruction.

http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1820 (UNSCR 1820)

UNSCR 1820, a follow up to UNSCR 1325, explicitly addresses the issue of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations. Key provisions of the resolution recognize a direct relationship between the widespread and/or systematic use of sexual violence as an instrument of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security; commit the Security Council to considering appropriate steps to end such atrocities and to punish their perpetrators; and to request a report from the Secretary Council on situations in which sexual violence is being widely or systematically employed against civilians and on strategies for ending the practice.

<http://www.undp.org/cpr/documents/gender/SCResolution1820.pdf>

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1888 (UNSCR 1888)

UNSCR 1888 provides specific guidelines for implementing UNSCR 1820. The resolution call for the appointment of: a Special Representative to help coordinate the UN's actions around sexual violence, women's protection advisors and a team of experts on topics such as the rule of law, civilian and military judicial systems, and mediation, who can be rapidly deployed to assist national authorities and peacekeeping missions cope with cases of extreme sexual violence in armed conflict. Furthermore, UNSCR 1888 requests data on the prevalence of sexual violence as well as annual reports on the application of UNSCR 1888.

http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/chr/special/docs/17thsession/SC_res1888_2009.pdf

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1889 (UNSCR 1889)

UNSCR 1889 builds on and offers more specific guidelines to implementing UNSCR 1325. In addition to recognizing the exclusion of women from peacebuilding planning and the lack of funds directed towards responding to sexual violence, the resolution is most notable for its steps towards making the Security Council more accountable with regards to sexual violence. UNSCR 1889 requests that global indicators be developed to track and monitor the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and an additional report on how well women are being incorporated into the peacebuilding process.

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1889%282009%29

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Women's Political Participation refers to women taking an active part in all aspects of political processes and bodies – i.e., advocating on matters of policy, running for political office, getting elected, governing effectively, and participating meaningfully in every facet of civic and political life. NDI recognizes that women must be equal partners in the process of democratic development. As activists, elected officials and constituents, their contributions are crucial to building a strong and vibrant society.

WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

Refers to freedoms and entitlements of women and girls of all ages according to law, local custom and/or social behavior. Women's human rights are grouped together and differentiated from broader notions of human rights because they often differ from the freedoms recognized for men and boys as a consequence of historical and traditional bias against the exercise of rights by women and girls. Issues commonly associated with notions of women's rights include, though are not limited to, the right: to bodily integrity and autonomy; to vote (universal suffrage); to hold public office; to work; to fair wages or equal pay; to own property; to education; to enter into legal contracts; and to have marital, parental and religious rights.

<http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re55.pdf>

http://www.un.org/womenwatch/directory/human_rights_of_women_3009.htm



VIII. KEY RESOURCES

ASSESSING WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTY PROGRAMS: BEST PRACTICES AND RECOMMENDATIONS (2008)

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

The publication identifies the specific elements and approaches, which have been most effective in encouraging women's participation and leadership in political parties based on the illustrative experience by NDI in Morocco, Indonesia, Serbia and Nepal. Interviews with program participants, staff and experts provide the basis for narratives that capture the character of their particular country, and, at the same time, reveal how women across regions share both challenges to political leadership and strategies to overcoming those barriers.

<http://www.ndi.org/node/15121>

BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION: ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (2009)

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

This document discusses common electoral systems and how they are either inhibiting or facilitating women's political participation.

http://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/electoralsystems_5050_factsh3.htm

BEIJING DECLARATION AND PLATFORM FOR ACTION: A GUIDE FOR WOMEN AND WOMEN'S GROUPS (1995)

The United Nations (UN)

The Fourth World Conference on Women was convened by the United Nations in 1995 in Beijing, China. The aim of the conference was to assess the progress since the Nairobi World Conference on Women in 1985 and to adopt a platform for action, concentrating on key issues identified as obstacles to the advancement of women in the world. The conference focused on 12 areas of concern including education, health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, poverty,

women and the economy, power and decision-making, human rights, media, the girl-child, and the environment. The participating governments adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in order to address these concerns.

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>

BEYOND THE NUMBERS – QUOTAS IN PRACTICE (2003)

Colleen Lowe Morna

Beyond the Numbers attempts to shift the focus of women's participation back to a qualitative assessment by addressing lessons learned from electoral systems and quotas, voluntary quotas in the proportional representation system at the national and local level, and quota systems.

http://www.quotaproject.org/CS/CS_Lowe%20Morna-1-6-2004.pdf

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (1979)

The United Nations (UN)

Adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, [CEDAW] is often described as an international bill of rights for women. It defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The Convention takes an important place in bringing the female half of humanity into the focus of human rights concerns. The spirit of the Convention is rooted in the goals of the United Nations: to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity, and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women. The present document consists of 30 articles that spell out the meaning of equality and how women's rights can be achieved in areas such as: individual rights against discrimination; political and civil rights; and social, cultural and economic rights. In so doing, the Convention establishes not only an international bill of rights for women, but also an agenda for action by countries to guarantee the

enjoyment of those rights. The Convention now has 98 signatories and 186 countries are party to the treaty.

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN AND ITS OPTIONAL PROTOCOL HANDBOOK FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS (2003)

The United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (UN Women)
The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

This publication is designed to familiarize members of parliament with the CEDAW treaty and its Optional Protocol by providing the background to and content of the Convention and the Optional Protocol and describing the role of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. It also focuses on what parliamentarians can do to ensure effective implementation of the Convention and encourage use of the Protocol, and seeks to encourage parliamentarians to take measures to ensure that national laws, policies, actions, programmes and budgets reflect the principles and obligations in the Convention.

http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/cedaw_en.pdf

GENDERSTATS

The World Bank

GenderStats is a World Bank electronic database of gender statistics and indicators, which provides reports in four different categories, including summary gender profiles, thematic data, gender monitoring, and data by region. It is a compilation of data on key gender topics from national statistics agencies, United Nations databases, and World Bank-conducted or funded surveys.

www.worldbank.org

HOW TO DO A GENDER-SENSITIVE BUDGET ANALYSIS: CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Commonwealth Secretariat

This document is an introductory training manual that details the practical steps involved in implementing gender-sensitive budget analysis. The manual offers tools and methods that may be used in gender-sensitive budget analysis and offers a range of applications using various country case examples.

http://www.gender-budgets.org/index.php?option=com_joomdoc&task=cat_view&gid=178&Itemid=189&limitstart=10

INCLUSIVE SECURITY: A CURRICULUM FOR WOMEN WAGING PEACE (2009)

The Institute for Inclusive Security
Hunt Alternatives Fund

This curriculum contains tools for exploring women's critical contributions to conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction.

http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/7870_a_look_inside_inclusive_security_s_new_curriculum.cfm

THE INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE NETWORK OF WOMEN IN POLITICS (iKNOW POLITICS)

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)
International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)

iKNOW Politics is a joint project of the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). Its goal is to increase the participation and effectiveness of women in political life through a technology enabled forum that provides access to critical resources and expertise, stimulates dialogue, creates knowledge and shares experiences.

www.iknowpolitics.org

LEADING TO CHOICES: A LEADERSHIP TRAINING HANDBOOK FOR WOMEN (2001)

Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP)
Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM)
BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights
Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC)

Leading to Choices is intended to be used as a primer on women's leadership training, with an emphasis on women's empowerment and communication strategies. It aims to enable the participants to identify and develop the best means to communicate, listen, build consensus, create shared meaning, and foster learning partnerships at work, at home, and in her community.

<http://learningpartnership.org/docs/englctmanual.pdf>

MAKING IT OUR OWN: INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY TRAINING OF TRAINERS MANUAL

Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP)

Making IT Our Own is an innovative technology trainer's manual developed by Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) for use in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) training workshops and training-of-trainers. The goal of the trainings is to provide technology skills for gender justice and human rights advocacy.

<http://learningpartnership.org/en/publications/training/ict>

POWER BOOKLET

National Federation of Social Democratic Women In Sweden

The Power Book articulates ways for women to obtain, keep and utilize power. The book not only explores how power can be achieved and is accessible at the level of institutions, but also through everyday interactions and personal relationships.

<http://www.socialdemokraterna.se/Webben-for-alla/S-kvinnor/S-kvinnor-i-Jonkopings-lan/Var-Politik/Makthandboken/Women-have-equal-right-to-power/>

PROTOCOL TO THE AFRICAN CHARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

African Union

In 2003, the African Union adopted the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, a supplementary protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. Advancing the human rights of African women through creative, substantive and detailed language, the Protocol covers a broad range of human rights issues. For the first time in international law, it explicitly sets forth the reproductive right of women to medical abortion when pregnancy results from rape or incest or when the continuation of pregnancy endangers the health or life of the mother. The Protocol explicitly calls for the legal prohibition of female genital mutilation as well as an end to all forms of violence against women including unwanted or forced sex, and a recognition of protection from sexual and verbal violence as inherent in the right to dignity. It endorses affirmative action to promote the equal participation of women, including the equal representation of women in elected office, and calls for the equal representation of women in the judiciary and law enforcement agencies as an integral part

of equal protection and benefit of the law. Articulating a right to peace, the Protocol also recognizes the right of women to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/Text/Protocol%20on%20the%20Rights%20of%20Women.pdf>

SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Southern African Development Community (SADC)

In 2008, Leaders of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) signed this binding Protocol on Gender and Development with the objective to "provide for the empowerment of women, to eliminate discrimination and to achieve gender equality and equity through the development and implementation of gender-responsive legislation policies, programmes and projects". The Protocol Articles are grouped under eight headings: constitutional and legal rights; governance; education and training; productive resources and employment; gender-based violence; health and HIV/AIDS; peace building and conflict resolution; and media, information and communication. There are 23 set targets, including that women will hold 50 percent of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors by 2015. Other key targets include ensuring that provisions for gender equality are contained in all constitutions and include affirmative action clauses, halving gender-based violence, and abolishing the legal minority status of women enshrined in many of the member states' constitutions based on the dual legal systems that recognize customary law. A section on 'final provisions' includes sections on remedies, institutional arrangements, and implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

<http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/465>

UNIFEM GENDER-RESPONSIVE BUDGETING WEBSITE

United National Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Commonwealth Secretariat and Canada's International Development Research Center (IDRC)

UNIFEM's Gender-responsive Budgeting website was launched in 2001 in collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat and Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC). The website strives to support efforts of governments, women's organizations, members of parliaments and academics to ensure that

planning and budgeting processes are transparent, accountable, and effectively respond to gender equality goals.

