

**Activity I – Introducing Democracy and Government (Suggested Minimum Time (SMT): 30 minutes)**

- Divide participants into pairs to discuss their personal experiences with democracy and government. Pose the following questions: On a personal level, what does democracy mean to you? How have you interacted with your government?
- Facilitate an entire group debriefing.

**Activity II – Providing a Framework: Exploring Elements of Democracy, Government, and Governance (SMT: 60 minutes)**

- Conduct a PowerPoint presentation on democracy, government, and governance.
- Provide examples of women's political participation from other conflict areas.
- Facilitate a debriefing so participants understand how women are affected by and participate in government.

**Activity III – Sharing Global Perspectives: Inspiring Stories of Women's Contributions (SMT: 30 minutes)**

- Show participants clips of interviews with women peace builders sharing their experience with government in conflict-affected areas not represented at the workshop.
- Facilitate a large group discussion of the participants' observations.

**Activity IV – Presenting Case Studies: Evidence of Women's Contributions (SMT: 75 minutes)**

- Divide participants into small groups and assign each group an Inclusive Security research publication on post-conflict governance.
- Ask each group to summarize and present the background of the conflict, key findings about women's contributions, and recommendations for encouraging women's participation in government.
- Following group presentations, facilitate a debriefing on common themes.

**Activity V – Exploring the Opportunities and Challenges (SMT: 60 minutes)**

- Divide participants into small groups. Ask them to list opportunities for and barriers to women's participation in government in their context.
- Facilitate a debriefing. (Each group lists opportunities and challenges, adding to the collective list, but not repeating already mentioned items, until all comments are recorded.)

**Activity VI – Integrating Women: A Case Analysis of Women's Political Leadership in Conflictia (SMT: 100 minutes)**

- Divide participants into small groups and hand out a fictitious case study describing the post-conflict governance challenges of women in the country of Conflictia.
- Ask each small group to generate strategies and activities to increase women's political participation in Conflictia.
- Ask each group to present its strategies and activities to a governance reform commission.
- Facilitate a debriefing about participants' observations.

**Activity VII – Promoting Women's Inclusion in Your Context (SMT: 100 minutes)**

- Describe a scenario in which each participant is running for office in her country's upcoming elections.
- Ask each participant to develop her message on the following topics: "Why am I running for elected office?" and "How do women contribute to good governance?" Also ask her to develop a campaign poster.
- Divide participants into small groups and ask each individual to deliver her message to the group while others provide feedback.
- Convene the entire group and have volunteers deliver their messages to the audience. Explain that participants should ask probing follow-up questions.
- Facilitate a debriefing on the key components of successful messages for female candidates.

## Democracy, Government, and Governance



### Slide 1: Democracy, Government, and Governance

A democracy is a system of government in which ultimate power rests with the people and is exercised through representatives who are chosen using a free and fair election process.

The government is the governing authority with the power to make and/or enforce laws for a country and its smaller administrative units, such as regions, states, counties, municipalities, cities, or provinces.

The term “governance” refers to the decision-making process and the ways in which decisions at the national, regional, and local level are made and implemented (or not). In addition to governments, non-state actors—including religious leaders, tribal elders, and others within civil society—can have key roles in governance. A good system of governance is critical for building sustainable peace and for ensuring economic, social, and political advancement.

### Keys to Promoting Good Governance

- Democratization
- Free and fair elections
- Decentralization
- Political parties
- Independent civil society and media
- Principles of accountability

## Slide 2: Keys to Promoting Good Governance

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Conflict prevention as well as successful post-conflict reconstruction requires the establishment of “good governance.” While different international institutions will emphasize various components of good governance, it can be broadly understood as the “government’s ability to maintain social peace, guarantee law and order, promote or create conditions for economic growth and ensure a level of social security,” as defined by the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

Good governance is achieved by promoting:

- **Democratization**
- **Free and fair elections**
- **Decentralization**
- **Political parties**
- **Independent civil society and media**
- **Principles of accountability**

## Democratization



- More than majority rule
- Participatory politics
- Rights and responsibilities

## Slide 3: Democratization

Democratization is the process a country goes through in order to become more citizen-directed. When successful, the resulting governing system guarantees:

- **More than majority rule:** Majority rule refers to the process of deciding issues by means such as elections or referenda in which a numerical majority of votes drives choices. However, majority rule is not the sole criteria to use in defining a democracy.
- **Participatory politics:** This term refers to the means by which citizens become involved in politics and the policy-making process. For a country to be truly democratic, all of its citizens—men and women—must be empowered to participate fully in the governance process. Citizens may participate by serving in government positions, such as judges, civil servants, and elected officials. They can also advance democracy as voters, advocates, and organizers. Participatory politics require a relationship between the government and citizens that encourages dialogue and the expression of different perspectives and views. Strengthening political parties, encouraging the participation of marginalized groups, and cultivating civil society all help create participatory politics.
- **Rights and responsibilities:** A democracy includes and protects the rights of citizens. For example, US citizens, according to the US Constitution and the Bill of Rights, are guaranteed the rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly. They are also guaranteed the right to vote. While the rights of citizens are protected in a democracy, citizens also have a responsibility to actively participate in their system of governance. A flourishing democracy requires that individuals take active responsibility to exercise these rights by regularly voting, publicly expressing their views, and openly debating public policy.

#### Free and Fair Elections

- Universal
- Equal
- Secret
- Competitive

## Slide 4: Free and Fair Elections

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Elections are the formal procedures by which citizens of a country select their political representatives and national leaders. The timing of elections is prescribed in a constitution or electoral law(s). Elections must be held regularly to make elected officials accountable to their constituents. If leaders do not uphold their responsibilities, they can be voted out of power.

For an election to be considered fully democratic it must be:

- **Universal:** All citizens must have the right to vote and to be elected without discrimination based on sex, race, language, religion, or political affiliation.
- **Equal:** Each person's vote must be valued equally.
- **Secret:** Balloting must be private so that citizens can participate without fear. (Women voters accompanied to polling stations by male family members can be coerced.)
- **Competitive:** Voters must have the chance to select from several different candidates.

