

LEADING TO ACTION
**A Political Participation
Handbook for Women**

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Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTSv

Who We Are..... vii

 About the WLP Partner Organizations viii

 WLP’s Visionxii

INTRODUCTION 1

Essentials of Political Participation..... 5

Guidelines for Facilitators..... 13

 Role of the Facilitator 13

 Role of the Participants..... 15

 Setting Up the Meetings 15

 The First Workshop Session..... 17

 Framework of Each Session..... 18

 At the Conclusion of All Workshop Sessions..... 19

WORKSHOP SESSIONS 21

Section I / Politics and Power: Where Do I Fit In? 21

 Session 1: Imagining a Better World 23

 Session 2: Ethical Politics..... 29

 Session 3: Where Do I Fit In?..... 35

Section II / Leading to Action: What Are My Next Steps? 45

 Session 4: Identifying Our Political Issue and Developing Our Message 47

 Session 5: Mapping the Political Scene..... 53

 Session 6: Core Constituency Building 64

 Session 7: Networking and Coalition-Building 76

 Session 8: Getting the Word Out: Personal Communication Techniques 84

 Session 9: Negotiation/Compromise/Non-Negotiables 91

 Session 10: Measuring Success/Building on Experience 100

Workshop Evaluation Form 107

APPENDICES 113

Appendix A: Additional Exercises..... 114

 Exercise: Radio Time 114

 Exercise: “Elect Hoda Qurashi!” 116

Appendix B: How to Write a Press Release 118

Appendix C: Organizing Ethical Campaigns Tip Sheet..... 126

Appendix D: Mobilizing / Getting the Word Out Tip Sheet 129

Appendix E: Networking and Coalition-Building Tip Sheet 132

Appendix F: Glossary of Political Participation Terms 135

Appendix G: Website Resources for Women’s Political Participation 138

Appendix H: Quotas as a Gender Equity Measure 141

Appendix I: Faith and Freedom Presentation..... 167

Appendix J: International Legal Agreements
 Relating to Women’s Political Participation 172

Appendix K: Women’s Learning Partnership Publications
 and Learning Tools216

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WHO WE ARE

A partnership of twenty autonomous organizations, Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) trains and supports women primarily in Muslim-majority countries to become leaders and advocates for a just, peaceful world. WLP creates culture-specific leadership trainings on democratic participation, and it partners with local organizations to help women gain the skills they need to fulfill greater leadership roles at the family, community, and national levels. Over the past decade, WLP's programs and training materials, which have been published in 20 languages, have reached tens of thousands of women in over 40 countries, strengthening local organizations to become self-sustaining and to power women's movements around the globe.

In 2001, WLP published *Leading to Choices*, a leadership training manual for women that had a special focus on women in Muslim-majority societies. By 2006, *Leading to Choices* had been translated into 17 languages, and adapted for dozens of different cultural contexts. Over 9,000 women (and men, as well) in the Global South had participated in workshops based on the leadership manual. Organizations in the WLP Partnership, along with other non-governmental organizations and learning institutions, asked that a sequel be prepared which would take workshop participants to the next level—leading them to action. Early drafts of *Leading to Action: A Political Participation Handbook for Women* were reviewed and tested by WLP Partners. This publication is the result of that co-production. www.learningpartnership.org

About the WLP Partner Organizations

Afghan Institute of Learning (AIL): AIL is a women-led non-governmental organization that uses a creative, responsive, and dedicated approach to meet the health and education needs of Afghan women, children, and communities. AIL trains and works with health and education professionals and organizations through programs in teacher training, health professional training and health education, and leadership and human rights training. Programs support home schools, community-based organizations, women's learning centers, and a pre-school education program. <http://www.creatinghope.org/aboutail>

All Women's Action Society (AWAM): Founded in 1985, AWAM is an independent feminist organization committed to improving the lives of women in Malaysia. Its vision is to create a just, democratic, and equitable society where women are treated with respect, and are free from all forms of violence and discrimination. To reach this goal, AWAM informs, connects, and mobilizes those interested in securing women's rights, bringing about equality between men and women, and supporting women in crisis. AWAM's activities include advocacy, training and education, and direct services to victims of violence, including counseling and legal aid. <http://www.awam.org.my>

Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM): ADFM is an independent association established in 1985 to defend and promote the human rights of women, and to foster equitable policies and social practices. As one of the largest non-governmental organizations in Morocco focused on the rights of women, ADFM has been successful in forming networks with civil society and governmental institutions regionally and internationally. The organization guarantees and reinforces the rights of women through advocacy, awareness raising, literacy campaigns, direct assistance, and education, among other activities. <http://www.adfm.ma>

Association des Femmes Chefs de Famille (AFCF): AFCF is a non-governmental organization in Mauritania whose primary mission is to promote human rights and to defend the rights of women and children. AFCF strives to bring support to women in precarious situations (particularly female heads of households), create a network of associations working to improve living conditions for women and children, and contribute to fostering gender equality and building active solidarity among women of different social classes. <http://www.afcf.rim-asso.org>

Aurat Foundation: Aurat Foundation was established as a non-governmental organization in 1986. The Aurat Foundation is committed to working for women's rights and empowering citizens to participate in good governance for the purpose of creating a just, democratic, and humane society in Pakistan. The organization works in partnership with over 1,200 non-governmental and community-based organizations on activities related to advocacy, activism, and knowledge- and information-building for women's rights and gender equality in Pakistan. <http://www.af.org.pk/mainpage.htm>

BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights (BAOBAB): BAOBAB is a non-profit organization working for women's human rights and legal rights under religious laws, statutory laws, and customary laws, with a particular focus on Muslim women. BAOBAB works with legal professionals and paralegals, policymakers, women's and human rights groups, other non-governmental organizations, and members of the general public. Its programs promote human rights education, particularly women's human rights. BAOBAB sponsors women's rights training and education projects, and programs that enhance understanding of women's rights to influence social and government policies. <http://baobabwomen.org>

Be-Free Center/Bahrain Women's Association (BFC/BWA): BFC/BWA is a women's rights and child empowerment organization in Bahrain. The organization strives to increase awareness of women's legal rights, as well as other issues that affect women, such as globalization, information technology, the environment, health care, culture, and the family. The Be-Free Center focuses on eliminating child abuse and neglect and empowering children to be powerful and productive citizens. Through activities including training workshops and seminars, radio and television programs, advocacy campaigns, and networking, BWA promotes active citizen participation among women. Officially established in 2001, the vision of BWA is "to empower leaders for the human development era." <http://www.bahrainws.org>

Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informacao e Acao (Cepia): Cepia is a non-governmental, non-profit organization dedicated to developing projects that promote human and citizenship rights, especially among groups historically excluded from exercising their full citizenship in Brazil. Cepia conducts studies and educational and social intervention projects focusing on health, sexual and reproductive rights, violence, and access to justice, poverty, and employment. Cepia's advocacy strategy includes monitoring and evaluating public policies, and maintaining an open dialogue with different social groups and civic organizations. <http://www.cepia.org.br>

Collective for Research & Training on Development-Action (CRTD-A): CRTD-A provides technical support and training in Lebanon to non-governmental organizations, governmental partners, researchers, and international agencies on areas of social and community development, with a particular emphasis on gender equality and equity. CRTD-A focuses on the theory and practice of qualitative, participatory, and action-oriented social research, and produces original literature on gender and development, gender mainstreaming, gender training, social development, civil society, and poverty. The CRTDA team provides consultancy services for non-governmental organizations and other development actors in gender-related areas. <http://crt-da.org.lb/en>

Community Education and Development Services (CEDS): CEDS is a non-profit organization created in 1996 to work for women's empowerment and economic development in Cameroon. CEDS works with grassroots communities in Northwest Province and South Province, which have little or no access to the vast majority of non-governmental organization services available in the country. In addition to leadership training for grassroots women's groups, village councils, and national and regional organizations, CEDS carries out HIV/AIDS sensitization in prisons, post-primary institutions, and rural communities. CEDS also conducts information communication technology (ICT) training for women at the WLP-CEDS Information Technology (IT) Center in Bamenda, Cameroon.