<http://www.gender-budgets.org/>

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 (2000)

The United Nations (UN)

UNSCR 1325 was passed unanimously on October 31, 2000. It is the first resolution ever passed by the UN Security Council that specifically addresses the impact of war on women, and it stresses the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote sustainable peace and security. The resolution underscores the responsibility to protect women and girls from human rights abuses, including gender-based violence, and emphasizes the vital importance of mainstreaming gender perspectives in all aspects of conflict prevention, resolution, and reconstruction.

http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1820 (2008)

The United Nations (UN)

UNSCR 1820, a follow up to UNSCR 1325, explicitly addresses the issue of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations. Key provisions of the resolution recognize a direct relationship between the widespread and/or systematic use of sexual violence as an instrument of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security; commit the Security Council to considering appropriate steps to end such atrocities and to punish their perpetrators; and request a report from the Secretary Council on situations in which sexual violence is being widely or systematically employed against civilians and on strategies for ending the practice.

<http://www.undp.org/cpr/documents/gender/SCResolution1820.pdf>

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1888 (2009)

The United Nations (UN)

UNSCR 1888 provides specific guidelines for implementing UNSCR 1820. The resolution call for the appointment of: a Special Representative to help coordinate the UN's actions around sexual violence, women's protection advisors and a team of experts on topics such as the rule of law, civilian and military judicial systems, and mediation, who can be rapidly deployed to assist national authorities and peacekeeping missions cope with cases of extreme

sexual violence in armed conflict. Furthermore, UNSCR 1888 requests data on the prevalence of sexual violence as well as annual reports on the application of UNSCR 1888.

http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/chr/special/docs/17thsession/SC_res1888_2009.pdf

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1889 (2009)

The United Nations (UN)

UNSCR 1889 builds on and offers more specific guidelines to implementing UNSCR 1325. In addition to recognizing the exclusion of women from peace building planning and the lack of funds directed towards responding to sexual violence, the resolution is most notable for its steps towards making the Security Council more accountable with regards to sexual violence. UNSCR 1889 requests that global indicators be developed to track and monitor the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and an additional report on how well women are being incorporated into the peacebuilding process.

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1889%282009%29

WIN WITH WOMEN GLOBAL ACTION PLAN (2004)

*The National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs (NDI)*

The Win with Women Global Action Plan outlines practical recommendations to help political parties broaden their appeal by becoming more inclusive and representative. Conceived at the 2003 Win with Women Global Forum on strengthening political parties Global Forum, the Plan reflects the experiences and recommendations of women political party leaders from around the world. The Plan is organized around four main themes, which address women's participation as voters, political party leaders, candidates and elected officials. Over the past three years, party activists have been using the Global Action Plan to help make parties more inclusive, and the Plan has been translated into over a dozen languages.

http://www.ndi.org/files/Global_Action_Plan_NDI_English.pdf

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT: BEYOND NUMBERS

*International Institute for Democracy
and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)*

This updated edition of *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers Handbook* covers the ground of women's access to the legislature in three steps: It looks into the ob-

stacles women confront when entering Parliament – be they political, socio-economic or ideological and psychological. It presents solutions to overcome these obstacles, such as changing electoral systems and introducing quotas, and it details strategies for women to influence politics once they are elected to parliament, an institution that is traditionally male dominated. The handbook includes case studies from Argentina, Burkina Faso, Ecuador, France, Indonesia, Rwanda, South Africa and Sweden, as well as regional overviews from the Arab World, Latin America, South Asia and a case study on the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

<http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/>

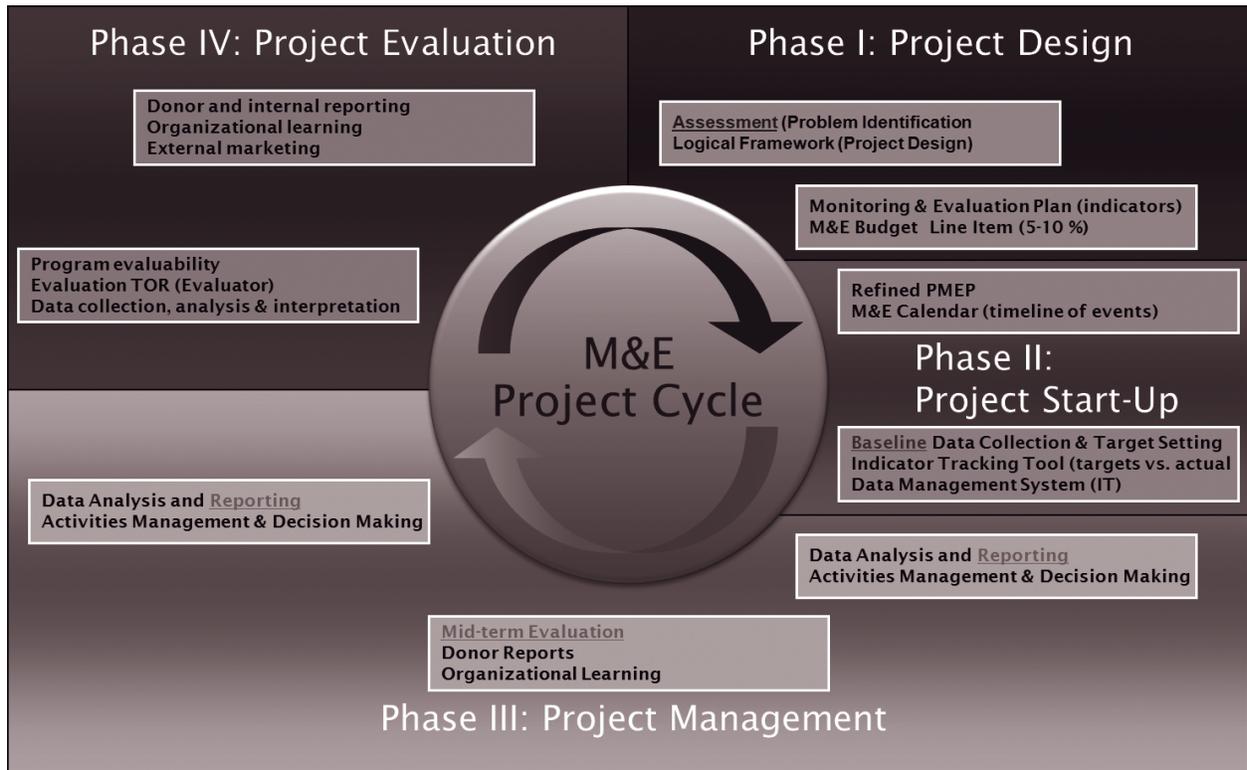


IX. APPENDICES

- Appendix 1: The Program Lifecycle
- Appendix 2: Working with the Judicial Branch
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- Appendix 5: Community Mapping
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APPENDIX 1: THE PROGRAM LIFECYCLE

The diagram below reflects NDI's approach to the lifecycle of a program. Beginning with program design, the program objectives and outcomes are the first opportunity to consider the extent to which gender may play a role in meeting outcomes and how gender can be mainstreamed in a program, providing the basis against which the monitoring process that follows will determine success. For every program, the monitoring and evaluation process should include individuals who can ensure that a gender perspective is considered during implementation and measurement.



APPENDIX 2: WORKING WITH THE JUDICIAL BRANCH

For the most part, engagement with the judicial branch is outside the scope of NDI programming. Nonetheless, an abbreviated section is included here because NDI recognizes that an independent judiciary, co-equal with the executive and legislative branches, is a cornerstone of democratic governance.

Women's lack of access to the judicial system

Globally, when their rights are violated, women have much less access to the courts and legal protection than men do. The obstacles include:

- Lack of information about existing laws. Women's relative lack of education vis-à-vis men means that they are less likely to have received information about the existing constitution, legislation, or policies. Higher levels of illiteracy mean that they have a harder time accessing such information when they need it. Women in developing countries, particularly rural women or those from marginalized communities, too often do not know what their rights are, or when they have been violated.
- Discriminatory family, penal, and personal status laws. Too often, laws codify discrimination against women. For example, marriage, divorce, custody, and citizenship laws often subordinate women to men. In some countries, the law does not recognize women's human rights, such as freedom of movement. Such legal discrimination undermines women's participation in society and makes women more vulnerable to exploitation and violence.
- Discriminatory social, customary, or religious practices. Even if the rights of women are formally enshrined in a constitution or legal code, informal practices often override the official legal system. Consequently, in many contexts, it is social, customary, or religious practices and authorities that limit women's access to the justice system.
- Lack of access to resources and economic dependence on men. The costs associated with lodging complaints – both in terms of money and time – often prevent women from pursuing legal claims in court. In some systems, such as Afghanistan, where “bribery, intimidation, and nepotism” play a role in deciding court cases, women's relatively “low status and lack of economic independence”

make it nearly impossible to navigate the system on their own.¹⁰⁹

- Discriminatory or abusive police. Often, the first point of contact with the justice system is the local police. Unfortunately, too often male-dominated police forces share the same attitudes about crimes against women that the rest of the society does. Often when women try to file complaints, they are ridiculed or abused, particularly in the case of sexual violence, and their cases do not make it to court. This is true in both the developing and developed world.¹¹⁰

Women as attorneys and judges

Globally, many fewer women than men are attorneys or judges. This further limits women's access, as the entire legal system can be a foreign or even hostile environment for women seeking justice.