## Decentralization

- Political
  - United Kingdom: Regional assemblies
- Administrative
  - Afghanistan: Provincial councils
- Fiscal
  - Colombia: Local ownership

## Slide 5: Decentralization

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This is the process by which authority and responsibility are transferred from the central government to provincial and local levels. This process can facilitate the participation of groups that are frequently marginalized within formal governing structures. There are three types of decentralization:

- **Political:** This refers to the devolution of authority from central national governments to local governance structures. According to World Bank estimates, 84% of the countries with populations exceeding 5 million claim to be currently engaged in some form of transfer of authority to local government. In 1997, the **United Kingdom** devolved some national authority to regional parliaments in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Regions became responsible for social issues such as education and health and passing regional laws, but not defense or foreign policy.
- **Administrative:** This form of decentralization occurs when a segment of the government's decision making is managed at the local level. In **Afghanistan**, the establishment of provincial councils enabled the central government to relegate some portion of its decision-making authority to the regional level. Provincial councils have the authority to work directly with NATO's provincial reconstruction teams and design economic and social development policies.
- **Fiscal:** In this case, decentralization refers to national governments sharing budgetary and fiscal responsibility with local government representatives. In **Colombia**, local governments collect revenues and make expenditures in partnership with the national government.

## Political Parties

- Benefits of political parties
- Challenges of political parties
- Challenges for women

## Slide 6: Political Parties

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- **Benefits of political parties:** Parties offer a structure for political participation and allow individuals to influence decision making through collaboration. Political parties offer space and opportunity for members to cultivate skills needed to govern effectively. However, it is essential that a democracy have more than one party so no single group dominates. Voters must have genuine choice in a voluntary, multiparty system.
- **Challenges of political parties:** Parties can also breed animosity, narrow thinking, and an infrastructure that rewards party loyalty above the good of the whole. Thus, it is important to find ways to foster cross-party cooperation so that party members are not overly constrained by party platforms, positions, or mandates.
- **Challenges for women:** While strong, functioning parties can strengthen democracy, they can also keep women from becoming party leaders. Parties often operate without transparent procedures, and patronage systems that favor men become commonplace, preventing women from advancing to senior leadership posts.

### Independent Civil Society and Media

- Raise a diversity of voices and views
- Encourage accountability and monitoring
- Disseminate information from diverse sources

## Slide 7: Independent Civil Society and Media

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Civil society can be defined broadly or narrowly. For our purposes, we will say it includes NGOs (e.g., community associations, advocacy groups, agencies caring for society's most vulnerable, and empowerment training programs), businesses, trade unions, academic and professional leagues, and religious organizations. Similarly, independent media help ensure democratic governance. Both serve to:

- **Raise diverse voices and views:** An independent, flourishing civil society and media system present the views of different groups of citizens, many with experiences and priorities divergent from those in power.
- **Encourage accountability and monitoring:** They act as a “watchdog” by highlighting:
  - gaps in policy and program implementation
  - good practices
  - corruption by individuals, parties, or parts of government
- **Disseminate information from diverse sources:** Civil society and media educate citizens about political processes. In states with authoritarian regimes, the Internet is increasingly a place to distribute information, although such states often attempt to regulate or control it.



### Principles of Democratic Rule

- Rule of law
  - Constitutional and legal rights
  - International policies and mechanisms
- Separation of powers
- Transparency

## Slide 8: Principles of Democratic Rule

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**Rule of law:** The term “rule of law” embodies the basic principles of equal treatment of all people before the law. It means that no individual—government official or private citizen—stands above the law. Democratic governments exercise authority by way of law and are themselves subject to law’s constraints, so as to protect citizens.

- **Constitutional and legal rights:** To promote rule of law, a country must ensure that its constitution and laws guarantee the rights of all citizens—men and women. Human rights must include the right to life and liberty, freedom of thought and expression, and equality before the law. The respect for and protection of minority rights, including the rights of women, is an essential component of this legal framework in a democracy.
- **International policies and mechanisms:** Many international agreements and resolutions advance women’s rights and political participation. They are important forms of protection, legal bases for advocacy, and often legally-binding international law. They can be used to engender constitutions and governance mechanisms. National governments, the UN, NATO, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), international NGOs, donor countries, and their bilateral development agencies are the major designers and implementers of governance programs and thus the most likely to draw on these documents.
  - **Universal Declaration of Human Rights:** The UN General Assembly proclaimed this universal declaration in 1948, detailing the rights that belong to every individual. It states: “All human beings are born free and equal in

#### Principles of Democratic Rule

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### Slide 8: Principles of Democratic Rule (continued)

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dignity and rights,” and that the rights detailed within the declaration apply to every person, regardless of sex.

- **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:** This covenant was adopted in 1966 by the UN and entered into force in 1976. Article 3 states that “State Parties to the present covenant undertake to ensure the equal rights of men and women to the employment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.”
- **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW):** The UN adopted this convention in 1979 and entered it into force in 1981. It defines discrimination against women as “...any distinction, exclusion, or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, of human rights, and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil, or any other field.”
- **UN Security Council Resolution 1325:** This resolution, adopted in 2000, calls for the full participation of women in decision making, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction. Specifically, the Security Council reaffirmed “the importance of [women’s] equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security and the need to increase their role in decision making with regard to

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### **Slide 8: Principles of Democratic Rule (continued)**

conflict prevention and resolution.” UNSCR 1325 was reaffirmed in UNSCR 1820, which was passed in 2008.

- **Separation of powers:** The judicial, legislative, and executive branches of the government must be independent so that power is not concentrated in the hands of any single branch. This creates a system of checks and balances that prevents abuse of power. It is particularly important that the judiciary be impartial and free from political and other influence. Women in particular face challenges engaging with the judicial system. Discriminatory laws or prejudiced judges, inadequate protections, and corruption often make it difficult for women to win legal battles.
- **Transparency:** Efforts to combat corruption are essential for government to function and citizens to have faith in their leaders and political processes. Corruption includes the theft of funds, the carrying out of deceitful processes that result in profit, and the taking of bribes for the provision of public services.

## Electoral Systems

- Proportional representation (PR)
  - Open vs. closed lists
  - Zipper or zebra lists
- Majoritarian representation

## Slide 9: Electoral Systems

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Two of the most common electoral systems—proportional representation and majoritarian systems—produce very different results for women candidates.