Fondo de Desarrollo para la Mujer (Fodem): Fodem is a non-governmental organization in Nicaragua that supports the economic and political empowerment of women with scarce resources through financial, business, and citizenship programs. Its programs have earned Fodem the Central American award for Best Practices from *Grupo Intercambio*. <http://www.fodem.org.ni>

Forum for Women in Development (FWID): FWID is a network of Egyptian non-governmental organizations working for the emancipation of women and elimination of all aspects of discrimination against women. Launched in 1997 by 15 civil society organizations, FWID advocates for the reform of policies and legislation that discriminate against women. It is made up of groups of activists, both male and female, from different social and professional backgrounds, who work together to build a democratic, just, and egalitarian society. <http://www.anhar.net/who.htm>

Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (FSWW): FSWW is a non-governmental organization in Turkey seeking to ensure women's equal participation in social, economic, and political decision-making by drawing on the expertise and potential of local women. Established in 1986, it supports low-income women's groups to improve the quality of their lives, their communities, and their leadership. KEDV/FSWW works in Istanbul, the Marmara earthquake region, and southeastern Turkey. The organization also provides consultancy, training, and monitoring support to those local governments, non-governmental organizations, and other organizations that want to integrate FSWW programs into their activities. <http://www.kedv.org.tr>

Human Rights Center/Citizens against Corruption (CAC): CAC in Kyrgyzstan focuses on the rights of women and refugees, provides legal consultation, conducts and disseminates research, convenes civic forums, participates in public hearings, and trains human rights defenders. CAC advocates against corruption in the government through monitoring elections and supporting election reform, supporting women in Parliament, and advocating against the use of torture and the death penalty. <http://www.anticorruption.kg>

Iran: WLP works in partnership with activists and scholars from Iran to develop Persian training manuals and multimedia curriculum. In 2005, WLP convened a National Learning Institute for Women's Leadership and Training of Trainers with a group of Iranian activists, non-governmental organization leaders, and academics to enable participants to develop skills in participatory leadership and to strengthen women's networks in Iran.

Shymkent Women's Resource Center (SWRC): SWRC is a non-profit organization in Kazakhstan whose programs combat trafficking and violence against women and promote the rights of women and women's leadership. SWRC organizes campaigns to combat trafficking, creates self-help support groups for women, provides psychological and legal counseling, and manages a shelter for victims of trafficking. <http://swrc.kz/eng>

Sisterhood Is Global Institute/Jordan (SIGI/J): SIGI/J is a non-governmental organization established in 1998. Its founders include lawyers, jurists, and human rights activists working to support and promote women's rights through education, skills training, and modern technology. Its programs include human rights education, initiatives for combating violence against women and girls, and a knowledge partnership program that provides ICT training. SIGI/J also sponsors cultural and educational events that highlight the experiences of women leaders. <http://www.sigi-jordan.org>

Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC): WATC is a coalition in Palestine established in 1992 to eliminate discrimination against women, and to pursue a democratic society that respects human rights. The aims and objectives of WATC include developing young women's leadership skills, increasing women's political participation at all levels, and empowering and supporting existing women's rights organizations. WATC achieves its objectives through training, networking, advocacy, campaigning, and maintaining an educational media presence. <http://www.watcpal.org/english/index.as>

Women's Self-Promotion Movement (WSPM): WSPM is a grassroots organization created in 2001 in Zimbabwe. WSPM implements women's economic empowerment programs and women's capacity-building programs that seek to improve the lives of disadvantaged women through education, economic development, and women's leadership. The organization primarily works with refugee women and girls in the southern Africa region.

The WLP Partnership has developed into a network that is recognized for outstanding leadership training for women in the Global South. Below are excerpts from WLP's Charter:

WLP's Vision

Objective: To strengthen a feminist movement in order to transform power relations and promote justice, equality, peace, and sustainable development.

Resource: To achieve these objectives, the WLP Partnership will build capacity through the sharing of vision, mechanisms, and concepts; the exchange of experiences, strategies, and skills; and the mobilization of resources.

Approach: To promote and sustain leadership that is participatory, inclusive, horizontal, and replicable.

Values: The Partnership shares values of gender equality, human rights, collective and consensus-based action, and respect for diversity.

The following principles guide WLP's work:

- We live our core values and beliefs. We are committed to the creation of tolerant, egalitarian, and democratic communities developed through partnerships based on cooperation, trust, and respect. We sustain our partnerships through open, on-going, and in-depth communication.
- We are learning organizations that are flexible, evolving, and responsive to the changes in our environments.
- We honor the collective nature of the Partnership and believe in the importance of a shared vision.
- We promote and sustain leadership that is horizontal, participatory, and inclusive.
- We use new information and communication technologies to facilitate communication and sharing of knowledge and skills.
- We recognize that giving Women's Learning Partnership visibility is integral to the success of our individual and collective work.

“We can work together for a better world with men and women of good will, those who radiate the intrinsic goodness of humankind. To do so effectively, the world needs a global ethic with values which give meaning to life experiences and, more than religious institutions and dogmas, sustain the non-material dimension of humanity. Mankind's universal values of love, compassion, solidarity, caring, and tolerance should form the basis for this global ethic which should permeate culture, politics, trade, religion, and philosophy.”

Wangari Muta Maathai
Kenyan Environmentalist
Nobel Laureate 2004

INTRODUCTION

Premises

Throughout the Global South women activists are turning the page on women's role in politics. Events in the last century that led to the renunciation of colonialism, apartheid, and dictatorships also unleashed the aspiration for universal human rights and justice in hearts and minds in every corner of the earth. And while the progress of women's advancement varies from nation to nation, language to language, creed to creed, culture to culture, the principles of equality, justice, and rights are unwavering.

The struggle for women's rights is often presented as a struggle between tradition and modernity. In many parts of the world, religious, tribal, and conservative forces as well as various traditions and cultural practices dictate that women should only occupy the private sphere—the home and motherhood—and men should occupy the public sphere where they can control and shape their community's economic, political, and social landscape. But the advancement of women's human rights is not a balancing act between the public and private spheres or tradition and modernization. Gains in women's rights should not be equated with losses to tradition. Like the proverbial reed that bends in the wind, tradition or even culture, is not a static force that will break if winds are blowing too strongly. As traditions and cultures have done since the beginning of time, they will evolve, adjusting to new social conditions to make themselves stronger.

Women's public and political participation is a critical step towards reshaping economic, political, and social conditions to allow for equality in opportunities and results for women and men. Women can be informed, thoughtful, and strategic advocates for their own needs. Today, their political participation is subverting the private/public sphere dichotomy, putting real power and leadership in women's hands. *Leading to Action: A Political Participation Handbook for Women* was conceived and developed to help increase the number of women in decision-making positions by inspiring women to become politically engaged. However, we know from experience that parity in the number of women in leadership roles, though extremely important, is not sufficient. Political leadership can be a force for oppression and conflict regardless of the gender of the politician. For that reason, Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) and its partners developed *Leading to Action* to empower women to become democratic and participatory leaders.

Purposes

Leading to Action is designed for use as a learning tool by those who are challenging themselves to play a more significant political role in their communities. It is the newest addition to WLP's handbooks and manuals—concrete tools for women's empowerment and advancement. WLP's learning tools all share certain elements. As with other WLP materials, this handbook conveys information through dialogue and open-ended questions that allow readers and workshop participants to form their own conclusions.