In some Islamic countries, it is still illegal for women to serve as judges or public prosecutors. Malaysia took a significant step toward rectifying this in 2010 when it appointed the first two women to its Islamic Court. In making the appointments, Premier Najib Razak said he made the appointments to give women a voice in family and women's rights cases. Before [the appointments], Malaysian women often complained about the injustice of Court decisions involving divorce proceedings, inheritance and child custody cases.”¹¹¹ Observers hope that this action will have an impact on other Islamic countries.

The lack of women in the judiciary also means that the interpretation of law is, for the most part, in the hands of men. This has proven to be particularly problematic with regard to cases of sexual violence and family law (marriage, divorce, custody). Recently, after several embarrassing high-profile cases in which rapists were not convicted because of the bias of male judges, India sought to rectify this with an unusual solution – allowing only female judges to hear rape cases.¹¹²

109. “Chapter VI. Guilty on Arrival: Women's Access to Justice,” from “We Have the Promises of the World,” Human Rights Watch, last modified December 6, 2009, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/86805/section/8>.

110. John Eligon, “4 Victims of Sexual Assault Tell of Treatment by Police,” *The New York Times*, 2 June 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/03/nyregion/03rapeside.html/>.

111. “That's one small step for Malaysia, one giant leap for South Asia,” *The Atlantic*, July 9, 2010, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2010/07/thats-one-small-step-for-malaysia-one-giant-leap-for-south-asia/59475/>.

112. Justin Huggler, “Female Judges to Hear Rape Cases as India Admits Failures of Legal System,” *The Independent*, August 5, 2006, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/female-judges-to-hear-rape-cases-as-india-admits-failures-of-legal-system-410569.html>.

In many countries, women's NGOs provide free legal clinics for women. Others train female paralegals and court advocates to accompany women complainants through the justice system in an attempt to compensate for the lack of female attorneys.

The rule of law with regard to women's issues

Highlighted here are the areas of law that often include inequitable provisions (they are also addressed in the legislative branch section of the governance chapter). Legislators and civil society activists should be provided with legislative review and drafting support in order to examine existing legislation and identify discriminatory laws that need to be revised. Improving judicial systems so that they do not discriminate against women, and in fact, provide equal protection before the law to all citizens, requires the increased participation of women and improvements in gender-sensitivity and judicial independence.

- **Violence against women:** Often violence against women (rape, domestic violence, other forms of abuse) takes place in the private sphere. Historically, states have declined to get involved in the protection of women in their homes and families. For example, rape was not outlawed in Haiti until 2005. In fact today, spousal rape is still not considered a crime in many countries. Legislation should be developed that treats violence against women – in all its forms – as a criminal act and provides adequate criminal penalties. Police, lawyers, and judges must be trained to treat it seriously and not re-victimize a woman who reports the crime and brings charges against her attacker.
- **Family law (marriage, divorce, custody):** In many countries, family law is based on customary or religious sources and discriminates against women. This often places women in a subordinate position in her family or marriage. Legislation should be enacted to protect women and men's equality in marriage and in the dissolution of marriage and protect a woman's custody of her children. The age of consent to marriage should be the same for women and men.
- **Citizenship and nationality:** Legislation should give men and women equal rights regarding nationality and citizenship. The most important aspects of this are the right to maintain one's citizenship when marrying a foreign national and a mother's right to pass on citizenship to her children. Recently, Pakistan, Tunisia, and Jordan have

all revised components of their citizenship laws to be more equitable.¹¹³

- **Inheritance:** In many countries, customary law discriminates against women with regard to the inheritance of property and land. Girls and women are often prevented from inheriting. In some cases, a woman loses her property when she is widowed. These laws isolate and marginalize women, and increase their economic vulnerability. In recent years, many African countries, including Tanzania, Eritrea and Rwanda, have revised discriminatory provisions related to succession and inheritance.

Strategies for program designers and implementers

Consult

- Talk with women lawyers and judges to determine what is needed in order to recruit more women into the justice system.
- Choose partners that have a track record of working on women's rights and consulting with grassroots women about their legal problems.
- Conduct local sensitization campaigns to inform women of their rights before the law and solicit information on the major legal problems they face.

Analyze

- Conduct a "gender audit" of existing laws and policies to identify discriminatory provisions that should be revised.
- Determine what barriers women face in trying to access the justice system, and design programs and budgets to address these barriers.
- Seek to understand how gender roles will affect (limit, enhance) the program's intended outcomes, outputs.

Balance

- Seek to ensure that women make up half of all participants in training programs.
- Provide training in gender analysis to both male and female judges.

113. Jolynn Shoemaker, "Constitutional Rights and Legislation," *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (Washington and London: Hunt Alternatives and International Alert, 2004), http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/87_inclusive_security_toolkit.cfm.

- Provide training to police and legal professionals in how to work with female crime victims.
- Support programs that provide female paralegal support to female victims of crimes.
- Count the women in the room – at all stages. How many staff are women? How many participants are women? How actively are they participating? During a training program, how many technical experts, guest speakers, and panelists are women?

Measure

- Work with monitoring and evaluation specialists in the program design phase. Determine from the outset what is going to be measured and how.
- Establish a sex- and age-disaggregated baseline before the program starts and collect sex- and age-disaggregated data throughout the project.
- Make sure that monitoring and evaluation specialists have gender expertise so that gender-sensitive indicators can be identified.
- Evaluate programs on the basis of whether or not they promote gender equality.
- Ensure that gender differences are reflected in the objectives, methodology, expected outputs and anticipated impact of the project.
- Track the number of female lawyers and judges.

APPENDIX 3: HOW TO DO AN ASSESSMENT

How to do an assessment

- Listen and ask questions
- Be as unbiased and non-suggestive as possible
- Question your own assumptions and unpack as much as possible

FIVE Overarching Assessment Questions

(Note: Not just for assessing capacity in terms of what needs to be 'built')

1. What is the existing capacity (of local actors – this could be staff, partner organizations, etc)?
 - What expertise is available? Who is available to contribute? And what is their skill set/level?
 - What budget and finances are available?
 - What are the existing networks and relationships?
 - Trust – where does it lie? Also consider what mistrust exists.
 - What are the current practices in place? What is occurring now?
 - Are needs being met? Are needs not being met?
 - What is good enough for this community?

2. How much assistance is needed?

(Note: Can be technical assistance, skill, knowledge, material support, etc)

- What is required?
- What are shortfalls of existing capacity? What is missing?
- What capacity can be met?
 - Literacy, education level
 - Never will be at an optimum, always concessions...

3. What has been tried before? Who did it?

- What partners were engaged? Why?

4. What was the outcome/impact of previous interventions?

5. Who benefited from the past interventions and who suffered from it?

Adapted from “Strengthening Local Capacity: Training, Mentoring and Advising.”¹¹⁴

114. “Strengthening Local Capacity: Training, Mentoring and Advising” (notes from USIP Training held October 19th-23rd, 2009).

APPENDIX 4: THE BENCHMARK MODEL

Benchmark democracy surveys can be administered at intervals to serve three purposes:

- 1) They generate data that can compensate for the chronic shortage of reliable information by providing systematically obtained evidence about democratic conditions.
- 2) They provide democracy support programs with an initial diagnostic. The surveys deliver precise information about the location and source of democratic bright spots and deficits within the target population. That information can be used to craft broad development strategies and targeted programs.
- 3) Benchmark surveys also provide a platform for evaluation. Used carefully, follow-on benchmark surveys can provide reliable information that sheds light on the impact of programs and they can decipher whether programs singly or collectively have contributed to democratic progress.

There are differences between typical public opinion research and benchmark surveys.

Public opinion polls and benchmark surveys have some methodological similarities, but the strategies for analysis are different because they have different goals. Polling is commonly used to make broad generalizations about public opinion on the issue of the day. Polling outlets often attempt to understand voter preferences in reference to a particular election. **However, benchmark surveys have used data to gain a better understanding of (1) the broad democratic deficits in a country, and (2) how key orientations are distributed within the population, as well as within and between subgroups.**

The design logic of NDI's survey has been straightforward. The target population is the general adult population and the sample draw is random, with a sample size of around 1,000 cases. The analytic purpose is also straightforward, namely, to identify areas within the population where support for democratic values is strong, where it is weak and where barriers to participation exist. These results identify potential areas of programming. There is also a built-in expectation that there will be a follow-up evaluation survey that allows analysts to identify whether, and where, support for democratic values has increased, remained stable or decreased.

Benchmark survey designs can be modified to respond to the pre-determined programmatic interests, or to re-

spond to nationally specific challenges that are unique to a particular setting. However, modifications should be carefully considered and crafted in ways that ensure the integrity of the core content and underlying methodology.

The benchmark surveys have been thematically organized and include measures of:

1) *Support for Democratic Values*

- Procedural norms, including civilian control of the military, rule of law, freedom of association and speech, one person one vote, etc.¹¹⁵
- Civic values, including tolerance of social and cultural outgroups and gender equality¹¹⁶

2) *Civic Knowledge*

- Awareness of political actors, government institutions, and political processes

3) *Issue Priorities*

- Open ended responses to the question, "What in your view are the most important problems facing society today?"

4) *Associational Life and Levels of Engagement*

- Civic engagement: participation in associational life, in horizontal and vertical associations¹¹⁷
- Affective engagement: levels of generalized and interpersonal trust, cynicism¹¹⁸
- Cognitive engagement: interest in and levels of knowledge about politics, sources of information and patterns of discussion about civic matters

5) *Trust and Cynicism*

- Interpersonal and intergroup trust

6) *Confidence in Institutions*

- Political parties, legislatures, executives, the courts, the military, police, business, media, electoral and religious authorities

115. Larry Diamond, "Consolidating Democracies" in L. LeDuc et al. *Comparing Democracies* (London: Sage, 2002), 210-227.

116. R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

117. R. Putnam, R., *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

118. Putnam, 1993; R. Rose, and D. Irwin, "Social Cohesion, Political Parties and Strains in Regimes," *Comparative Political Studies* 2 (2003):1.