- **Proportional representation (PR):** In this system, seats are divided based on the overall percentage of votes each party wins and are filled by candidates from party lists. More than one official is elected to a multi-member district. The PR system is desirable for women because in places where more than one person is elected in each district, women have more opportunities to be elected. Sixteen of the top 19 countries in terms of women’s parliamentary representation have PR systems.
  - **Open vs. closed lists:** In systems with proportional representation, closed lists are more conducive to the election of women candidates than open lists. In closed lists, voters select a party only. In open lists, voters can select any of the candidates on the list and may intentionally avoid voting for women candidates. Closed lists are especially effective for women if political parties place them high enough up on the list or alternate their names with men’s names in a so-called “zipper” or “zebra” list.
  - **Zipper or zebra lists:** Lists may also be zipper or zebra style, requiring that women be regularly interspersed throughout the list, thereby preventing women from being confined to the bottom of lists. In 1994, **Sweden’s** Social Democratic Party introduced this principle by placing women as every second candidate on its candidate list. The African National Congress in **South Africa** mandates a woman be listed as every third candidate on a party list; women hold 32% of the seats in the parliament. In **Kyrgyzstan**, the formula is that women must be in every group

### Electoral Systems

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## Slide 9: Electoral Systems (continued)

of three candidates; sometimes, a woman is first, sometimes second or third on the list. Closed zipper or zebra style lists have increased the number of women on lists, though they still rarely appear in the top two ballot slots.

- **Majoritarian representation:** Unlike a PR system, a majoritarian system is based on one representative per district. It is much more difficult for women to gain political office in such a system. For example, in the **United States** Congress, which employs a majoritarian system, women represent only 17% of elected legislators.

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### Why Do Electoral Processes Exclude Women?

- Voter registration and voting
- Voter education
- Campaign funding



## Slide 10: Why Do Electoral Processes Exclude Women?

Women's participation in political processes is limited in several ways.

- **Voter registration and voting:** In many post-conflict countries, women face a wide array of challenges.
  - Women may lack the citizenship status or identity documents required for voting.
  - Illiteracy makes it difficult to understand ballot formats and voting options. In **Afghanistan**, candidates are identified with an icon such as a camel or a spoon.
  - Polling stations are remote and difficult to access, especially for rural women. In some areas, “family voting,” or the practice of women being led to the voting booths by their male relatives, constricts women's freedom. Separate polling places for men and women in **Iraq** were important in countering this pressure.

### Why Do Electoral Processes Exclude Women?

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## Slide 10: Why Do Electoral Processes Exclude Women? (continued)

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- Stringent regulations on voting pose a difficulty for working women who must care for children, tend to fields, or perform household chores. In **Liberia**, women minded each other's market stalls and provided child care so other women could go vote without losing income or neglecting their families.
- **Voter education:** This includes training on topics such as the voting process and the accountability of elected officials. Rural women are far less likely than men to have this help. As a result, they are often ill-prepared to exercise their rights. One successful voter education project in **South Africa** in 1994 reached out to women voters by using women as trainers and scheduling sex-segregated trainings. In 2002, the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) sponsored a campaign reaching almost half a million women in **Cambodia** that explained registration and voting processes and encouraged women to vote.
- **Campaign funding:** Raising sufficient resources to contest elections is extremely difficult, particularly for women who often lack established funding networks. Candidates may need money to start a petition to get on the ballot, establish a campaign office, gain name recognition, secure the party nomination, travel to reach out to voters, and even pay a deposit to run in the election. In the **United States**, EMILY's List is an organization devoted to raising funds for women running in the Democratic party for elected office. In 2006, it provided \$11 million to campaigns.

### Women's Contributions to Governance

- Promoting moderation
- Engaging in cross-party communication
- Fostering cooperation between government and civil society
- Expanding notions of security
- Increasing accountability
- Leading reconciliation

## Slide 11: Women's Contributions to Governance

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Women contribute to governance in a multitude of ways, and evidence from around the world indicates they create legitimacy and foster participation and transparency within the political process. Their participation is essential to a functioning democracy.

- **Promoting moderation:** Women in government act as a moderating force. In **Afghanistan**, women temper political and religious debates and have fought warlords' involvement in government. Observers to the 2005 elections in **Iraq** noted that women parliamentarians, even those from conservative religious parties, were more willing to engage and seek common solutions, work across the sectarian boundaries, and partner with the international community and civil society. In **Iran**, women in the sixth *majlis* parliament from 1997 to 2004 moderated debates on women's rights by finding legitimacy within an Islamic framework for increased gender equality.
- **Engaging in cross-party communication:** Women promote collaboration across ideological lines and social sectors. In **Rwanda**, female legislators formed the first cross-party political caucus in their parliament, the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians (FFRP), less than two years after the genocide. The FFRP has screened laws to eliminate discrimination, promoted women's and children's rights, led community consultations and developed legislation against gender-based violence—the first substantive Rwandan law to originate in the parliament rather than the executive. Other legislators have followed Rwanda's lead and established cross-party caucuses to deal with common concerns, regardless of party affiliation. In **Sudan**, women run the only all-party caucus created in the national assembly since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in 2005. Similarly,

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## Slide 11: Women's Contributions to Governance (continued)

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in **Colombia**, female legislators created a women's caucus in 2006 despite a climate of intense political turmoil. With 16 senators and 17 deputies (as of November 2007), the caucus covers a wide political spectrum. Members have made important strides in working together toward the common goal of women's rights and representation.

- **Fostering cooperation between government and civil society:** Women engage a wider range of stakeholders in the governing process, enhancing public trust in new institutions and legitimizing the political process. Around the world, women in government and civil society have worked together to advocate for gender-sensitive approaches to land reform, employment laws, family law, and other issues. The Mano River Women's Peace Network of **Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea** collaborated with the Network of Women Ministers and Parliamentarians to reduce maternal mortality rates and gender-based violence. In **Uganda**, the Women's Coalition for Peace, a group of women's NGOs, worked closely with female parliamentarians to increase women's participation in the Juba peace talks in 2007.
- **Expanding notions of security:** Women's participation has transformed debates on topics that have not traditionally been considered "women's issues." For example, women in post-apartheid **South Africa** consulted widely with the population on causes of insecurity and priorities for the future, revisiting accepted notions of security; women democratized the debate, resulting in a broader vision of national security that included health, education, environment, and economic welfare.



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## Slide 11: Women's Contributions to Governance (continued)

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- **Increasing accountability:** Women are viewed as being less corruptible, more trustworthy, and better at reconciliation than men. Various studies have demonstrated that women are less likely to be corrupt in office. With high levels of women's participation in village councils in **India**, called *panchayats*, there is less bribery and greater provision of public services, such as education. Research in **Rwanda** confirms that women are perceived to be less corrupt, particularly at the local level. These findings suggest that women can reduce corruption and increase faith in government.
- **Leading reconciliation:** Women in Bosnia say it was easier for them to reach across war lines because they were not—and were not perceived as being—the ones behind the guns.

### Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Democracy



- Constitution drafting
- Civic education
- Electoral management bodies

## Slide 12: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Democracy

In the immediate post-conflict environment, there is a window of opportunity to advance women's participation in a number of ways.

- **Constitution drafting:** Involving women in constitution drafting after a conflict is more likely to bolster their participation in government and produce a constitution that addresses their concerns and those of civil society. A constitution's language should reflect throughout equal rights for men and women, a process known as “engendering the constitution.” The constitution may mandate that posts in a country's decision-making bodies be reserved for women. In **Afghanistan**, women were active participants in the main bodies responsible for developing the 2004 constitution—the Constitutional Jirga (an assembly of national and

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## Slide 12: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Democracy (continued)

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tribal leaders) and the Constitutional Drafting and Review Commission. Composed of 20% women, the CDRC conducted hundreds of public consultations with local NGOs in 2003. In **Rwanda**, women were active civil society advocates and members of the Constitutional Commission. Pro-Femmes-Twese Hamwe, an umbrella group of 40 multiethnic NGOs, brought together its civil society leaders, the Ministry of Gender and the Promotion of Women, and the Forum of Women Parliamentarians to advocate for gender reforms in the constitution.

- **Civic education:** These programs inform citizens of their rights and responsibilities and of democratic norms. Even though many formal obstacles to women's inclusion in politics may have been lifted, women often do not know their rights. Community sensitization should confront attitudes and biases. Education should begin in schools and communities long before elections are scheduled and continue after they have been held. Often traditional voter education programs fail to reach women because social constraints inhibit women meeting with men, familial responsibilities limit their time, or they are illiterate or unable to understand printed information.

The Organization for the Protection of Women's Rights, **Azerbaijan's** only independent women's civil society group, encouraged women to vote and run for office through education programs on women's political rights. The organization trained women to participate in the 1999 municipal election as candidates and election observers; it also educated women from different political parties about their voting rights before the 2003 presidential election.

### Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Democracy



- Constitution drafting
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## Slide 12: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Democracy (continued)

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- **Electoral management bodies:** These official bodies increase public confidence in electoral processes. EMBs promote transparency in the financial affairs of political parties, renew electoral laws, promulgate best practices, encourage greater public participation in elections and understanding of democratic processes and principles, and ensure fair and equal election procedures. EMBs can play a critical role in highlighting gender issues in elections by identifying obstacles that prevent women's participation and by conducting voter education programs that target women.

To increase women's participation, EMBs can decide that:

- Election administrators must include women and gender-sensitive men in their ranks and must adopt policies that do not unfairly discriminate against women.
- If women do not have official identity papers, their identity and eligibility as voters can be verified by others in the village/community.
- International election observers must receive gender sensitivity training so that they are able to observe and address the challenges women voters face.
- Election days are holidays, or polling stations can remain open for extended hours and must be centrally located (e.g., in schools, churches, or mosques).
- Ballots must include photographs and party symbols to aid illiterate voters (a disproportionate number of whom are women).

### Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government

- Quotas
  - Legislative/parliamentary
  - Constitutional
  - Party-based
- "Family-friendly" policies
- Campaign regulation and finance

## Slide 13: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government

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- **Quotas:** These are one of the most decisive, yet controversial, methods for ensuring women's representation as elected officials. There are many factors to consider when designing quotas: how to approach their adoption and implementation, the desired impact, and how long they should be in place. Quotas are necessary to seize the window of opportunity in post-conflict transitions, but their implementation represents only one step in the battle. They can guarantee women will be elected in greater numbers, but they cannot ensure that those women will advocate for or be responsive to women's issues.

Quotas can be legislated by parliaments, mandated by constitutions, or adopted by political parties. They are frequently enacted as temporary measures, with the expectation they will not be necessary once equitable representation of women is achieved. Of the 19 countries that have parliaments with at least 30% women, 16 have either legislative or party quotas, including **Cuba, Iceland, South Africa, Spain, and Sweden.**

- **Legislative/parliamentary:**

- In **Uganda**, a woman must hold one seat from each of 80 parliamentary districts, a practice known as "reserved seats."
- Women in **Southern Sudan** successfully advocated for a 25% quota across government ministries and institutions.
- Following their quota's passage, women in **Sudan** included provisions for women's participation in the country's electoral law.

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## Slide 13: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government (continued)

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### ○ Constitutional:

- The 2005 **Iraqi** Constitution contains a provision for a 25% quota, resulting from intense lobbying by women's groups. They strengthened draft versions that included not a quota but a 25% *target* for women's representation that would have remained in place for two election cycles only.
- In **Afghanistan**, constitutional mandates significantly increase women's representation in government, guaranteeing 25% in the lower house of parliament. Additionally, President Karzai appointed women to 50% of the seats he filled in the upper house, although no legally binding mandate required him to do so. The results of the 2005 elections exceeded expectations; women captured 17 additional seats beyond the 68 allocated by quota, bringing their representation to 27%.
- The 2003 constitution of **Rwanda** requires that 30% of *all* posts in public decision-making bodies be reserved for women. Of the 80 seats in the lower house of the legislature, 24 are set aside for women. In addition, by having their strongest candidates run for slots open to competition rather than seats reserved for female candidates, women captured far more seats than the quota provides. Today, Rwanda has the only majority female parliament in the world, with 56.5%.

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## Slide 13: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government (continued)

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- In **Bangladesh**, a constitutional amendment was passed after years of lobbying by women that increased to 45 out of 300 women's reserved seats in the legislature. However, these seats are filled using a system of indirect election, while women continue to advocate for direct elections. Indirect election is a process in which voters in an election do not actually choose between candidates for an office but rather elect persons who will then make the choice. It is one of the oldest forms of elections and is still used today for many posts in legislatures. This process is also used in many union elections and sometimes in professional, civic, and fraternal organizations.
- **Party-based:**
  - Political party commitments to add more women to electoral lists are partly responsible for recent advances in **Cambodia**. In 2002, 1,161 female candidates were in the top three places on party lists. That number leapt to 2,328 in 2007, in part because of the mandate of Secretary General of the Cambodian People's Party Mu Sochua, the nation's first female party secretary general.
  - In 2005, female parliamentarians in the **Democratic Republic of Congo** advocated for women and people with disabilities to be represented on political party lists. As a result of their efforts, this provision (known as Article 13) was added to the electoral law.