There is an expression, “actions speak louder than words.” *Leading to Action* helps its readers and workshop participants move beyond talking about political limitations to taking action. Whether your goal is to be elected to office, support the campaign of another person, encourage women to vote, or secure better legislation for your community, this handbook will help you hone your skills to take your next political step.

Values and Framework

Leading to Action can be used independently, but it shares the same values and learning framework as other WLP training materials. The political participation strategies emphasize *communicating*, *listening*, *building consensus*, *creating shared meaning*, and *developing learning partnerships*. These techniques create democratic, inclusive processes, and political participation strategies that are ethical in their means as well as their ends.

Just as there is no one path to political activism, there is no single approach to learning political participation skills. In *Leading to Action*, in addition to the political participation strategies, the learning process is itself intended to empower workshop facilitators and participants. The sessions presented are guidelines only, changeable and adaptable for the communities in which they are used. For instance, the biographies of influential people and stories about successful campaigns are only illustrative starting points for discussion, and can be substituted with biographies and stories more relevant or familiar in each setting.

Structure

The *Leading to Action* handbook is structured to be used in a workshop setting, and can be easily modified by those who use it. Lessons and exercises are designed to be changed, omitted, or borrowed to maximize their value, or adapted to meet the unique needs of each workshop group.

It includes an overview of the purpose and nature of political participation entitled “Essentials of Political Participation.” “Guidelines for Facilitators” explains the structure of the workshop sessions and how to get the most out of them.

Ten sessions examine the barriers to political participation, and strategies for ethical political leadership. These sessions are divided into two parts. Section I, “Politics and Power: Where Do I Fit In?” has three workshop sessions that explore how the individual workshop participant sees herself as a leader, political activist, and citizen of the world. Section II, “Leading to Action: What Are My Next Steps?” presents seven sessions that help participants identify specific strategies for engaging in political campaigns. Each of the sessions examines barriers that women face in playing a larger role in the public sphere, and provides examples from real life about how some women leaders have dealt with their own competing expectations of themselves. The handbook also includes fictional scenarios that prompt a free exchange of responses, positive and critical, between workshop participants to the ideas presented.

The handbook concludes with appendices that provide additional resources for political activity at the local, national, and international levels.

Essentials of Political Participation

Mahnaz Afkhami

What is political participation? What is politics? Why are politics and participation important to women? Why have women everywhere, especially in developing countries, been denied equal opportunity in politics, as in almost all other fields, even when they have not been denied equal rights? What rewards are there for women if they become politically effective? How can women become politically effective?

These are but a few of the many questions we should ask and answer. Our answers and even our mode of posing the questions, however, cannot be the same everywhere. We live in different societies, cultures, economies, and political systems. Some of us fare better than others because we have relatively greater mobility or better access to decision-making positions. But the difference is not much. All of us have experienced the pressures of patriarchy and share similar hurdles when it comes to political participation. Because of this, we can learn from and help each other. We can develop a shared vision that deepens and expands as we learn more and achieve more on our path to becoming politically effective citizens.

Our purpose in this overview is to highlight elements of politics and participation that are critical to the condition and interests of women across the world, especially in non-Western countries. Since women live in societies that are culturally and socially different, the practice of politics cannot be the same for everyone. But the essentials of politics and participation are more or less the same for everyone. Here we are concerned primarily with the essentials.

Politics and Power

Politics has to do with power, the ability to influence the behavior of others. Power is a wider concept than politics; it is an aspect of human relations at all levels of human interaction. Most of us have never been involved in politics. All of us, however, have experienced power even when we were still only a child. We learned how to cajole our parents to give us what we want. As mothers we learned how to encourage our children to do what we want. We know that there are at least two general ways of influencing the behavior of others: by using force, that is, either a threat or act of punishment; or alternatively, by creating an environment in which what we ask for is considered legitimate and accepted voluntarily, eliminating the need for force. As women we clearly favor the second option on moral and emotional grounds. But we reject force also for a practical reason: as a rule, we do not possess the instruments of force. What's more, even if we did, using force would not be the most efficient way to exercise power.

In the non-force option, legitimate authority comes about as a result either of our personality or condition, both of which may be cultivated. Some individuals are naturally charismatic. People listen to them because they are what they are. Not all of us have this gift, though most of us can learn the ways and means of dealing with others effectively. We have talked about this in *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*. Cultivating our leadership skills is critical because, as we shall see below, the formative elements of our condition are not always to our advantage as women.

Our “authority condition” is defined and constrained by our history—mainly our traditions and the legal framework that together determine the limits of our rights, obligations, and freedoms. Since most of us live in patriarchies, our obligations often trump our rights and freedoms. But we are not as powerless as this observation might suggest. As mother, wife, sister, and daughter, we command moral standing. In most countries we are recognized as citizens in our own right. In recent decades we have become increasingly educated. In many countries more of us are in universities than are men. We are now claiming the right to intervene on matters ranging from education and economy to culture and religion, which in some societies has induced patriarchal backlash. But we are on our way.

Still, we are faced with difficult hurdles, the most intransigent of which spring from the patriarchal values in which we are socialized. These values stem mostly from tradition. They are engraved in our psyche. They often cause a battle within us between reason and emotion. We do realize that our rights are restricted beyond reason, but we simultaneously subject our reason to the emotional force of our upbringing, to an obligation bred in us to uphold the “honor” of our family, community, and society. It is useless to tell ourselves that this is not our honor, that the concept of honor that is pressed upon us is not based on individual responsibility and individual rights. It is highly useful, however, to let the contradictions we feel and the injustice we see show us the way to a process of change that reconciles our honor, our rights, and our freedom—without tearing apart our societies or vitiating our mores. This is also why our way to our rights and freedom will be our own. We do not reject our traditions. We rethink our traditions to accommodate our demands for equality, rights, and freedom. And we work with men and with other social justice groups towards achievement of these goals, which are the foundations of equity and justice for all.

To accomplish all of this, we must, of course, participate in politics. At first glance, our chances may not seem too promising. If politics has to do with power, we as women are disadvantaged because we are short on all the factors that make a person powerful. First, we do not have much force at our disposal and we do not want it even if we were given it. Second, we are not historically well endowed with traditional authority because we live in a patriarchal culture which favors male authority. Third, because even in modern times laws that govern our lives have been generally enacted by men in positions of authority, from which we are generally excluded, we often are treated inequitably, even when laws are made based on “rational” criteria. This means we must approach politics and power creatively, devising concepts and methods that are new and

different, so that not only we succeed, but our success will be significant—for us individually and for our gender collectively. Before we proceed further, let us examine power and politics more closely.

Power as Communication

If politics has to do with power and power is defined as the ability to influence others to act along the lines one prefers, then, clearly, politics is inherently linked with communication. Unless we communicate, we will never be able to impart what we want, and if we do not let others know what we want, we cannot encourage them to do what we consider to be desirable or discourage them from doing what we consider undesirable. So communication is critical to political processes. Without it, we cannot even engage in politics. What then are the components of communication? In its simplest form, we need a communicator, a message, a communication channel, and a receiver—someone or some group to whom communication is directed. In our personal life, we communicate everyday. In our family, we communicate mostly face to face. We tell our son or daughter what to do or what not to do. Or we ask a question. With our friends, we might communicate via telephone or the Internet. We have learned over the years to respect certain constraints when we communicate in order to make our communication successful. For example, we don't ask our five-year-old daughter to do something she cannot physically perform or intellectually understand. We try not to ask of her to do something she terribly dislikes. If we must ask her to do something she considers unpleasant, such as taking her medicine, first we try to prepare her for the ordeal. We know instinctively that she must come to believe that what we ask of her is necessary and for her good. We know how to ease our way into her approval.