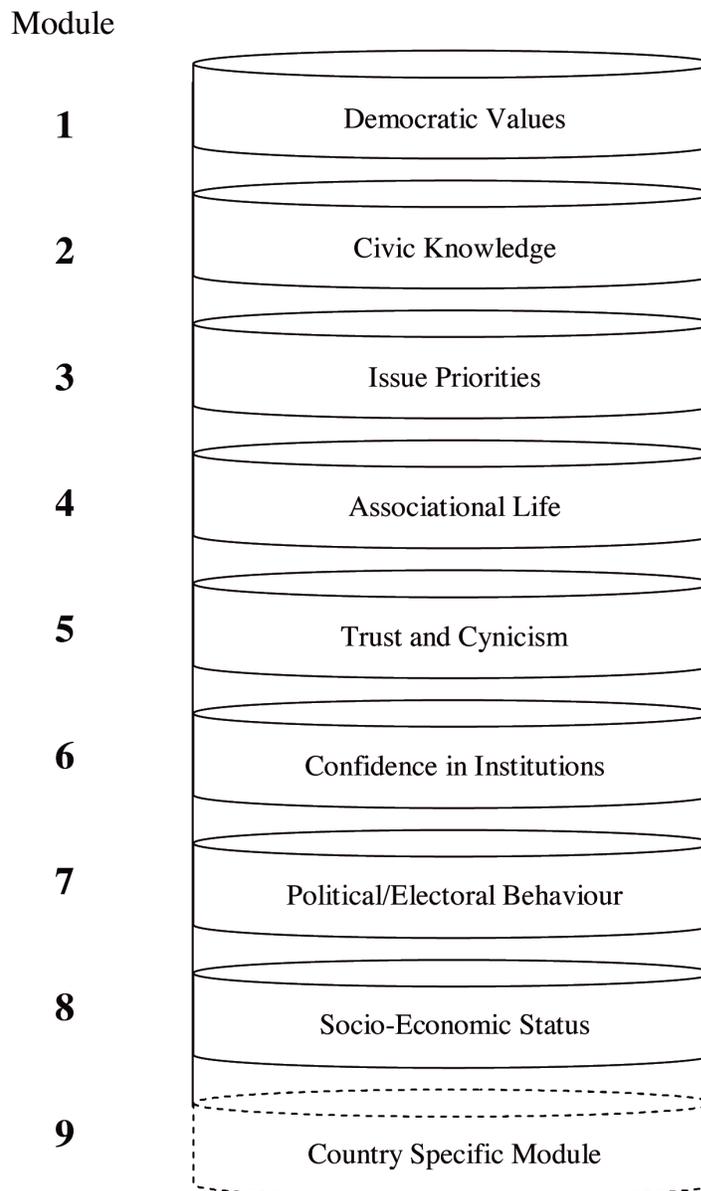
7) Political/Electoral Behavior

- Voting or not voting, record of last vote choice, second party vote choice, most aversive party and reasons for not voting (open ended question) including institutional barriers

8) Standard Socio-Demographics

- Age, gender, occupation, population concentration, income, level of formal education, etc.

The Modular Benchmark Survey

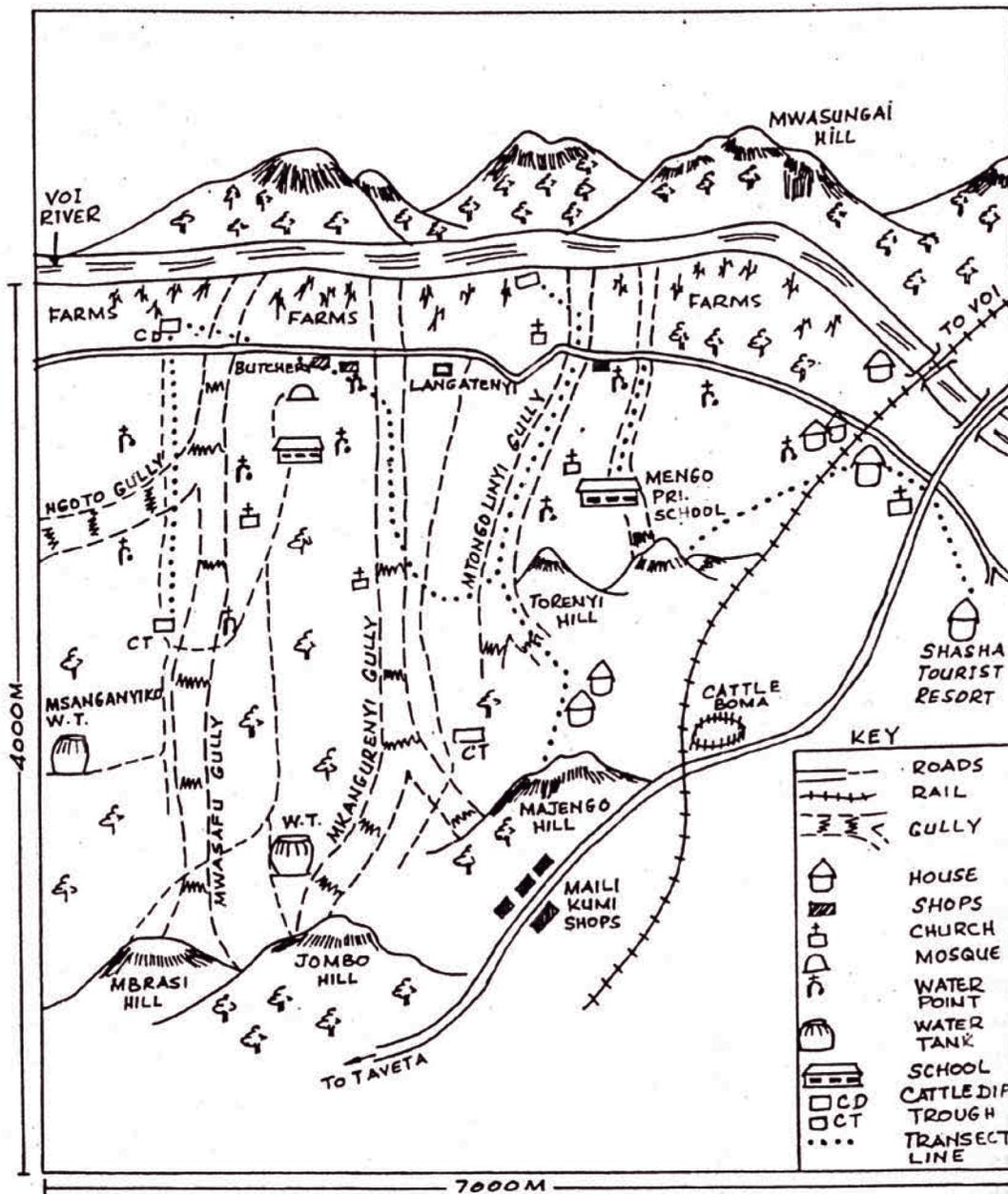


Adapted from *Tracking Democracy: Benchmark surveys for diagnostics, program design and evaluation*.¹¹⁹

119. Neil Nevitte and Melissa Estok, *Tracking Democracy: Benchmark surveys for diagnostics, program design and evaluation* (Washington: National Democratic Institute).

APPENDIX 5: COMMUNITY MAPPING

Community mapping is a participatory tool that allows community members to create a visual representation of their community space. It helps facilitate a discussion of different individuals' or groups' perceptions of the community and identifies key people and places. For those working on advocacy campaigns, a stakeholder analysis helps delineate sources of power necessary for reform and to better understand how and where decisions are made.



Adapted from Community Development Toolkit.¹²⁰

120. World Bank and International Council on Mining and Metals, "Community Map," in *Community Development Tools* (ICMM, World Bank and ESMAP, 2005), <http://www.icmm.com/page/629/community-development-toolkit->.

APPENDIX 6: FOCUS GROUPS

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Focus groups have both strengths and weaknesses.

ADVANTAGES

- Focus groups reveal insights and nuances that other research methods, such as surveys, can't. They can help discover hidden feelings and motives.
- Participants have the opportunity to volunteer information and express detailed feelings, opinions and attitudes.
- They provide language and context, explaining how participants communicate about this topic.
- They are more cost effective than individual interviews or a survey (though this depends on the number of groups conducted and locations selected).
- They capture a wider range of responses than individual interviews.
- Groups produce concentrated amounts of information on a precise topic of interest.
- The format allows for visual or audio props (such as campaign manuals or ad testing).
- The discussion group format can challenge and thus moderate extreme or unrepresentative viewpoints.

DISADVANTAGES

- Focus groups are a non-scientific form of data collection.
- Results cannot be quantified.
- The small number of participants and lack of random selection limits the ability to generalize to a larger population.
- They present a logistical challenge: coordinating different schedules, selecting sites, finding the participants, hiring and/or training moderators, and more.
- They allow for a limited number of questions.
- A skilled moderator is required, one who is able to encourage participants to express their views and also keep the discussion on track.

- Participants may not express important concerns due to the group setting; the personal interaction may bias opinions.
- The researcher has less control over data collection because participants shape the discussion.
- They can be time consuming and difficult to interpret. Reports are subjective analyses of opinions, beliefs and assumptions.

WHEN TO USE FOCUS GROUPS

Before proposing focus groups, make sure they are right for your program.

USE FOCUS GROUPS WHEN:

- You are looking for a range of feelings that people have about a specific topic.
- The purpose is to uncover factors that influence opinions, behavior or motivation.
- You need to hear the language people use to talk about an issue.
- You want to understand differences in perspectives between groups or categories of people (such as men and women, elites and the uneducated).
- You want to identify trends.
- You want ideas to emerge from the group.
- You want to pilot test ideas, messages, materials or policies.
- You plan to conduct a survey and want to inform the process.
- You need to shed light on survey data already collected.