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## Slide 13: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government (continued)

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- Women's Electoral Power, an NGO in **Israel** advancing women's political leadership, is working with Knesset members to increase public funding for parties that exceed quota targets for women.
- In 1999, **Mozambique's** Frelimo party introduced a 30% quota on electoral lists, as did the People's Revolutionary Democratic Front party in **Ethiopia** in 2005.
- **"Family-friendly" policies:** Easier access to daycare, flexible office hours, and limits to evening working sessions facilitate women's participation in government. In some countries, policies must be designed using more progressive interpretation of religious doctrine. In **Morocco**, for instance, King Muhammad VI personally backed a new version of family law that was compatible with *sharia* and gave women equal rights. His support of gender-sensitive legislation also increased women's political representation (from 2 in 2001 to 35 in 2002 of the 325 seats in the parliament's lower house). In May 2006, the first class of 50 female imams graduated from an academy in Rabat. They are expected to do everything male imams do except lead Friday prayers in a mosque. In **South Africa**, the parliament chose to avoid evening meetings and to offer childcare to parliamentarians and their staffs. These provisions allow women *and men* with children to more efficiently take on their roles as elected officials.
- **Campaign regulation and finance:** In some countries the time parties can campaign is regulated, as are campaign budgets and the scope of media exposure and advertising.

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## Slide 13: Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government (continued)

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For women candidates—particularly those running for office for the first time—raising sufficient funding to contest can be a significant challenge, especially when competing against male incumbents.

Some of the barriers can be overcome by tapping into grassroots networks and constituencies. Transparent and equitable campaign finance rules enable increased political participation by women. Government campaign subsidies spread across political parties help level the playing field. Governments should, however, go even further by rewarding parties that boost the representation of women on their candidate lists and penalizing those that do not. In **Northern Ireland**, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) had no funds at the start of its six-week campaign, but members contributed their own funds and networks and developed campaign materials (using cardboard boxes and other household materials) in their homes.



### More Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government

- Capacity building
- Decentralized entry points
- Ministries of women's affairs/gender

## Slide 14: More Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government

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- **Capacity building:** Governments and NGOs can recruit and train women across the political spectrum, then equip them with the confidence and skills to run for office. Support from international donors and civil society, as well as local NGOs, empowers women once they are elected. In **Afghanistan**, the National Democratic Institute, supported by USAID and the National Endowment for Democracy, conducted capacity building for 2,000 female candidates before the 2005 elections. NDI also led technical training for female parliamentarians on budgeting, media, and legislative processes and facilitated the development of a network of female politicians.
- **Decentralized entry points:** As grassroots leaders, women often benefit from decentralization because it can create positions that enable them to gain political experience locally and provide opportunities for women to run without contesting (male) incumbents. In the **United Kingdom** it has been estimated that some 70% of the female members of parliament previously served as councilors in local government.
- **Ministries of women's affairs/gender:** Though often accused of "stove piping" or isolating women's issues within their agencies, ministries of women's affairs often drive gender mainstreaming. They are also important communication channels through which women in civil society interact with government. In **Rwanda**, the Ministry of Gender and the Promotion of Women plays a crucial role in the promotion of women in government, fostering women's political empowerment through sensitization campaigns for all levels of government staff and the general public. Strengthening the relationship between

#### More Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government

- Capacity building
- Decentralized entry points
- Ministries of women's affairs/gender

### Slide 14: More Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation in Government (continued)

government and civil society, the Ministry works with NGOs to prepare women for leadership and implementation of quotas. The Ministry also monitors women's issues across all government institutions by working with gender focal points, appointed staff in other ministries/institutions who oversee gender issues within those bodies.

#### Strategies to Advance Women's Role in Governance

- Convene meetings for women from civil society and government to meet, build a coalition, and strategize
- Provide training at local and national levels
- Facilitate voter education
- Organize "get out the vote" efforts
- Create a women's caucus

### Slide 15: Strategies to Advance Women's Role in Governance

- Convene meetings for women from civil society and government to build a coalition that can press for causes from inside and outside the government.
- Provide a broad range of training for women candidates, conducted by outside organizations as well as by higher-level office holders for women at lower levels.
- Facilitate voter education for women about their opportunity and responsibility to vote, and for men about the need for gender diversity in a strong democracy.
- Organize "get out the vote" efforts targeting female voters or male voters affiliated with political parties that have a large number of women candidates in high positions.
- Encourage the creation of a cross-party women's caucus in parliament, with funding for meetings, staff, an office, travel, and other expenses.

### Strategies to Shape National Policies and Institutions

- Consult to develop common agenda on women's rights
- Join political parties and demand equality
- Partner with national electoral commissions for advocacy
- Monitor progress on implementation
- Ensure gender-sensitive national budgets

## Slide 16: Strategies to Shape National Policies and Institutions

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- Consult with women on national and local levels to develop a common agenda on women's rights.
- Make a concentrated effort to join political parties and demand a party agenda for women's rights and equality.
- Partner with national electoral commissions and advocate for attention to women's needs in election processes.
- Monitor and update progress implementing laws, especially to ensure they are gender-sensitive.
- Ensure gender-sensitive national budgets.

*There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers.*

*~Susan B. Anthony*

## Slide 17: Susan B. Anthony Quote

*There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers.*

*Susan B. Anthony*

**ACTIVITY I: Introducing Democracy and Government**

**Objective:**

Share personal experiences with democracy and government

**Methodology:**

- Pair discussions
- Brainstorming

**Materials:**

- Flip charts
- Markers

**Room set-up:**

Divided into sections for pairs

**Suggested minimum time:**

30 minutes

**Activity steps:**

1. Divide participants into pairs. (5 minutes)
2. Pose the following questions for pairs to discuss: At a personal level, what does democracy mean to you? How have you interacted with your government? (20 minutes)
3. Facilitate an entire group debriefing. (5 minutes)

**Sample debriefing questions:**

1. Recall a time when you engaged or could have engaged with the government. What were some of the outcomes? What was most challenging?
2. Do you believe women bring something unique to the political process?

**ACTIVITY II: Providing a Framework: Exploring Elements of Democracy, Government, and Governance**

**Objectives:**

Introduce the concept of women’s political participation as critical to post-conflict government and democracy

Provide a framework to analyze democracy and government in different contexts

Emphasize women’s participation as critical to successful government

**Methodology:**

- PowerPoint presentation
- Large group discussion

**Materials:**

- Laptop and projector
- Screen
- PowerPoint presentation

**Room set-up:**

Lecture style

**Suggested minimum time:**

60 minutes

**Activity steps:**

1. Deliver PowerPoint presentation explaining the various elements of post-conflict advancement of democracy, government, and governance. Share examples of women’s participation in government from other conflict areas. (45 minutes)
2. Following presentation, ask for questions and comments on the material. (15 minutes)

**Sample debriefing questions:**

1. Why is women’s participation central to democracy?
2. What are the benefits of women’s political participation?
3. How have you advocated for women’s political participation in your communities?