This example also illustrates the fundamentals of political communication. First and foremost we must want to communicate. Then we must have something to communicate. We must have a means of communication. We must have someone to communicate with. And we must fashion our message so that it fits the means and the recipient; that is, it is communicable and it falls within the zones of the recipient's understanding and inclinations. Otherwise, our communication most likely will fail to reach the recipient (which means it is not communication), will not be understood, or will be rejected. Given the structural similarity between talking to our child or friend and communicating a political message, it is probably correct to say that most if not all of us can, if we want to, engage in political communication, at least theoretically.

Political Communication

But what is *political* communication? How is it different from other kinds of communication?

For our purpose, there are at least two basic properties that distinguish the political from the non-political: community and authoritative sanction. A political communication aims at something that affects the whole community of which the communicator is a member—a village, a town, an organization, a state, or even a region. For the communication to be politically important, there must be

some assurance that if accepted, the community, whatever its size or character, will be bound to observe it. Usually political decisions are governed by certain rules, by-laws, or laws that carry the sanction of enforcement. In the past, a king or governor ruled by virtue of tradition. If someone asked why things are the way they are, the answer would likely be because they have always been that way. In modern times, the chances are that certain rules or laws have been enacted to define the limits of legitimate power and to establish rights, duties, and obligations of both the ruler and the ruled. In principle, we should be able to question things as they are and ask for a rational explanation of rules and laws. In principle, we have the right to question the legitimacy of individuals in power, the decisions they make, or the laws that do not accord with the established rules of enactment or are no longer responsive to society's needs and requirements. As indicated earlier, none of this means we should be frivolous about or unmindful of the weight of tradition. What it means is that we should not be expected to accept—in the name of tradition or one-sided explications of values, mores, or texts—shackles on our rights, liberties, or other primary needs simply because certain powers in our societies benefit from and wish to preserve prevailing conditions. We must remember and we must each within our society and culture strive to discover the most effective way of communicating to others that we have rights as human beings, and not only as members of a specific religion, nationality, race, or gender. Rights are universal, although implementation of rights and setting of priorities in our efforts to achieve rights are dependent upon specific socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions.

The Political Process

Just as power was more than politics, politics is more than power. Power refers to our ability to act; politics refers to the end for which we act. The political has to do with defining goals. Its aim is to determine where we go and how we weigh a proposed option against all other possible options. The political, thus, is concerned with values, something that is of interest to us and affects other interests in a given community frame—for example, our village, town, or workplace. We usually hear that certain organizations, such as political parties, are concerned with politics, and that other organizations, for example, government bureaucracies, are concerned with administration. This is only partly true. Politics and administration occur in both types of organizations, although the formal function of a political party is to develop general policies and strive for gaining political power, whereas the function of bureaucracy is the implementation of decisions made through the political process. In fact, in many countries it is the bureaucracy that makes the kinds of decisions that are critical to the everyday well-being of the people. Depending on what kind of society we live in, we must be careful to make the correct assessment as to the loci of political power.

Nonetheless, there are certain tested approaches that enhance our chances of success as we engage in the political process. Consider, for example, the community where you live. Suppose you have certain needs that you want the government to address. You may go to the person in charge in the governmental department responsible for the issue of your concern. He listens to you but

takes no action. Months pass. You wonder what else to do to get the result you seek. You know many others in your community share your concern but they also do not know what to do. It occurs to you that perhaps you can get together and speak to the government with a collective voice, thinking that the voice of many is likely more effective than the voice of one. Already you are on your way to becoming a political leader. You begin with the individuals you know. You realize that although they share your general concerns, the points they stress are not always the same. At first, you feel discouraged but you persist and soon you find that it is possible to expand the areas of agreement if you are willing to compromise. You give a little and take a little until you all agree on a set of statements that you can propose to a wider group. Soon, following the same pattern of dialogue you find yourself in the midst of a sizable community of agreement. In the process you realize that you must go beyond face-to-face communication; you need to use other channels to extend your reach—pamphlets, newspapers, radio, television, and these days increasingly the Internet. By this time, you have also fine-tuned your message to elicit a more favorable response. You are now in a position to *articulate* your interest more effectively, having mapped out your lines of communication. And you have a far better chance of being heard.

But who will hear you? You have less of a problem to be heard if your issue can be addressed at the local level. That is why, as a general rule, a decentralized system of decision-making affords more opportunity for participation than a centralized system. But if you need action at the national level, which women often do, you must secure channels to the national government. You might choose to direct your demand to one or another of the political parties, assuming there are efficient political parties in your country. If so, you will soon realize yours is not the only group with such an interest; there are other groups with similar or contrary interests. It is a function of an efficient political party to aggregate such interests and prepare them for introduction to the appropriate national decision-making structure—usually in the cabinet or the legislature. If the process is successful, what your group has articulated will be adjusted against other competing demands and, at the end, transformed to a language that satisfies no one completely but is a step forward in the direction that a majority with such interests can live with.

This process holds for political systems that are more or less responsive to interest group demands. Such political systems, even if they are not democratic in the western sense of the term, can be influenced if they are open enough to receive messages and not so overly ideological that they “hear” only one set of messages. Women, however, face a gender hurdle that surpasses these fine points: if they live in an overly patriarchal society, a more or less responsive political system very often responds more readily to the stronger social forces, which usually deny women even the most elementary rights. In such circumstances, women engaged in interest articulation and interest aggregation will have to focus primarily on re-socializing the society. That is, women must convince at least opinion leaders, if not the rest of society, that women’s demand for rights is not a zero-sum game, but a winning proposition for both men and women. Such an undertaking suggests no less a task than successfully re-interpreting certain

values in the society that many among both genders consider fundamental. This is especially imperative in Muslim-majority societies, where over the past few decades there has evolved an incongruity between the role women play in the public space and their position in the private space. In most of these societies women are working hard outside of the home to supplement the family income, they are educated, and, above all, they are conscious of their individual rights. But their legal position at home and in private relations has remained substantially unchanged.

We must remember that this incongruity is rooted primarily in history, not culture. Women have been subject to similar divisions of rights and responsibilities vis-à-vis men across the world, across time, and across cultures. Until relatively recently, nowhere in the world could women decide independently to seek a job, have an education, get married, have children, vote, or be elected to public office. Switzerland gave women the vote as late as in 1970. Thus, societies and cultures change over time, religions receive different interpretations often against the will of established religious leaders, and increasingly, epistemology of religions has differed from the sociology of the peoples who practice them. Islam, for example, has been practiced in a variety of ways by Muslims in different parts of the world and at various times in history.

Women and Democracy

Democracy is said to be the best form of government we know. But we are entitled to ask: Why is democracy the preferred form of government? The answer usually given is that democracy is the preferred form of government because in a democracy, the people govern through their freely elected representatives. It is a system based on popular sovereignty. People have rights. Individuals are guaranteed their personal spaces. Government is limited. And majority rule is bound by minority rights. If we support democracy and are asked what we like best about it, we probably answer individual freedom, human rights, respect for the opinion of others, control over the government, and a lot of other good things that are inscribed in the international documents of rights and constitutions of “democratic” states. All of this assumes that the society on which a democratic political system is grounded is, philosophically speaking, a “liberal” society.

But suppose it is not. Suppose women live in a society where a majority does not believe in such values. Suppose a majority, in fact, thinks that such values are invented by a number of colonialist states to dupe, dominate, and exploit, that when others speak of women’s rights, they employ a ruse to make women playthings, dolls. Suppose they say women’s dignity is best protected if we all follow our holy books. And they add they are the only ones allowed to interpret the holy book.