DON'T USE FOCUS GROUPS WHEN:

- You need statistical projections (e.g., 30 percent describe politicians as "corrupt").
- Other methodologies can produce better quality information.
- Other methodologies can produce the same quality information for less.
- You want to educate the participants.
- You want people to come to consensus.
- The environment is emotionally charged, and a group discussion is likely to intensify a conflict.

- You can't ensure the confidentiality of sensitive information.
- You are asking for sensitive information that should not be shared in a group.
- You don't plan to use the results but want to give the appearance of listening.
- You are in a politically repressed environment with very limited freedom of speech or association.

Adapted from *From Proposal to Presentation: The Focus Group Process at NDI*.¹²¹

121. Victoria Canavor, *From Proposal to Presentation: The Focus Group Process at NDI* (Washington: National Democratic Institute, 2006).

APPENDIX 7: OPTIONS FOR WORKING WITH STAKEHOLDERS

This section outlines a number of organizing and outreach mechanisms that can be employed to work with potential stakeholders to build momentum and gather useful information for women's political participation programs.

NETWORKING EVENTS

The purpose of networking events is to bring together key stakeholders from various sectors of society who may or may not know each other, to begin to build a support system for women to progress in political parties, as candidates, and as elected officials. Gathering together influential individuals from civil society, community organizations, academia, the private sector and political parties can be exciting and energizing. These events allow women interested in politics to see and hear the level of support there may be for their efforts. It can be particularly useful in the long-term if women from all political parties are invited to meet together at networking events, though political sensitivities may make this difficult or even impossible in some situations. Often they are facing some of the same challenges, regardless of the size or the ideology of the party to which they belong. In some countries, this has led to women forming permanent cross-party networks of support.

Program planners must also decide whether or not these should be women-only events, or at what stage it may be appropriate to bring in other stakeholders and interested parties who may be male decision-makers or senior party officials. Again, it will depend on the local environment, how sensitive the issue of women's political participation is, and how the women who participate in the events would like to use them, for example, for confidential discussions and support or to build profiles and exposure. Networking events are typically shorter occasions of one to two hours, with a keynote speak-

er followed by a facilitated discussion and an informal, social component. They can be particularly beneficial when held on a regular basis, and as it allows the network to continue to expand as more women and supporters of women's political participation become aware of and interested in the networking events. Networking events should be substantive, but must also incorporate a dedicated social time in which participants can build relationships and professional support networks in a friendly atmosphere. These events can also be used for research and feedback as gathering such key players together offers an opportunity for highly valuable focus group discussions, which provide meaningful guidance for program content and design.

USING NETWORKING EVENTS TO INFORM WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION EFFORTS

Women in Romania are poorly represented in political parties, rarely promoted to positions of authority in local or national government, and do not have the critical mass to monitor legislation or to mobilize support for causes concerning women's rights and equality.

To strengthen ties among individuals and organizations working on issues that tend to be important to women, such as domestic violence, NDI's Romania program hosted a networking event. Women from political parties, civil society, academia and business were invited. Many of the women knew of each other, but had never met. The event helped build ties among these women, strengthened their working relationships, and produced valuable information, which informed the design and delivery of NDI's political party programs in Romania.

USING CONFERENCES TO ADVANCE WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In Bangladesh, NDI works with the Bangladesh Alliance for Women Leadership (BDAWL), a relatively new network of senior women political and civil society that seeks to assist women to advance to leadership positions within political parties, government, and civil society.

The Alliance held its first issue conference to discuss “How to get Women into Leadership Positions.” Sixty participants identified and prioritized strategies for getting women into meaningful positions at the top tiers of government in greater numbers, providing a clear plan of action for the group and valuable insights for NDI's program planning.

CONFERENCES

If there are geographical or transportation issues that make it difficult for stakeholders to gather for shorter networking events, or to launch or close a program, or, if women's political participation is an issue that merits extensive examination and discussion in a particular country, it may be more effective to host the conversation with stakeholders through an all-day or multi-day conference

Like networking events, conferences can be powerful and energizing occasions in which influential individuals from civil society, community organizations, academia, the private sector and political parties meet to discuss common cause, values and purpose.

In the case of women's political participation, conferences can be an organizing tool, but should not be considered as complete programs in and of themselves. Rather than offering a dry agenda of speeches, conferences focused on women's political participation should be designed around interactive, engaging discussions that can ultimately produce specific suggestions and a common focus on women's political participation. Because, in some cases, a single conference can cost as much as a year-long program, it is important to integrate conferences into the overall program methodology.

Conferences must include dedicated social components to allow participants to build professional networks. They should also offer a means by which participants can stay in contact with one another after the conference is over. This can be something as simple as circulating a phone and email list, using the iKNOW Politics Discussion Circles, or more complex such as organizing a series of regional follow-up meetings or a dedicated website.¹²² As with other activities, program planners must also decide whether these should be women-only

events, or at what stage it may be appropriate to bring in male stakeholders and decision-makers. This will depend on the needs and desires of participants, but if conferences or large meetings are held on a regular basis it will make sense at some point to invite party leaders so that they are aware of what conference participants would like to achieve and what they are capable of, and so that participants have sufficient exposure to these decision-makers and can begin to include them in their professional networks if they have not already done so.

INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS AND CONSULTATIONS

In countries where there are strong sensitivities to women's political participation or where conditions make it difficult for women to meet together in larger groups, individual meetings or consultations may be the best method for building relationships with stakeholders. Alternatively, program implementers may find that some stakeholders are ready for the group settings of networking events or conferences, while for others a private meeting is more appropriate.

It is important to provide feedback to participants after these meetings to build a shared understanding of what was discussed, what was decided, and what will happen going forward.

It may take longer to reach a shared plan of action among stakeholders using individual meetings as the primary means of communication, but the personal nature of this medium helps build strong working relationships between staff and program partners.

ELECTRONIC MEDIA

In some countries, the best way to communicate with stakeholders and program partners may be through electronic media, including mobile phones, SMS text messaging, email and the internet.

Program designers may need to begin by building contact lists of phone numbers, email addresses, and VoIP and social networking contacts to connect with stake-

122. The iKnow Politics and Aswat websites are good examples of how dedicated websites can be used as a means for people to keep in touch on issues and activities of common interest. See www.iknowpolitics.org and www.aswat.com.

holders. Program implementers can use electronic media to:

- Conduct phone or VoIP meetings, such as Skype video or voice calls;
- Facilitate email, instant messaging or SMS chat conversations;
- Host web meetings or conferencing;
- Share information or hold electronic discussions on pertinent issues;
- Connect with interested parties through social networking sites; and/or
- Survey stakeholders on potential programming.

While electronic media can be an efficient way to disseminate information and keep interested parties engaged and connected on an issue, it can be a difficult means to build new relationships. Web meetings and conferencing, and VoIP calling with video offer the most personal options among electronic media, if the equipment and infrastructure exist to support this. However, many (and especially older) women do not know how to use electronic media, and are hesitant to begin learning. At the start of programs, part of the confidence building or empowerment approach can incorporate basic trainings on how to set up an email account, organize lists, write an effective email, start a Facebook page, use Skype, for example.

APPENDIX 8: WORKING WITH CANDIDATE SELECTION PROCESSES

Candidate selection processes present one of the toughest barriers to women's political participation. To the extent possible, political party programs should seek to work with program partners to ensure that the candidate selection processes they are using provide an equal chance for women to compete and win.

Work with parties to examine the methods they are currently using through a gender sensitive lens. Identify potential barriers to women's political participation and assist political party partners in formulating solutions to address these.

Regardless of the dominant political culture, a focus on gender-sensitive and non-discriminatory candidate selection processes can easily be integrated into a number of political party programming streams:

- Internal Party Organization and Structure: Programs working with parties on their internal structures may offer a focus on candidate selection processes as part of this work. Produce and present an options paper¹²³ to senior party officers detailing the systems used in similar cultures, and offer to facilitate discussions, platforms or debates within the parties on the best way forward. Include options for the active promotion of women and other under-represented groups as candidates.
- Anti-Corruption and Transparency: Programs working with transparency, accountability and anti-corruption themes can assist political parties in considering more participatory, fair and open candidate selection processes as part of efforts towards reform or renewal, with a particular focus on the enhanced levels of legitimacy among voters that come with women's participation.
- Electoral Performance and Public Appeal: Candidate selection processes can be incorporated into programming to help parties increase their appeal to voters. More open and participatory processes, particularly those that bring in new candidates such as women, typically generate more public appeal and interest and can provide key events for

promoting a party's image and visibly demonstrate any rhetorical commitment to outreach, diversity and effective representation. Parties seeking to make a contrast with other political parties are particularly in a position to gain from actively promoting women as candidates.

- Membership Recruitment and Outreach: Revitalized candidate selection processes can help political parties reach out to new constituencies, particularly women and young people. Women typically come into politics from civil society and may bring with them groups with whom political parties had previously failed to connect. More open and equitable selection processes are likely to attract new people who may have been previously disillusioned with politics.

Political Party Law and Regulations: Programming looking at laws and regulations affecting political parties may consider incorporating candidate selection processes as part of this work. Public consultations and discussions on regulations impacting candidate selection may increase interest in these processes and bring in increased public support for systems that support women's political participation.

123. NDI's Political Party Team has a several models available to help inform an options paper for a specific country or political party. For one example, see: Sefakor Ashiagbor, *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Selecting Candidates for Legislative Office* (Washington: National Democratic Institute, 2008).

APPENDIX 9: TRAINING BEST PRACTICES

Women who have participated in NDI's political party training programs worldwide provide similar feedback when it comes to training content. They value the planning and election skills training NDI frequently offers and are also looking for experience and practice in communication, public speaking and media skills, leadership skills, conflict, time and stress management, policy and platforms, lobbying and advocacy, and fundraising. These are the areas in which they feel they need the most preparation, exposure, and support.¹²⁴

NDI has a variety of training modules on each of these topics, which are available through NDI staff who work on political party and women's political participation programs. Rather than reproduce those, this section offers guidance on best practices for each of these topics.