**Lesson modifications/trainer tips:**

- Print PowerPoint presentations and hand out to participants.
- If not equipped with PowerPoint, use flip charts or a projector.

**ACTIVITY III: Sharing Global Perspectives: Inspiring Stories of Women's Contributions****Objectives:**

Present images of women engaged in political leadership

Appreciate ways women peace builders across the globe have participated in government

Introduce strategies women peace builders have used to promote democracy

**Methodology:**

- Video presentation
- Large group discussion

**Materials:**

- TV
- DVD played on a laptop

**Room set-up:**

Lecture style

**Suggested minimum time:**

30 minutes

**Activity steps:**

1. Show entire group video clips of women peace builders sharing their experiences with democracy and government in conflict-affected areas not represented at the workshop. Reference the biographical information provided for each woman [see Appendix A]. (20 minutes)
2. Facilitate a large group discussion of the participants' observations. (10 minutes)

**Sample debriefing questions:**

1. What were some of the commonalities and/or differences you observed in the women peace builders' stories? How do they compare with your own experiences with the political process?
2. How did the women peace builders contribute to democracy in their countries?
3. How can you adapt the peace builders' strategies to further promote women's participation in government in your context?

**Lesson modifications/trainer tips:**

- Ideally, a woman peace builder with a background in democracy and government from a conflict-affected area not represented at the workshop will attend the training session to share her personal experiences with participants.

**ACTIVITY IV: Presenting Case Studies: Evidence of Women's Contributions****Objective:**

Promote understanding of women's contributions to post-conflict government in specific contexts

**Methodology:**

- Small group discussions
- Entire group debriefing

**Materials:**

- Case study executive summaries
- Strategies for Policymakers
- Flip charts
- Markers

**Room set-up:**

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

**Suggested minimum time:**

75 minutes

**Activity steps:**

1. Divide participants into small groups and assign each group either an executive summary of an Inclusive Security case study on democracy and governance (Rwanda, Cambodia, Iran) or a section of Strategies for Policymakers-Government (Afghanistan, Cambodia, Rwanda). [See [www.huntalternatives.org](http://www.huntalternatives.org) for materials to be printed, copied, and distributed to participants.] (5 minutes)
2. Ask small groups to develop short presentations of the case studies covering the following topics: background of the conflict, key findings about women's roles in post-conflict government, and recommendations for encouraging women's participation. (40 minutes)
3. Ask each small group to present for five to seven minutes to the entire group. Depending upon the number of participants, have multiple small groups present the same case study with a focus on one or more of the different topics listed above. Following the presentations on each study, facilitate a short debriefing on major themes. (30 minutes)

**Sample debriefing questions:**

1. What difference did it make that women were involved in government structures?
2. What mechanisms aided the participation of women?
3. How did women overcome specific obstacles to their participation?

**ACTIVITY V: Exploring the Opportunities and Challenges****Objective:**

Identify opportunities and challenges associated with women's participation in government

**Methodology:**

- Analytical tool (in small groups)
- Entire group debriefing

**Materials:**

- Flip charts
- Markers

**Room set-up:**

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

**Suggested minimum time:**

60 minutes

**Activity steps:**

1. Ask participants to identify important mechanisms (such as elections or quotas) for increasing women's participation in government in their local context. (15 minutes)
2. Explain the exercise to participants. (5 minutes)
3. Split participants into small groups and ask each group to analyze:
  - opportunities for increasing women's participation in government (e.g., strengthened government accountability); and
  - challenges women face in increasing their participation (e.g., harassment during campaigning). (30 minutes)
4. Facilitate a debriefing with the entire group. Each small group will contribute opportunities and challenges, adding to the collective list, until all comments have been made and recorded on a flip chart. (10 minutes)

**Sample debriefing questions:**

1. Are women in your community advocating for increased participation in government? If not, what would motivate them to do so?
2. How can women address the risks associated with participating in democracy mentioned during this activity?
3. Why is it imperative for women to be active participants in democracy and government?

**ACTIVITY VI: Integrating Women: A Case Analysis of Women's Political Leadership in Conflictia****Objectives:**

Emphasize women's participation as critical in a democracy

Identify mechanisms for increasing women's participation in post-conflict government

**Methodology:**

- Case study
- Small group discussions
- Entire group debriefing

**Materials:**

- Handout of case study [Appendix B]

**Room set-up:**

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

**Suggested minimum time:**

100 minutes

**Activity steps:**

1. Split participants into small groups and hand out a fictitious case study [see Appendix B] describing the post-conflict governance challenges in Conflictia. (10 minutes)
2. Ask participants to generate strategies and activities to increase women's political participation in Conflictia. (60 minutes)
3. Ask each group to present its strategies and activities to a governance reform commission. (20 minutes total, 5 minutes per group)
4. Facilitate a debriefing. (10 minutes)

**Sample debriefing questions:**

1. Why is it important for women to have an active role in Conflictia's government?
2. What are some obstacles to increasing women's political participation in Conflictia?
3. What are strategies women in Conflictia can use to increase their influence in government and to be sure that their interests are considered?

**ACTIVITY VII: Promoting Women's Inclusion in Your Context****Objectives:**

Reinforce women's contributions to good governance and political participation

Build confidence, messaging, and public speaking skills

**Methodology:**

- Individual work
- Presentations
- Small group discussions
- Entire group debriefing

**Materials:**

- Flip charts
- Markers

**Room set-up:**

Divided into sections for small groups of three to five participants

**Suggested minimum time:**

100 minutes

**Activity steps:**

1. Ask participants to pretend they are running for office in their country's upcoming elections. (15 minutes)
2. Ask each participant to first work individually to develop her messages on the following topics: "Why am I running for elected office?" and "How do women contribute to good governance?" Each participant should also develop a campaign poster. (30 minutes)
3. Divide participants into small groups and ask each to help refine individual messages. (20 minutes)
4. Return to the large group and inform participants they will act as political consultants to provide feedback on several individual messages. Ask for volunteers to deliver their refined messages to the audience role-playing as political consultants. Explain that participants should ask probing follow-up questions. (25 minutes)
5. Facilitate an entire group debriefing on keys to successful messaging for female candidates. (10 minutes)

**Sample debriefing questions:**

1. What arguments are most compelling regarding the importance of women's participation?
2. How might you adapt your message for different audiences?
3. How might you ensure your message emphasizes the unique skills of women?