Most of us, of course, know that this is not fantasy; we are faced with this problem now in certain countries, and unless we are careful we may be facing the same in other countries. This is why it is so important for women to engage in politics and to approach it courageously but cautiously, posing the issue of governance fully aware of the reality of their circumstance: that most of us do

not live in liberal societies as philosophically defined. We must therefore address the issue somewhat differently. Rather than talking about democracy uncritically, as if it stood alone, insulated, majestically unencumbered by historical, social, or cultural conditions, we should pose it problematically. What kind of a system in a given society optimizes the probability of approximating the values, mores, and procedures we appreciate most in an ideal democracy? To examine such a question, we have to begin with at least two sets of queries and propositions: 1) the values we would like to optimize—such as freedom, rights, equality, individual space, and limited government, but also security, community, and family; and 2) the society where we would like to optimize these values—such as rich or poor, literate or illiterate, liberal or illiberal, religious or secular, hierarchical or communicative, patriarchal or gender-friendly, homogeneous, or heterogeneous.

Power, authority, and justice—primary ingredients of any political system—must be dealt with in democracies at both the magisterial level where state and society intersect, and the individual level of immediate human interactions, such as those between man and wife, father and daughter, brother and sister, teacher and student, employer and employee. The two levels obviously interact, and sometimes, especially in illiberal societies, they create ironic contradictions, for example, when the process of promoting the procedures of democracy leads to conditions that negate the fundamental values of democracy. In the developing world, especially in Muslim-majority countries, women often find themselves at the losing end of this dynamic.

It is up to women in each cultural and social milieu to determine which approach to politics best serves their interests. But we must all work together to learn from each other and to create synergy for change.

A Women's Approach to Politics

We have learned from the successful experience of women activists working in a variety of political contexts the steps that help us optimize our chances of achieving our goal of full political participation.

First, we must work in cooperation with men. We have to take it upon ourselves to educate men by showing them that women's empowerment does not present a threat to them. On the contrary, it helps everyone by creating meaningful and efficient partnerships.

Second, we must build partnerships of respect, knowledge, solidarity, and support among ourselves, with other women, and with men. It is increasingly important for women from different societies to communicate with each other, to support each other's work, to teach each other, and to learn from one another. It is especially important for Muslim women to communicate and form partnerships with women from other regions, religions, and cultures. We all need to learn and we all have something to teach.

Third, we must work closely with broader social justice networks and organizations in a spirit of mutual cooperation. Especially critical in this respect are organizations and movements engaged in human rights promotion, environmental advocacy, labor relations, democracy promotion, and peace and conflict resolution.

Fourth, we must be conscious of the importance of capacity-building at the level of the individual as well as civil society. We must become adept at mobilization, advocacy, defining issues, pinpointing problems, and finding solutions. All of this is related to building leadership capacity.

Fifth, leadership, which is essential to women's empowerment, is a problematic concept. We do not want power for power's sake. In power, we do not wish to become surrogate men. We want to be empowered to help change our societies for the better. The same understanding pervades our concept of leadership. We at the Women's Learning Partnership and our partners across three continents have worked hard on the concept and developed an understanding of leadership as a communicative and dialogical model of interaction that represents the society we women desire and seek. In this model, leadership emerges from a learning partnership and takes the characteristics of a system of give and take in which each participant is at once or alternately leader and follower. This is the kind of condition we would want to inform the associations that constitute our emerging civil society.

And sixth, we need to have our voices heard. Something exists and is developing in our time that did not exist in the past: information technology. We must do our best to acquire and use it to develop the kinds of partnerships we alluded to in *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*, to forge political support, and to implement culture change. We have the knowledge potential, the resource potential, and the woman-power potential. We must work through our partnerships to get ourselves and our societies culturally attuned to the indispensability of information technology not only for learning about the world but also for making it.

Guidelines for Facilitators¹

These guidelines are to help you achieve your own objectives for facilitating discussions and exercises in this handbook. As a facilitator, you are responsible for monitoring and steering each session's learning process. Unlike a traditional teacher or trainer, you are not responsible for leading the group to any specific conclusions or understandings. Rather, your responsibility is to create a comfortable, trusting, and safe space for workshop participants, and for you to learn from the ideas and experiences of others, keep an open mind, and work together to form consensus. You will create that space through careful pre-planning of the room and materials set up, and by engaging in facilitation tactics that promote mutual respect, thoughtful discussion, and an atmosphere of collaboration and active participation.

Role of the Facilitator

An effective facilitator listens and learns along with the workshop participants. Your role is to organize the meetings and guide the participants through the workshop exercises. You do not need to be an expert on political participation or know all the answers. Successful discussions will result from input from all the group members.

Directing Conversation

Sometimes you may wish to steer the group's conversation in a new direction through thoughtful inquiry. Your responsibility is not to direct the outcome of conversations, but merely to guide the direction of the discussion while keeping in mind that there are no correct or more valid opinions. In this way you will be able to ensure that everyone contributes to learning and knowledge sharing. A good facilitator creates a trusting, neutral environment in which everyone feels safe to express her honest opinion without being judged or attacked. This includes helping participants to feel comfortable enough to disagree with others in a thoughtful and respectful manner. Do not be concerned if there are lengthy silences between comments. These periods are moments when participants can pause for reflection and summon the confidence to speak up.

Stimulating Discussion

Throughout the handbook's sessions, questions have been posed to stimulate discussion and debate. The questions are meant only as guidelines to lead the group to explore diverse leadership themes. As long as the group is engaging in

¹ Adapted from "Communicating in a Workshop Setting: Guidelines for Facilitating," *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*, (Women's Learning Partnership, 2001).

relevant and valuable discussions, feel free to let conversations deviate from the posed questions. Moreover, you may decide to use different methods of setting up the exercises or wish to pose different questions than are presented in the workshop sessions. If you have identified individual participants who may be shy or lack the courage to speak up, suggest your own opinion and ask one of them to comment on what you said. So long as you remain sensitive to the needs of the individual participants and to those of the group, are tactful and affirming, and share the responsibility of learning, you are partaking in effective facilitation.

Keeping to the Agenda

At times, a facilitator can best guide a discussion by being an effective timekeeper and reminding the group of the session's agenda. Although workshop group sizes will vary, it is almost always helpful to encourage participants to keep their comments relatively short, not letting one person or a few people monopolize the conversation. This is particularly necessary for those exercises that involve interventions or storytelling from every participant. A diplomatic way to remind participants to keep their comments relevant to the topic being discussed is to direct your suggestions and instructions to the whole group rather than singling out an individual. Also, consider encouraging participants to listen to what the others are saying and to build upon previous comments.

Sharing Responsibility

Although you are responsible for guiding each workshop session to completion, you do not need to be in charge of every activity or facilitate every discussion. Sharing responsibility can and should be part of organizing the workshop sessions. A simple step is to encourage participants to volunteer to take notes for the group, read aloud instructions or narratives from the handbook, or facilitate the discussions. Reassuring a participant that she need not worry about spelling when taking notes, or pronunciation when reading aloud, can go a long way toward making her feel comfortable and inspiring others to volunteer.

Joining In

It is up to you whether you want to join in discussions. However, keep in mind that because you are organizing each session and are to some extent “in control,” participants may give added weight to your opinions and suggestions. Therefore, it is important that you limit interventions, and that when you do express an opinion qualify it as your own perspective and not the only perspective.²

Enjoying Yourself

Remember that you are also participating in the workshop to gain knowledge and to have fun. Enjoy yourself!

² For an excellent list of what facilitation is and is not, see “Part I: Facilitating Learning,” in *In Our Own Words*, by Nancy Flowers, Bethesda: Sisterhood Is Global Institute, 1999.

Role of the Participants

Participants come to workshops for a variety of reasons, with a wide spectrum of preconceptions and expectations about what will take place. Regardless of their level of experience or professional status, the participants' role is to be both student and teacher, to learn as well as to share knowledge. Workshop sessions are most successful when participants listen attentively, ask questions, and challenge assumptions. Participants are responsible for contributing to discussions, working collaboratively in partnerships or as part of a larger team, and evaluating the process and progress of the sessions. Everyone participating in the workshop will benefit by contributing to a gracious and respectful atmosphere during the workshop.