The topics outlined in this section are *in addition* to the core political and campaign skills that are a fundamental part of most NDI political party programs. These typically involve campaign and strategic planning, voter outreach, message development and delivery, and various other components of electoral and political party organizing.

While the exact topics covered depend on the situation in each country, ensuring that women have access to these types of trainings, as well as some of the more specific areas described below, helps create a demand within political parties for their involvement.

Communication, Public Speaking and Media Skills

Developing the confidence and skill to speak to a room of people, no matter the size or familiarity of the audience, is one of the most challenging areas for candidates and elected officials, particularly for women who may have very little experience with delivering speeches. Public speaking can send normally self-assured adults into a deep panic. Working with the media can be just as disconcerting. Program participants who have never had to face a camera or the probing questions of a journalist may be intimidated by the ubiquitous role the press and media can play in politics.

Women and girls are often socialized not to speak up in public, so the transition to becoming a command-

ing public speaker or being comfortable in front of the camera can be particularly disconcerting and difficult. Because the work required to develop communication and media skills can be so personally challenging, the rewards are equally abundant. The sense of achievement and confidence that come from practicing and mastering public speaking and external communication skills can be a phenomenal boost to candidates and elected officials and can help them develop techniques that they are likely to use on a regular basis in political life.

For these reasons, communication skills trainings are among the most highly-appreciated activities among program participants.

Feedback from program participants produced the following recommendations:

- Focus communication trainings on public speaking, message development, interview and media skills, and assisting women in identifying their existing personal strengths. Many program participants are good communicators, but because they may have not used this skill at a professional level, they are unaware of the abilities they already possess, how to use them, and how to build on them.
- Coaching is an important element of communication training. Ensure that women are made aware of their personal strengths and what they do well, as well as areas that need work. Incorporate encouragement and support in training styles on communication topics.
- Establish and maintain a safe learning environment. All-women or single-party trainings may be necessary for these training topics. Alternatively, multi-party training participants can be divided by party when there is potential for divulging sensitive information. Ensure that participants feel comfortable and supported enough to take personal risks.
- Give women camera time. Allow them to see themselves on camera so that they are aware of how they communicate.
- Allow enough practice time. Communication, public speaking, media and interview skills trainings can be time consuming, but it is time well-spent. The more practice participants are able to put in during training time in a safe learning environment, the more their self-confidence will grow.
- Foster more ways to work with the media and create media opportunities for women. In most coun-

124. Susanna McCollom, Kristin Haffert, and Alyson Kozma, *Assessing Women's Political Party Programs: Best Practice and Recommendations* (Washington: National Democratic Institute, 2008), 9-10, <http://www.ndi.org/node/15121>.

tries, women are far less likely to have access to the media. Work with women candidates in particular to help them develop strategies and techniques to gain media exposure. Assist women candidates and campaign staff in developing media strategies, tools and techniques for gaining press coverage.

- Incorporate trainings on how to use technology for communication, including the internet, social media, and mobile phones.
- Negotiation and persuasion are among the communication topics that women participants value. These trainings help them develop the skills they need to make their case in a competitive political environment, and also help them manage inter-personal relationships as the demands on their time increase.

Media exposure can be a real challenge for women candidates who are less likely to be among the leading candidates the press are inclined to cover. Particularly in a crowded field of candidates, it can be difficult for women to focus attention on their campaigns.

Political party programs can assist women candidates and their campaign staff on techniques to gain media coverage, including conventional methods such as press conferences and briefings, or candidate forums, debates and town hall meetings, or creative earned media events. Programs can also partner with other organizations or media outlets to organize a media campaign that offers publicity for women candidates and issues important to women as voters. Additionally, the internet offers opportunities for women candidates to circumvent conventional media. Websites such as YouTube and Revver, which offer candidates and parties the opportunity to post their own video message, can provide a direct link to voters in countries or regions where internet access is readily available.

Leadership Skills

The broad theme of “Leadership Skills” means different things in different situations. Women participants in NDI’s political party programs define it as, “a wide curriculum offering skills and policy based training and practice sessions, which help women recognize the talents they already have, build confidence and maximize

CREATING MEDIA OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

Using Social Media in Kuwait

When snap elections were called for May 2009, NDI’s Kuwait program quickly mobilized to build on its longstanding relationships with Kuwaiti women to prepare for the election. These were only the third elections since women gained full suffrage in 2005, the first year in which women were permitted to stand for office and vote.

NDI provided assistance to these women, including technological support on how to use campaign websites, social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, and SMS text messaging to enhance their political campaigns. These outreach techniques were critical in a country like Kuwait, with a large number of educated elites and a powerful technological infrastructure.

On May 16, 2009, four women were elected to the Kuwaiti parliament, securing almost 40,000 votes and a much higher margin of victory than most observers had predicted.

Getting Women On Air in Sierra Leone

For the 2008 local elections, NDI’s Sierra Leone program formed a Women and Media Working Group with several civil society organizations to develop a common media campaign, organize joint activities, and coordinate resources in support of women’s participation in the elections. The shared slogan was, “Help Build Sierra Leone with Women”.

The Group organized rallies with high profile speakers, held a number of press briefings, and worked with community radio stations to provide airtime to women candidates and deliver messages about the importance of women’s participation in politics. The program also produced a video with prominent women leaders from the region talking about the important contributions women make to politics. Featured women included President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (Liberia), Hon. Miria Matembe (Uganda), Hon. Saudatu Sani (Nigeria), and Hon. Grace Mwewa (Kenya). The video was shown during women candidate forums around the country.

their personal and professional strengths.” This topic can include everything from communication to networking to strategic planning to fundraising, depending on the needs and requests of participants. Whichever topics are highlighted, effective leadership training involves high levels of coaching and confidence-building for participants, which may involve:

- building awareness of the valuable leadership roles that women already hold in society, including in their families and communities;
- assisting women in identifying their leadership styles and helping them develop situational leadership techniques that assist them in managing a variety of situations, and
- identifying opportunities and challenges for women leaders.¹²⁵

Conflict, Time, and Stress Management

Women generally face higher demands on their time and labor than men, and increased participation in politics adds to this. In addition to the degree of conflict and pressure inherent in politics, the collision of political life and personal life often creates additional stresses for female politicians, which their male counterparts are unlikely to experience at the same level.

Women participants in NDI’s political party programs recognize that as their careers in politics grow, these

stresses are more likely to increase rather than decrease. For these reasons, they frequently request training and assistance in managing time, conflict, and stress.

The qualitative value of these types of training can be significant. Helping women in politics develop these management skills provides an important means of support and assists them in not just moving into politics, but staying for the long-term.

Policy and Platforms

A 2010 study by Deloitte highlighted the portfolios of women ministers in 185 countries.¹²⁶ Of these ministers, the vast majority held positions in social affairs, women’s affairs, human rights or education, while a much smaller percentage held foreign affairs or finance briefs, and only a tiny number dealt with defense. Even when women make it to the executive level, there is a tendency to limit their influence to so-called women’s issues. However, standards for good governance and decision-making indicate that diversity at the table – in all issue areas – results in better policy.¹²⁷

Women often request training in specific policy areas to build their exposure and expertise on topics with which they are not familiar, or to build their credentials in areas with which they have experience, but may not yet have the confidence to take a lead. Female candidates often perceive themselves as less prepared than their male counterparts and are inclined to feel that they need

PROVIDING TOOLS TO MANAGE PERSONAL AND POLITICAL DEMANDS

Nurturing Leadership in North Africa

NDI’s *Youth of Today, Leaders of Tomorrow* program works with young women from across North Africa with the interest and the drive to become leaders in their communities. The program encourages participants to take leadership in their own lives by identifying their personal and professional priorities, and assessing whether this is where they are actually spending their time and energy. Regular assessment and discussion help participants in their efforts to balance personal and professional demands and to maintain a perspective on what they value most. Participants are also offered training in time management and confidence building exercises to develop the skills that will help achieve and maintain balance in their lives.

Time Management in Serbia

In Serbia, NDI provided training on time management as part of skills building seminars for women in political parties. The program offered participants tools to handle the demands of politics and personal life. Training participants said the time management sessions improved their ability to set priorities and to organize their time accordingly, so that they could balance their commitments more effectively.

125. *Ibid.*, 11.

126. Greg Pellegrino, Sally D’Amato and Anne Weisberg, *Paths to power: Advancing women in government*, (USA, Deloitte, 2010), 19, <http://www.deloitte.com/pathstopower>.

127. *Ibid.*

to master the issues they may confront in office before launching a campaign, whereas male candidates seem less inhibited by this.¹²⁸

Political party programs should consider offering training on ‘non-traditional’ policy areas for candidates and elected officials as a means to help them raise their profile and expertise on topics such as the economy, finance, budgeting, foreign policy and defense. NDI’s Burkina Faso program, for example, provided women councilors with trainings on accounting and budget management at a time when more powers were being devolved from central government to local authorities. Additionally, offering policy briefings and discussions on these areas to both men and women officials can be an effective way to mainstream gender in a political party program, allowing male participants to see their female colleagues as capable on these issues. Trainings on policy and platforms can also be a useful way to build cross-party networks of women to work together on specific agendas and issues.

Work with women program partners to identify the issue areas they want to cover and gain a sense of what they would like to do with the information. Are they seeking to build electoral platforms or campaign messages, initiate legislation, organize an advocacy campaign, or build a coalition to work on an issue? Policy and platform trainings often tie in well around those for advocacy, lobbying and coalition-building, as well as with networking and mentoring programs.

128. Richard Fox and Jennifer Lawless, “Entering the Arena: Gender and the Initial Decision to Run for Office” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston Marriott Copley Place, Sheraton Boston & Hynes Convention Center, Boston, Massachusetts, Aug 28, 2002). See also Traci A. Giuliano, Leslie C. Barnes, et. Al, “An Empirical Investigation of Male Answer Syndrome,” *Southwestern University* (1998), <https://segue.southwestern.edu/.../male%20answer%20syndrome%20article.doc>.