## **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf**

### ***Conflict Background: Liberia***

- In 1822, freed slaves from America settling in West Africa founded the colony of Liberia. They declared independence in 1847.
- In 1980, the government was overturned by a military coup and until 2003 the country suffered at the hands of corrupt leaders and brutal regimes.
- The First Liberian Civil War (1989–1996) and the Second Liberian Civil War (1999–2003) caused widespread suffering and destruction. Nearly half of the country's 3 million people were displaced, up to 250,000 were killed, and the economy and infrastructure of the country were destroyed. Post-war unemployment has been reported as high as 80%.
- A peace agreement was signed in 2003; the women's movement in Liberia was instrumental in getting men to the negotiating table and keeping them there until an agreement was worked out.
- The transitional government struggled with addressing corruption, but successfully organized and conducted peaceful democratic elections in 2005.

### ***Biographical Information***

- Ellen Johnson Sirleaf won the election in 2005 and is the first democratically elected female president of Liberia (and the first female elected head of state in Africa).
- Under the National Transitional Government of Liberia, she served as chair of the country's Governance and Reform Commission from 2003 to 2005.
- From 2001 to 2003, Ellen served as chair of the board of directors of the Open Society Institute in West Africa.
- With a background in finance and development, Ellen spent five years as assistant administrator and director of the United Nations Development Programme's Regional Bureau for Africa. She also served as president of the Liberia Bank for Development and Investment and as minister of finance.
- Ellen has served as a board member for the International Crisis Group and the Nelson Mandela Foundation. In 1999, the Organization of African Unity named her and six others to a body that investigated the 1994 Rwandan genocide. She is a founding member of the International Institute for Women in Political Leadership and a recipient of the African Women of Substance Award.
- Ellen holds a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

## **Shukria Barakzai**

### ***Conflict Background: Afghanistan***

- Since the 1970s, Afghanistan has experienced brutal civil war and two major foreign interventions. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, and its occupation resulted in the death of an estimated one million Afghan civilians. Approximately five million fled the country.
- Instability after Soviet withdrawal led to high levels of violence and dominance by local warlords through the 1990s. During this period, the Taliban, a radical fringe group, established a stronghold and ruled the country, severely limiting human rights and women's rights in particular.
- While progress has been uneven in rural areas since the Taliban's fall in 2001 and there has been increasing violence and political backsliding, women have greater national political representation and make up more than 25% of the lower house of parliament.
- Afghan women were active participants in the main bodies responsible for developing the 2004 constitution—the Constitutional Jirga (an assembly of national and tribal leaders) and the Constitutional Drafting and Review Commission.
- Presidential elections took place in 2004 and parliamentary elections followed in 2005, but the fledgling democracy remains fragile.



# Democracy and Government

## Appendix A (continued)

### Biographical Information

- Shukria Barakzai is a Member of Parliament, elected to the lower house in 2005.
- In 2003, Shukria was appointed as a member of the Constitutional Review Commission. As a commissioner, she traveled to seven provinces and consulted with tens of thousands of Afghans.
- Since 2006, she has served as president of the Third Line Political Group, 12 parliamentarians working to promote democracy, reform, and human rights in Afghanistan's political institutions.
- Shukria is chief editor of *Aina-e-Zan (Women's Mirror)*, a weekly magazine she started after the fall of the Taliban to campaign for women's rights. She also directs Asia Women Organization, an organization she founded in 1999 that maintained secret education programs for women and girls under the Taliban.
- In 2004, President Karzai presented her with the Medal of National Honor.
- She was also recognized internationally in 2005, receiving the Medal of Courage from the parliament of France and being named International Editor of the Year by [www.worldpress.org](http://www.worldpress.org).
- In 2007, the city of Florence, Italy presented Shukria with an award for her contributions to democracy and human rights.

## May Blood

### Conflict Background: Northern Ireland

- "The Troubles" refers to the period from the civil rights marches in the late 1960s to the 1998 Belfast Agreement. In these 30 years, over 3,500 people were killed.
- This period was the culmination of the Irish struggle for independence from Great Britain, which was settled with the partition of the island in 1921 into the Catholic Republic of Ireland and the northern provinces, mostly Protestant and under British control.
- In 1995, a two-track decommissioning and negotiation process gained momentum. Multi-party talks mediated by US Senator George Mitchell began in the spring of 1996.
- The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) was one of ten political parties elected to send representatives to the negotiations.
- Long before the negotiations were officially on the table, the women of Northern Ireland had begun working together toward peace.

### Biographical Information

- Baroness May Blood works to address the problems facing communities along Northern Ireland's peace line, including cross-community development.
- She is chairperson of Impact Training, an organization that guides the education of young people at risk.
- May is a founder and former member of the Northern Ireland's Women's Coalition, a cross-community party working for inclusion, human rights, and equality in Northern Ireland with members from diverse political, religious, gender, and age groups.
- The NIWC was originally developed to get women to the negotiating table. After only six weeks, they garnered enough votes to win two seats. They sent one Protestant woman and one Catholic woman to the peace negotiations. The resultant Good Friday Agreement included provisions for integrated education, for which the NIWC representatives advocated.
- May has received honorary degrees from universities in Northern Ireland and has been a member of the government since 1999. She became the first woman in Northern Ireland to receive life peerage, entitling her to a seat in the House of Lords.
- She continues to promote integrated education, believing that the development of friendships between Catholic and Protestant children is a crucial step toward lasting peace.

# Democracy and Government

## Appendix A (continued)

### Aloisea Inyumba

#### **Conflict Background: Rwanda**

- In 1994, an estimated 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed at the hands of extremists during a three-month-long genocide. One-tenth of the country's population was killed.
- The country has complemented an international war crimes tribunal with traditional indigenous methods in its quest to balance accountability and reconciliation.
- Rwanda is in the process of rebuilding its government, economy, and society, and women are involved from the grassroots to the national level.
- Rwanda's 2003 constitution mandates that 30% of *all* posts in decision-making bodies be reserved for women.
- Women represent 56% of the current lower house of parliament, the highest proportion of any country in the world.
- The first post-genocide Minister of Gender established assemblies elected by women, known as Women's Councils. These bodies feed into local government through reserved seats for women's council leaders, ensuring an official link between these women-only groups and local government.