Setting Up the Meetings

It is important to come to the meeting sessions prepared. *Review the material* to be covered beforehand to make sure that you understand the handbook's intended objectives and your own objectives for the workshop and for each session. Determine what materials you will need and make sure you plan to have enough of everything. Sessions can take place in an office, public facility, private home, or anywhere there is *quiet and privacy*, and where participants will feel comfortable.

You may instruct participants to bring their own *pens and paper*, or supply them yourself. Depending on the room and supplies available where the workshops take place, you may wish to bring chalk for a chalkboard or marker pens for writing on a flip chart. Alternatively, bring large sheets of paper and tape or tacks to secure them to the walls. The chalkboard, flip chart, or sheets of paper are useful for note-taking in front of the group members so that their ideas and concepts can be easily referred to throughout the session. Recording the discussion highlights on paper is particularly helpful because you can keep the written notes for future reference, referring back to the group's ideas in later sessions.

Among the exercises in the handbook are some in which the group is asked to break into teams to carry out an activity. If not all participants have a copy of the handbook, you may choose to make *photocopies of the instructions* for each team. Alternatively, you can write out the instructions in large block letters on a piece of paper and tack it to the wall so that everyone will see it.

Most sessions should last approximately three to four hours. You may wish to supply something to *drink or a snack* to make participants feel more comfortable. If you are unsure about what the participants would like or expect, ask them about their preference at the first session. Most importantly, *plan ahead* so that you know in advance what will be needed and how the sessions will be organized.

Some Supplies You May Need

- Pens and/or pencils
- Paper
- Large paper for highlighting key points
- Tape or tacks
- Flip chart
- Colored markers
- Chalk
- Copies of instructions
- Clock with visible face and minute hands
- Drinks and snacks for a break
- Cups, plates, napkins

Talking About Communication, Listening, Building Consensus, Creating Shared Meaning, Developing Learning Partnerships

Communication, listening, building consensus, creating shared meaning, and developing learning partnerships are central to the success of ethical political participation. You may choose to raise these ideas during the workshop sessions or in other forums. Here are some definitions to help spark discussion:

- **Communication:** All leadership begins with effective communication. Leaders must be skilled at conveying their ideas and goals to others. Good leaders are good at observing, listening, articulating, and communicating. For this reason, the workshop sessions all emphasize strengthening communication skills. The initial sessions focus on personal communication skills, and the later sessions address communication within teams and between institutions.
- **Listening:** Leaders are strengthened by listening to the perspectives and objectives of others. Listening is not confined to hearing what a supervisor, colleague, or competitor says; it also includes valuing and giving credit to their suggestions and opinions. An effective listener, like an effective leader, is one who learns from what she hears.
- **Building Consensus:** Building consensus is an important decision-making process for successful leadership. Through dialogue, individuals within groups, teams, or larger organizations come to understand the points upon which they agree. Decisions are formulated with a mutual understanding of options and possibilities. Where differences of opinion remain, no action is taken by the group. Although at times consensus-building can be frustrating and time-consuming, it leads to agreed-upon decisions that everyone can support, own, and follow.
- **Creating Shared Meaning:** Small groups and large institutions can benefit from the creation of shared meaning. Through dialogue, consensus-building, and shared experience, a core set of values and principles evolves in which everyone has to some degree participated in formulating, and in which everyone has a stake. Shared meaning is an adaptive and flexible approach to goal setting that is influenced by a group's composition and the passage of time. When a group creates shared meaning, each member operates within a framework in which she shares ownership and responsibility.

- **Developing Learning Partnerships:** The outcome of a partnership reflects the thinking and activities of its participants. An institution whose members execute directions efficiently and effectively is not a learning partnership if the participants do not question the relevance of their activities, evaluate their capacity for improvement, or share lessons they have learned. Developing a learning partnership is an inward-looking, collective-learning approach to institutional development. It involves self-awareness and self-reflection as well as group-awareness and group-reflection for the individuals carrying out the partnership's purpose and activities. Hence, a learning partnership is one in which the participants' interactions result in reflection, evaluation, and knowledge that enhance or accelerate reaching the partnership's objectives. Learning partnerships create dynamic, participatory, and highly productive working environments in which everyone gains knowledge while learning to increase her own and the partnership's capabilities.

The First Workshop Session

When You Arrive

Arrive early for the first session so that you have time to make sure the room is set up the way you want it. Check whether there is enough light, heat, and/or fresh air. See whether the seats are arranged to your satisfaction. Although it is not required, sitting in a circle is often the best way to organize a workshop discussion. A circle arrangement allows everyone an equal view of the rest of the group and the best opportunity to be seen and heard by the others.

When the Participants Arrive

When participants begin to arrive, make them feel welcome. This is especially important if the participants are not already known to each other. If they do not already know you, be sure to introduce yourself and explain that you are the workshop facilitator. If there are snacks available, suggest that participants help themselves, then find a seat near someone else and introduce themselves.

Introductions

Once everyone has arrived, it is often a good idea to go around the whole group and have everyone introduce herself formally. If the participants already know each other, you can ask them instead to state very briefly their reason for attending or their hopes for the workshop. You should participate in these initial exercises as well. The reason for doing the exercises is to help the group members, including you, begin to become familiar with one another and comfortable speaking out.

Explanations

Begin the first session by briefing the participants on what will be discussed and learned over the course of the workshop, and the basic framework of each session (see below). Alert the group to the agenda of that day's session, at what time you anticipate taking breaks, and the time you expect to end the session. Explain that

volunteers will often be sought to assist with note-taking, time-keeping, reading from the handbook, and facilitating discussion, among other activities.

Structure of the Sessions

The *Leading to Action* handbook sessions are divided into two parts. Politics and Power: Where Do I Fit In? (Section I), and Leading to Action: What Are My Next Steps? (Section II). At the beginning of each section is a brief description of its purpose and an introduction to the concepts that follow. As with the objectives that begin each workshop session, you may wish to have a volunteer read Section I's or Section II's introductory remarks. Afterwards, be sure to ask if anyone has any questions.

Framework of Each Session

Each session has a similar structure. However, not all sessions have the exact same types of activities. Depending on its objectives, the session may include the following components:

Suggestions for Facilitation: These instructions appear at the beginning of Sections I and II. They are a brief summary of the facilitator's goals and tactics in the workshop sessions.

Session Objectives: Every session begins with a list of objectives. These are to help participants understand the purpose behind the session's exercises and questions, and to help lead discussions about the biographies and stories. It is up to you whether to read the session objectives to the group at the beginning of the session, at the end, or at all.

Evaluation Tool and Workshop Evaluation: These two evaluation exercises bookend the handbook's workshop sessions. Although the evaluation exercises only appear twice in the handbook, they can be conducted at any time, or multiple times throughout the course of a workshop.

Exercise: Each session has exercises in which group members participate together, in teams, or in pairs. The purpose of the exercises is to help the group explore the barriers to women's political participation, and strategies for overcoming those barriers. Depending on the composition of the workshop group and your assessment of the participants' needs, you may wish to adapt or amend the structure of the exercises. As no two workshop groups ever approach the handbook materials in the same way, it is important that you remain flexible and responsive to what works best within each group.

Questions for Group Discussion: The questions for group discussion have been designed to elicit participants' ideas on specific topics. Each question builds on the previous one to guide the conversation forward. If this is the first time you have coordinated a political participation workshop, it is probably a good idea to follow the order of the questions in the handbook, at least in the earlier sessions.