APPENDIX 10: MENTORING AND NETWORKING PROGRAMS

Most political organizations are not naturally designed to pay close attention to the particular interests of women; and women as individuals often struggle to affect change in a political organization. When women are elected to public office or make it into a senior position, there is a good chance they will be in the minority in terms of gender and may have a difficult time exerting the political influence necessary to impact policy, legislation or other initiatives.

For these reasons, mentoring and networking programs are particularly valuable and, in some situations, critical to maximizing women's political impact and expanding women's political participation.

Women are less likely to have access to the traditional social, political and economic networks that are an inherent part of politics, and which are more easily accessible to their male counterparts. Additionally, they are more likely to be newer to politics, making mentors a vital form of assistance.¹²⁹ Women are also more likely to be in politics in smaller numbers, so networks of support can be crucial to expanding their impact, as well as contributing to their sense of confidence and well-being.

There are a number of ways to conduct networking and mentoring programs. Both networking and mentoring can be approached together as they are often linked, or separate initiatives can be taken, depending on the needs of program partners. Newly-elected women, for example, often benefit from a distinct mentoring program in which they are partnered with more senior legislators or policy makers.

DEVELOPING CROSS-PARTY NETWORKS

Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia

NDI has partnered with the Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia (*Kaukus Perempuan Politik Indonesia*, KPPI), a cross-party network of political women, since its inception in 2000. KPPI began as an effort to increase women's leadership within political parties and public office but has since, with NDI's assistance, become a national organization with branches in 22 provinces. The Caucus was effective in advocating an increase in the quota for women candidates to 30 percent for the April 2009 elections, and recently conducted joint trainings with the Indonesian Ministry of Women's Empowerment in several provinces.

Inter-Party Women's Alliance in Nepal

In 2005, NDI convened an advisory committee of women leaders from the major parties to provide input and guidance on the design and content of lobbying and advocacy workshops for Nepali women and the formation of a multi-party women's caucus. The group was comprised of 13 prominent women from 7 key parties. The participants created a *Nepali Action Plan*, based on the *Win With Women Global Action Plan* to advance women's political agenda in Nepal.

During the 2006 movement for the restoration of democracy, NDI worked with these women to create and strengthen the Interparty Women's Alliance (IPWA), and to address issues of gender discrimination. Women leaders led their parties' contingents in the 19-day protests that toppled King Gyanendra's government and restored parliamentary democracy. The IPWA subsequently pressured the new government to guarantee 33 percent of all government positions for women and ensure representation of women in the Constituent Assembly (CA), the constitution-making body. Of the 23 IPWA central committee members, 13 were elected to the CA.

The IPWA has now grown to become the largest and strongest women's group in Nepal with chapters in 52 of the country's 75 total districts. The organization delivers a three-day capacity building training for members of its district chapters on topics such as women's leadership development, the constitutional drafting process, federalism, and organizing and communication skills. Leaders are regularly called to testify at parliamentary hearings and to meet with MPs and party leaders.

129. McCollom, 15-16. In assessments of political party programs, mentoring in particular was identified by newly-elected women as crucial to their success and sense of confidence in their new role.

SINGLE-PARTY NETWORKS

G17 Plus in Serbia

G17 Plus is a political party in Serbia which emerged from civil society. As the organization transitioned into a political party, a group of women party members requested assistance from NDI in communication skills and increasing women's political participation. The Institute delivered a number of trainings and moderated a discussion about the role of women in the party. The outcome of these efforts was an initiative in which women successfully advocated for a formal women's network and policy committee on gender equality within the party. With further assistance and advice, the G17 women's network worked to amend party statutes to require a minimum of 30 percent women on all party decision-making bodies and modify the statutes to include gender sensitive language.

Social Democratic parties in Central and Eastern Europe

In October 2009, NDI convened women from Social Democratic parties throughout Central and Eastern Europe for a conference on the role of women's party organizations and Social Democratic approaches to policy. The objective was to foster cooperation among women leaders of the same political persuasion in the region. At the conference, women legislators and senior party officials agreed to create a coordination body to spearhead establishment of a regional network to promote women's political leadership and development.

Women's political networks tend to function best when they have a specific policy agenda for which they are advocating and a clear and inclusive decision-making process. Women's political networks can have real impact on a political environment, but they can also be a challenge. Networks may falter when the initial objective around which they were organized either succeeds or fails. If networks are to have a lasting impact, they must be organized around a specific, shared purpose. Otherwise, they risk being ineffective or hindered by indecision.

The following options may be considered in implementing networking and mentoring programs:

Cross-Party or Cross-Sector Programs

Cross-party programs link women of several political persuasions around a specific policy area or political agenda or to a shared purpose such as assisting women with material or technical support for political campaigns and initiatives. Women from other sectors, such as academia, business and civil society, may be asked to participate in these types of networks as well to help grow momentum, support and critical mass, depending on the environment. In some situations, it may make strategic sense to ensure that men are invited to join the network as well to further expand support on a particular issue or agenda.

Cross-party networks not only give politically active women a larger collective voice, they also distinguish

women as politicians who are able to work across party lines, which contributes to a positive perception of women in politics. In political climates that are particularly resistant to change or reform, cross-party networks can serve as an important source of support and reassurance for women who are working hard to affect change or even just to access politics.

NDI is seen as non-partisan and can offer a neutral space and perspective in helping women network and organize together and therefore can be particularly effective in implementing cross-party and cross-sector networking programs.

Single-Party Networks

Single-party networks are often formed to maximize the influence of women in a particular political party. Single-party networks often take the form of women's wings or women's organizations within a political party, but may not always be so formally structured.

Well-organized women's networks within a political party can be effective agents for change and, with the right focus and momentum, can influence the manner in which political parties are structured and run. Some program partners may have prioritized impacting change within their own parties and for these individuals assistance in forming an effective women's wing or organization may be more relevant than focusing on a cross-party network.

Mentoring Programs

Mentoring programs connect senior political and CSO officials, elected officials or policy-makers with less experienced women officials, candidates or aspiring political leaders. Mentors can be women or men, whatever is more appropriate for the mentee and the local environment. Mentoring not only provides program participants with the knowledge they need to navigate new environments, but also offer mentees a relationship of support and opportunities for professional development. Mentorship programs work best when there is a specific commitment, i.e. when mentors know exactly what they are being asked to do, are aware of what is involved in terms of time and availability, and when

mentees are able to identify specific areas in which they would like assistance. These dynamics change over the course of the relationship as mentees grow more confident and begin to look for information and support in new and different areas, but mentorship programs are more likely to be successful if the terms are as clear as possible from the outset. Such clarity minimizes the chance for disappointment or unmet expectations from either participant. Mentorship programs can pair individual mentees with mentors in a formal setting such as an internship program, or in a less structured manner, such as meeting for coffee and discussion at regular intervals and maintaining contact through email and by phone or SMS text messages.

MENTORING PROGRAMS

Indigenous Women's Political Leadership Academy in Guatemala

NDI's Indigenous Women's Political Leadership Academy aims to better equip women to participate in local advisory councils, obtain and strengthen their leadership roles in political parties and civil society organizations, and promote indigenous women's issues. NDI developed and organized the Academy with a local partner, the Political Association of Mayan Women (MOLOJ). Other local institutions, including the electoral commission and the women's ministry, have expressed interest in replicating the academy for women in other regions of the country. Some 111 women from political parties and civil society organizations participated in 7 academy workshops in Quetzaltenango from November 2008 through August 2009. The workshops focused on strengthening the participants' knowledge of citizenship, political participation, democracy and democratic institutions, and leadership skills. Following the completion of the academy, two training-of-trainers workshops were held for top academy alumnae to provide them with the skills to replicate the academy workshops with women in their parties, organizations and communities. A mentorship program is under design for the participants to use their skills and gain practical experience.

Partners in Participation in the Middle East and North Africa

NDI's Partners in Participation (PIP) program has been training women political activists from throughout the Middle East and North Africa in political and campaign skills since 2004. The program's Campaign Academies provide opportunities for election campaign training, as well as for mentoring and networking for women from across the region. The mentorship component was added to the program in 2007. Women who participated in an advanced component of the program are asked to use their skills and experience to mentor other women at the Academy who were newer to politics. These women then continued to mentor other women when they returned to their own countries.

APPENDIX 11: YOUTH PROGRAMS

Youth programs help young women see themselves as capable leaders from the earliest stages of their political involvement, and help young political leaders of both genders recognize and value the benefits of gender equality.

Youth programs can be high impact as they help young political activists build skills and democratic values early on, which can have a lasting influence throughout their careers. Youth programs can make a real contribution to the quality of political life, helping to harness the potential in the next generation of political leaders and inspire young people to engage in their country's well-being, rather than dwell in the disappointment or disillusionment, which can frequently take hold when a country is undergoing a slow political transition.

As with all programming, a balance must be struck between women-only and mixed gender environments. Women-only activities are vital in some situations to help women build confidence and support networks. In others, there is a strong case for activities to be integrated, including both young women and men, to create a sense of normalcy about women's leadership and to in-

still the principles of gender equality in young political leaders. Politically active youth are generally more likely to acknowledge and incorporate the values of equal participation more quickly and easily than their more senior colleagues.

Youth programs can focus on a variety of skills and training topics, depending on what the needs are. NDI programs in Serbia and Romania focused heavily on campaign and leadership skills among program participants, to help build stronger political parties more engaged with the electorate. NDI's Young Women Leaders Academy in the Middle East and North Africa combines skills-based training with a rigorous academic curriculum. The program strives to provide participants with both the professional skills and comparative knowledge they will need to become leaders in their communities.

Follow-up and support are important components in youth programming, as young, reform-minded party activists are not always warmly embraced by more established political leaders. Program participants frequently require regular access to program staff or mentors to assist them in difficult or frustrating times, or to address questions that arise as they seek to implement action plans or advance in their political parties or CSOs.