#### **Biographical Information**

- Immediately following the genocide, at age 26, Aloisea Inyumba was appointed Rwanda's first Minister of Family, Gender, and Social Affairs.
- As minister, Aloisea created programs to bury the dead, find homes for more than 300,000 women and orphans, and resettle refugees. She also created a national women's network to adjudicate family and property issues resulting from the genocide.
- After serving as minister, she was the executive secretary of the country's National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, which coordinates and promotes national reconciliation efforts.
- Later, as governor of Kigali-Ngali Province in Rwanda, Aloisea was responsible for overall management of the province, including policy coordination and implementation.
- She is now a senator in the upper house of Rwanda's parliament and serves on the Political Affairs and Good Governance committee. She is responsible for monitoring the implementation of decentralization programs, the adherence of political parties to the fundamental laws of the nation, and the implementation of *gacaca*, a participatory justice mechanism Rwanda is using to address crimes of genocide.
- Senator Inyumba serves as a member of the board of directors of Women for Women International, the Institute of Research, and Dialogue for Peace, and Ruhuka, a non-governmental organization that provides trauma counseling.

### Hillary Rodham Clinton

#### **Background: United States**

- The US Senate was established in 1789 and a total of 35 women have served as Senators (out of a total of 1,897 Senators) up to this day.
- Women have a historical representation in the Senate of 1.85% overall.
- In the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress, 16 of 100 Senators and 73 of 435 House Representatives were women.
- Women make up 17% of the total US Congress. This places the United States 84<sup>th</sup> in the world in the percentage of women serving in national legislatures, according to a 2008 report from the Brookings Institution.
- Also in 2008, less than a quarter of state legislators were women, and of the nation's 100 largest cities, only 9 had female mayors.
- At the outset of the 2009 legislative sessions, there were at least 1,785 women legislators serving in the United States. Women held 24.2% of legislative seats in the 50 states, an increase of less than 4 percentage points over the past 15 years.

# Democracy and Government

## Appendix A (continued)

### Biographical Information

- Hillary Clinton pursued a career in law after graduating from Yale Law School. She served on the editorial board of the *Yale Review of Law and Social Action*.
- For more than 30 years, she has championed causes of women's leadership and children's rights, through her service in government posts and through her leadership in civil society.
- She was the First Lady of the United States from 1993 to 2001. She was the first First Lady to hold a post-graduate degree and played an active role in the Clinton administration, spearheading health care initiatives.
- Hillary Clinton was elected as the first woman New York Senator in 2000. She was the first former First Lady to seek public office. She built bipartisan relationships and sat on five Senate committees. She was re-elected as New York Senator in 2006.
- She was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 2005 and has been ranked among the world's most powerful people by *Forbes* and *Time* magazines.
- Hillary pursued a groundbreaking presidential bid in 2008 and won more primaries and delegates than any other woman in American history.
- President-elect Barack Obama nominated Hillary to be his Secretary of State in 2008.

## Michelle Bachelet Jeria

### Conflict Background: Chile

- On September 11, 1973, General Augusto Pinochet led a military coup against the socialist government of President Salvador Allende.
- General Pinochet ruled Chile for 17 years, during which more than 3,000 people were killed and tens of thousands disappeared and were tortured.
- The dictatorship ended in 1990 when 51% of Chileans voted against Pinochet's rule during a narrow national plebiscite election.
- Chile is now a well-established democracy with strong free-market economic policies.
- In Chile's Chamber of Deputies, 18 of the 120 members are women; in the Senate, there are 2 women among the 38 members.

### Biographical Information:

- Michelle Bachelet Jeria was elected the first woman president of Chile in 2006.
- Despite the arrest of her father, Michelle was active as a student in Chile's Socialist Party after the 1972 coup d'état by Augusto Pinochet. In 1975, Michelle and her mother were arrested and tortured by agents of Pinochet's secret police. She and her mother then traveled to Australia and East Germany where they lived as exiles, and Michelle began her medical studies.
- Upon returning to Chile, Michelle completed medical school. She graduated as a surgeon in 1982 and took a job working in public health.
- In 2000, Michelle was appointed President Ricardo Lagos' Minister of Health. She improved access to primary care and completed preparations for large-scale healthcare reform.
- In 2002, Michelle became the first female in Latin America to serve as minister of defense. During her time as head of the department of defense, Chile commemorated the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the coup d'état, and both civilian and military leaders made important gestures toward reconciliation.

## **Integrating Women: A Case Analysis of Women’s Political Leadership in Conflictia**

Welcome to Conflictia, a rural country of about 15 million people. Over the past 20 years, Conflictia has been the victim of foreign occupation with periods of civil warfare; however, the country is attempting to break from its violent past and establish peace and democracy. Conflictia will soon hold its first presidential and parliamentary elections in nearly 40 years.

There is significant United Nations and donor interest in bolstering the democratic process in Conflictia by involving previously marginalized groups (minority ethnic communities, women, and youth) in democracy-building programs. Scores of political parties and civil society organizations, including women’s organizations, are conducting voter awareness programs to ensure that elections are free, fair, and competitive. Currently, 65% of Conflictia’s citizens are registered to vote; however, women constitute only 15% of those registered. There have been rumors circulated by traditional clan leaders that women need the consent of their husbands and fathers to register to vote.

The new constitution was passed without the support of Conflictia’s third largest ethnic group, causing violent protests in various regions of the country. The exclusion of women from Conflictia’s Constitutional Commission was an additional challenge. Civil society advocacy failed to secure a provision in the constitution that would have mandated a 30% quota for women in government. This failure has hindered the ability of women to engage in politics and has deterred women from seeking office in the upcoming elections. Many citizens, particularly in rural areas, are concerned that women’s involvement in government would detract from their familial responsibilities, change traditional gender roles, and destroy the country’s social fabric.

Due in large part to the diversity of the Conflictians, there are 18 political parties running in the upcoming elections. The country’s constitution mandates the use of a proportional representation system, so seats in Conflictia’s lower and upper houses will be divided among parties based upon the overall percentage of votes each party wins. Only four of the political parties have women listed among the top three candidates on their party lists, and only seven other party lists include women. The National Election Commission issued a statement reminding parties of the importance of involving female candidates; however, the statement was only printed and distributed in the capital.

**Identify strategies for increasing women’s political participation in Conflictia and activities for moving your agenda forward. Use the following table as a starting point. For example:**

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Activities</b>
Increase voter participation	1. Voter education programs 2.
Create a Ministry of Women’s Affairs	1.
Institute a 30% quota	1.