By the later sessions or in future workshops, you may feel that other channels of questioning or additional questions may be more productive. It is entirely up to you. Moreover, you may choose to have a volunteer facilitate a discussion, and she may have her own ideas about how best to direct the conversation. There are no right or correct questions for directing discussions, but it is important to keep the conversation lively, interesting, and beneficial.

Circle Activity: For these activities, arrange the group in a circle so that when each person speaks, she can be viewed by the others. No one is at the “front” of the room in these discussions. The circle also allows for everyone to answer sequentially, and promotes the fullest participation. The aim is to get a broad perspective on the variety of opinions or experiences within the group relating to the subject.

Although this sort of activity works best if everyone participates, it is important to explain that anyone may “pass” if she does not wish to speak. There are many reasons why a participant may not want to speak, and they should be respected. Nevertheless, if you notice that a group member rarely joins in the conversation and seems reluctant to participate in activities, seek her out privately to talk about it with her. Make sure she feels that her ideas are valuable and that she is gaining knowledge through the workshop experience. If she is not, try to find out why and explore whether you can better address her needs through the workshop sessions. No participant should be pressured to continue with the sessions if she feels that she is not enjoying or benefiting from them.

At the end of each session: It may be useful to end each session by asking participants to identify their key learning from that session and to review them against the session objectives. Participants may also reflect on their next steps, what they want to do with the knowledge gained and how they will relate it to their peers and colleagues. For participants who have expressed interest in facilitating their own workshops, they may be encouraged to reflect on facilitation skills and techniques and how they would use them in their future training.

At the Conclusion of All Workshop Sessions

Depending on the group, participants may end the workshop with an informal party or some other group activity. In the ninth or tenth session, you may wish to ask the group to begin thinking about how it would like to mark the workshop’s conclusion. It is important to plan ahead so participants leave the workshop feeling that their needs and expectations have been addressed. Before participants leave after the final session, ask them to fill out the Workshop Evaluation form provided at the end of Session 10 in this handbook. This form is useful for adjusting and improving future workshop programs. It is helpful to explain the purpose of the form and to assure participants that any information they provide is absolutely confidential. Remember to collect the form from all the participants before they disperse.

Increasing one's political participation is a lifetime project and participants will continue strengthening, adapting, and fine-tuning their skills long after the workshop has ended. Some participants may wish to organize a reunion or follow-up session months later to give themselves a better perspective on what they learned and how they have applied it. Often friendships form through the course of the sessions and participants welcome the opportunity to see each other again and to solidify the new connections.

Sometimes participants wish to organize a political campaign project together at the conclusion of the workshop. How exciting! You helped to spark their political action. One thing leads to another, but of course the next steps are up to the participants themselves.

WORKSHOP SESSIONS



SECTION I

Politics and Power:

Where Do I Fit In?

Are women supposed to want power? And if they get it, are they supposed to enjoy it, be good at it, and compete for more of it? What is your vision for women's political participation?

We often respond to these questions with conflicting answers. It is not surprising, then, that women's path to equality has many twists and turns. On the one hand, women's less powerful role in society has helped us to develop certain strengths—nurturance, humility, compassion, and so on—that we now value not only as personal strengths, but positive characteristics for a new kind of leader. On the other hand, if these strengths are the result of needing to exert influence in the absence of power, it leaves the question of whether women will know how to or even desire to exercise these more “womanly” characteristics when they have real political power.

This section's learning exercises are designed to help participants step back for a moment to consider what power might look like in a better world, and whether male and female power will or should look the same. Is what is ethical for a man equally ethical for a woman? Participants may be surprised by how hard it is to look at male and female politicians through the same lens, and to weigh their actions on the same moral scale.

Each one of us has the capacity to lead in our personal life, and in the political life around us. Who we turn out to be in each of these spheres—our vision, our goals, and our actions—is of course up to us. The exercises in Part I will help participants see themselves and their choices more clearly, and hopefully give them renewed purpose in striving to make a better world.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FACILITATION

In the following exercises, read aloud the instructions, stories, and questions that follow. If possible, provide workshop participants with their own copies of the handbook or copies of relevant exercises so they can easily participate in reading passages and following instructions. By choosing a number of individuals to share the reading, instead of just one person, you can help make the workshop more participatory and interactive. It is valuable to have note-takers during the sessions who record the ideas of the group on a chalkboard/dry board or large pieces of paper that everyone can view. Similar to the reading, it is often best to rotate the responsibility of note-taker, so that not just one or two people are burdened, and more participants have the opportunity to lead in this way. The instructions that follow will refer to recording “on the chalkboard,” but any large writing surface will do.

Enjoy yourself. Remember you are a participant in the exercises as well!

SESSION 1:

Imagining a Better World

(Approx. 3 hours in total)

Session Objectives

- To propose a holistic vision of what we want our world to look like
- To formulate pragmatic goals that will mobilize our support

Workshop Evaluation Tool: What do I want to learn in this workshop?

(Approx: 30 min.)

Ask the group to share all of the reasons each one of them is participating in the workshop. (This list should be kept by the facilitator and used as a tool to determine if participants' expectations are being met.) Group members should address:

- what they hope to learn,
- what they want to experience,
- what they want to come away with at the end of all the workshop sessions.

You may choose to ask participants to share their responses in writing on individual sheets of paper as well. One option is to collect participants' responses and return them at the end of the ten sessions of the workshop. Participants would then get a better gauge of what they learned over the course of the sessions.

If group members are shy and/or seem reluctant to begin engaging with the workshop and their expectations, sometimes it helps to conduct a warm-up exercise first. You may wish to conduct this evaluation tool exercise after the exercise, "What are my dreams?" which follows below.

1.1

Exercise: What are my dreams?

(Approx. 45 min.)

Read aloud the following biography of Nobel Prize winner Wangari Muta Maathai and the letter below from a young woman in Brazil. The Circle Activity that follows is meant to introduce participants to one another, as well as spark conversation. While all of the group activities in this handbook can be conducted with participants seated in a closed circle, it is not required. Circle Activities such as this one, on the other hand, are specifically intended to be more participatory, with the seating arrangement providing the chance for all the participants to face one another and support one another. In Circle Activities, everyone has a turn to participate, including the facilitator.

Biographical Note on Wangari Muta Maathai

In 2004, Dr. Wangari Muta Maathai, became the first African woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for “her contribution to sustainable development, democracy, and peace.” Maathai’s tree planting campaign in her native Kenya was not popular when it first began. “It took me a lot of days and nights to convince people that women could improve their environment without much technology or without much financial resources,” she told the BBC. The Green Belt Movement, which she founded in 1977, went on to campaign for education, nutrition and other issues important to women. Maathai’s former husband was reported to have once remarked that she was “too educated, too strong, too successful, too stubborn and too hard to control.”

Next, ask a volunteer to read the following letter from a young admirer.



Wangari Muta Maathai
The Greenbelt Movement Headquarters
Nairobi, Kenya

Dear Dr. Maathai:

I am a high school student attending the Escola da Imaculada Conceição in Brasilia. I recently received an award for my report on the deforestation of the

Amazon rainforest. In my report I made recommendations to the government of Brazil to help protect the Amazon rainforest.

I am writing to you because I have been greatly inspired by your life's work to save the eco-system of your country and all of Africa. Some days I feel ready to take on the world and to do whatever it takes to bring my ideas to the attention of government officials. Other times, I just feel like a girl in school who no one will ever listen to.

My country is poor, and people are using the resources of the Amazon rainforest to help themselves feed and support their families. But there are also big corporations doing a great deal of damage. In my report I show that over 50% of the Amazon rainforest could be cleared or damaged by drought in the next 20 years. The world needs the Amazon rainforest to absorb all the carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere. And when the forest is destroyed, less moisture goes into the atmosphere and rainfall declines everywhere. Brazil needs the Amazon rainforest, and my family, and one day my own children, will need the Amazon rainforest.