YOUTH PROGRAMS

Gender Mainstreaming in Romania

NDI's youth program in Romania involved study missions to the United States, in which participants observed electoral campaigns. Follow-up trainings were then conducted when the delegations returned to Romania and participants were expected to serve a leadership role in these, conducting trainings and seminars for their party colleagues.

All delegations – both to the United States and in follow-up trainings – were equally balanced in terms of gender. Participants in the study missions were selected through a competitive application and interview process, ensuring that both the young women and young men understood that fellow delegates were equally qualified to participate in the program.

Single Gender Approach in the Middle East and North Africa

The Young Women Leaders Academy (YWLA) was an intensive political leadership training program tailored for young women from the Middle East and North Africa. The YWLA was NDI's first program to combine skills-based training with a rigorous academic curriculum.

The Academy brought together young women for a 10-day intensive learning program, which included seminars on women's leadership and social and political issues in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as training sessions on public speaking, conflict resolution, advocacy and fundraising. Participants also participated in a panel discussion with three successful young women leaders in Washington, DC through a high-definition video conferencing system.

After the Academy, participants went on to implement independent projects aimed at increasing women's political participation, or undertook internships with political parties and civil society organizations in their own countries, putting their new political advocacy and leadership skills into practice.

APPENDIX 12: GENDER MAINSTREAMING CHECKLIST

- **Background and Justification:** Is the gender dimension highlighted in background information to the intervention? Is all data in the situation analysis disaggregated by sex? Does the justification include convincing arguments for gender mainstreaming and gender equality?
- **Goals:** Does the goal of the proposed intervention reflect the needs of both men and women? Does the goal seek to correct gender imbalances through addressing practical needs of men and women? Does the goal seek to transform the institutions (social and other) that perpetuate gender inequality?
- **Target Beneficiaries:** Except where interventions specifically target men or women as a corrective measure to enhance gender equality, is there gender balance within the target beneficiary group?
- **Objectives:** Do the intervention objectives address needs of both men and women?
- **Activities:** Do planned activities involve both men and women? Are any additional activities needed to ensure that a gender perspective is made explicit (e.g., training in gender issues, additional research, etc.)?
- **Indicators:** Have indicators been developed to measure progress towards the fulfillment of each objective? Do these indicators measure the gender aspects of each objective? Are indicators gender disaggregated? Are targets set to guarantee a sufficient level of gender balance in activities (e.g., quotas for male and female participation)?
- **Implementation:** Who will implement the planned intervention? Have these partners received gender mainstreaming training, so that a gender perspective can be sustained throughout implementation? Will men and women participate equally in the implementation?
- **Monitoring and Evaluation:** Does the monitoring and evaluation strategy include a gender perspective? Will it examine both substantive (content) and administrative (process) aspects of the intervention?
- **Risks:** Has the greater context of gender roles and relations within society been considered as a potential risk (i.e., stereotypes or structural barriers

that may prevent full participation of one or the other gender)? Has the potential negative impact of the intervention been considered (e.g., potential increased burden on women or social isolation of men?)

- **Budget:** Have financial inputs been assessed to ensure that both men and women will benefit from the planned intervention? Has the need to provide gender sensitivity training or to engage short-term gender experts been factored in to the budget?
- **Annexes:** Are any relevant research papers (or excerpts) included as annexes (particularly those that provide sound justification for your attention to gender)?
- **Communication Strategy:** Has a communication strategy been developed for informing various publics about the existence, progress, and results of the project from a gender perspective?

Excerpted from “Gender Mainstreaming Checklist for Project or Policy Documents,” *UNDP Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: A Toolkit*¹³⁰

130. United Nations Development Programme, *Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: A Toolkit*, (Bratislava: United Nations Development Programme’s Regional Bureau for Europe and the CIS, 2007), <http://europeandcis.undp.org/home/show/6D8DEA3D-F203-1EE9-B2E46DEFBD98F3F1>.

APPENDIX 13: RESISTANCE TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING

HOW DO I CHALLENGE RESISTANCE TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING?

You should be aware that you may encounter resistance to your gender mainstreaming activities. Reasons for resistance vary, from misinformation or lack of information about gender issues, to restricted resources, to cultural or traditional perceptions about gender roles. Therefore, it is useful to be equipped with potential strategies for addressing this resistance. Tips for dealing with resistance include:

- *When seeking program or policy approval, approach decision makers with concrete proposals, preferably in writing. In cases where you have a program and budget proposal, it may be useful to present the program first, and once general approval is attained, a budget can be presented. Use concrete data and research (preferably from your country or region) to back up your arguments.*
- *It is particularly difficult to respond to questions such as, “Why should gender equality be a priority in a time of economic hardship?” The focus of argumentation here should remind decision-makers that gender mainstreaming and gender equality enhance efficiency (see above).*
- *Stress that gender mainstreaming is not only about women; it is about men and society in general. This is also a way of allowing men to feel more comfortable as part of the gender mainstreaming process, and of reminding them that they too have a responsibility and a role to play in and much to gain from ensuring gender equality.*
- *When presenting your case, you should tap into political momentum. Timing is key, and opportunities should be sought where public opinion has already been built up as a “springboard” for your request or proposal.*
- *Remind decision makers of how your request/proposal will benefit them directly, in terms of improving their image and credibility (i.e., enhancing their political capital). Similarly, it is important to be positive rather than confrontational, understanding and taking into account restrictions and obstacles that decision makers face. You should try always to offer “win-win” situations.*
- *Try to offer a number of options, allowing decision makers to choose for themselves the most appropriate one. Being flexible and open to compromise will work in your favor. “Pilot programs” are good, cost-effective ways of demonstrating added value that can be replicated in the future.*
- *Unfortunately, sexual harassment and unprofessional attitudes towards people, especially women involved in gender work, are serious barriers that may not be easily surmountable through good argumentation strategies. This is one reason why gender sensitivity and efforts to change attitudes within organizational structures are vital elements in the gender mainstreaming process.*

Excerpt from *UNDP Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: A Toolkit*¹³¹

APPENDIX 14: WORKING WITH MEN: STRATEGIES AND BEST PRACTICES

While trainings for women as political actors are vital to increasing their political participation, men cannot be left out of the process. Running programs that help men understand the value of women's empowerment can help combat the structural inequalities that keep women out of political processes. When planning a program geared towards men and gender equality, carefully consider the environment and the content of the program.

PROGRAM ENVIRONMENT

- **How do you reach men and boys:** Successful strategies will consider how to successfully target men by taking into account where they tend to work or spend their free time.
- **What kind of message you offer to boys and men:** Always frame the discussion in a positive light and speak to men's experiences.
- **Male-only versus mixed-sex participants:** All-male groups can be very productive because men's attitudes and behavior are shaped in powerful ways by their male peers and all-male groups can provide the space and safety for men to talk. At the same time, mixed-sex groups and processes also can prompt powerful change among men when men get to hear women's experiences of a particular gender issue.
- **Use men to engage men; and use both women and men as co-facilitators:** Male educators tend to be perceived as more credible and more persuasive by male participants and can act as role models for other men. However, having male and female facilitators can also work very effectively with men, because having mixed-sex educators involves and demonstrates a model of working in partnership.
- **Peer education:** Peer education may be a particularly valuable strategy for men, given the evidence that men's attitudes and behavior are shaped in powerful ways by their male peers. As a general strategy, it is useful to identify individuals and role models who influence men, such as their peers, parents, grandparents, community members, or celebrities.¹³²

132. James Lang, "Gender is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality (workshop report from Oxfam GB, Oxford, June 10-12, 2002), 18.

- **Create safe spaces for men to talk and learn:** Evidence shows that programs with the greatest effectiveness are characterized by interactive participation in which men honestly share real feelings, concerns, and experiences and engage in discussion and reflection.¹³³

PROGRAM CONTENT

- **Make your interventions culturally appropriate by including sensitivity to gender cultures:** One of the first steps in working with a particular group or community of men should be to study what aspects of this culture contribute to gender inequality and what aspects can be mobilized in support of equality.
- **Address culturally specific supports for gender inequality, and draw on local resources and texts in promoting gender equality:** While it is helpful to discuss gender equality in universalistic terms of human rights and justice, an effective strategy for combating gender inequality with men is to use local and traditional resources. Place 'tradition' in its social and historical context, showing that 'tradition' has varied over time and is shaped by many forces and factors, and invite an assessment of the positive and negative aspects of tradition.¹³⁴ Look for and build on local resources, texts, and norms in promoting gender equality.
- **Foster men's support for and commitment to gender equality:** Some of the ways in which we can encourage a commitment to gender equality among men are to have participants document or gather data on patterns of gender in their local communities to increase men's awareness of women's subordination; use scenarios of gender reversal or 'walking in women's shoes' to encourage awareness; have men listen directly to women's experiences; and use personal stories, anecdotes, and local examples to make gender inequalities both real and relevant.
- **Be prepared for, and respond to, resistance:** Resistance represents the defense of privilege, but also can express men's fears and discomfort regarding change and uncertainty. One strategy to overcome this resistance is to acknowledge and work with men's fears about gender equality.

133. A.D. Berkowitz "Fostering Men's Responsibility for Preventing Sexual Assault" in *Preventing Violence in Relationships*, ed. P. Schewe (Washington: American Psychological Association, 2002), 169; Lang, 17-18.

134. Alan Greig and Dean Peacock, *Men as Partners Programme: Promising Practices Guide* (EngenderHealth, 2005), s2.3.

- Focus on the action men can take: Working with men must explore the concrete actions that men can take to advance gender equality. Some actions men may take include working with organizations focused on women's equality, support legislation that increases women's opportunities, learn more about gender analysis tools such as gender-responsive budgeting, advocate for greater women's representation in political organizations and government, and recruit other men and women to work for gender equality.

Adapted from "Mainstreaming Men in Gender and Development"¹³⁵

135. Michael Flood, "Mainstreaming Men in Gender and Development" (paper presented to AUSAID Gender Seminar Series, Canberra, December 8, 2005).



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