My father wants me to go to the university next year, but my mother does not. I want to continue my schooling because I think if I know more, there is more that I can do to help my county. My friends tell me to “calm down” all the time, that there is nothing that I can do. I am scared that they are right.

Thank you for being a role model to me and for giving me the courage to speak up. I just do not know what I should do next to save the rainforests in Brazil.

Yours truly,

Eliana

Circle Activity

Once participants have arranged themselves in a circle, ask each participant to do the following: *Introduce herself*, *share* one big dream she has for the world, her country, her community, or her family, and *offer* one piece of advice to Eliana.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Why do you care about politics?
- Can you make a difference?
- Do you have a responsibility to make a difference?
- Do you want political power?
- Does everyone have political duties and responsibilities as a citizen? What do you need to do—what is the appropriate level of political participation—to be a good citizen?

1.2

Exercise: What sort of women do we want our leaders to be?

(Approx. 20 min.)



Circle Activity

Ask each participant to name a female role model and explain why she chose that woman.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Why do we want women in decision-making?
- What are some of the challenges women politicians face?

1.3

Exercise: “I have a dream that...”

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask a volunteer or two from the group to read aloud the following narrative about Martin Luther King, Jr.’s famous “I have a dream...” speech and the excerpts that follow.

On August 28, 1963, American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered an historic speech to over two hundred thousand supporters. Coined by many as the “I Have a Dream” speech, Dr. King’s vision for the future reverberated with people of all races, creeds, and classes.

Standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., on a hot summer day, Dr. King spoke words that would inspire generations of young people to hope, and also to participate in improving their society.



Excerpts from Dr. King's speech:

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'"

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

"I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood."

"This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day."

"Let freedom ring. When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!'"



Team Activity

Divide the group into four or five teams. Choose from among the following topics (feel free to change or add topics), and assign one topic to each team:

- Dreams for our Government
- Dreams for our Schools
- Dreams for our Health and Welfare
- Dreams for our City
- Dreams for our Children
- Dreams for Women
- Dreams for Peace
- Dreams for our Environment
- Dreams for Families Everywhere
- Dreams for our Granddaughters' Granddaughters

Each team should have a large piece of paper and pen to record their discussion. For ten minutes, team members should brainstorm what their dreams are,

relating to their topic. Each team writes down all of their dreams, big or small, those that might be possible and those that seem impossible.

When the time is up, reconvene the whole group. Ask team members to tape their team's list of dreams to the walls. Ask a volunteer from each team to report back to the group about their discussion and to read her team's dreams.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Where do we want to be in the future? What kind of a world do we want to build ethically, morally, spiritually?
- What new arrangements of power are we seeking?
- What next? What new ideas are we proposing?
- What values do we wish to preserve?

SESSION 2:

Ethical Politics

(Approx. 3 hours in total))

Session Objectives

- To consider what are ethical politics
- To imagine accountability, transparency, fairness, inclusiveness, and tolerance, in the political arena

2.1

Exercise: Balancing the Scales

(Approx. 20 min.)

Ask a volunteer or two from the group to read aloud the following story told by Mahnaz Afkhami,³ Iran’s former secretary general of the Women’s Organization and Minister of Women’s Affairs, about a difficult choice she faced while in office.



“In 1974, when I was secretary general of the Women’s Organization of Iran, my colleagues and I were laying the groundwork for legislative reform of women’s status and the family law. We knew that any change to the family law extending the rights of women would meet resistance from many quarters.

3 Mahnaz Afkhami, President and Founder of Women’s Learning Partnership, is Executive Director of the Foundation for Iranian Studies and serves on advisory boards for a number of national and international organizations, including the International Museum of Women, World Movement for Democracy, and the Women’s Division of Human Rights Watch. She has over three decades of experience working at the government and non-government levels to advance the rights of women, particularly in the Middle East. She has authored numerous publications, among them *Muslim Women and the Politics of Participation*, *Faith and Freedom: Women’s Human Rights in the Muslim World*, *Women in Exile*, and *Women and the Law in Iran*. Among the training manuals she has co-authored are *Claiming Our Rights: A Manual for Women’s Human Rights Education in Muslim Societies*, *Safe and Secure: Eliminating Violence Against Women and Girls in Muslim Societies*, and *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*.

“We began our campaign by conducting training sessions for ordinary women to raise their consciousness about the limitations of the existing laws on women’s right to divorce, child custody, protection from polygamy, and the like. We published booklets on the legal status of women in simple language, as well as academic studies on the impact of legislation on the lives of women. Similarly, we held discussions with policymakers, legislators, and experts at the ministry of justice and the more progressive clerics to secure their support for the changes we sought. To help us prepare the best language for the new legislation, we met with lawyers, religious scholars, and sociologists.

“Despite our level of preparation and steps to educate different interested parties, we met stiff resistance to increasing women’s rights. Our efforts often led to heated bargaining sessions. For example, we could not convince the ministry of justice to eliminate an article that stated a man has the right to prevent his wife from holding a job that is against his honor. In the balance, however, we were able to negotiate inclusion of a similar stipulation for wives. Although wives preventing their husbands from holding jobs was purely a theoretical right (no court at the time would uphold a wife’s claim), for the first time in Iranian legislative history a reference was made to a woman’s honor in her own right, distinct from that of male members of her family.

“The law, as passed, included victories and defeats for women. We worked hard to make polygamy illegal, but after many long and intemperate discussions we reached a détente. Polygamy would be legal, but a man’s right to multiple wives would be limited to a second wife, under specific circumstances that made a polygamous marriage highly unlikely, and only with the permission of the first wife. And while we were not able to make headway on changing the position of the husband as head of the family, we were successful in increasing the minimum age of marriage, and including equal rights to divorce and guardianship of children after the father’s death.

“When one of my colleagues in Parliament called to give me the news that the Family Protection Law had passed, I was jubilant. I knelt down and kissed the ground and thanked God! An hour later I held a press conference. There I faced the dilemma of having to defend flawed legislation and argue its merits, which doubtless were very significant for many women, but fell far short of ideal. Not surprisingly, I sounded more like a justice ministry official than a feminist activist. My arguments sounded alien to me, although I felt I was taking the responsible position.

“I was aware that even though this was landmark legislation in a Muslim-majority country, it was far from perfect. And yet, the revised legislation provided a platform from which to begin the next stage of women’s struggle for equal rights. The week following passage of the Family Protection Law, we were able to begin work on a new revision that could provide greater freedoms and protections for women. I learned the importance of holding on to the ideal while realizing the possible.”



Questions for Group Discussion

- Can two differing people or two conflicting political perspectives both be ethical?
- How do you make ethical choices?
- Is compromise ethical? When is it not ethical?
- How can a leader communicate a less than ideal outcome to her constituency without losing support or momentum?

2.2

Exercise: Doing Things Differently

(Approx. 20 min.)

Ask a volunteer or two from the group to read aloud the following narrative by former Irish president, and former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson.⁴



“When I was nominated as one of three candidates for the presidency, I was very much an outsider because I was a woman, I was young, and I didn’t come from a political background. My goal was to make the Irish presidency more relevant and more responsive to the people. It is an elected position, and I felt that being chosen by the people meant that the president had a duty to represent those who put him or her in office.

“Shortly after I was inaugurated, I received invitations from many civil society groups to come and open their center, or mark a ten-year anniversary, or some other community activity. Written on the invitations was advice from my secretary: ‘This event is not of sufficient importance to warrant the presence of the president.’

“But I felt that they were of sufficient importance! I couldn’t go to all of them, but I felt I should go to some to show that what these groups and individuals were doing was important. These community leaders were changing the face of modern Ireland—and as it so happened, a lot of those working in their communities were women.

⁴ Mary Robinson served as United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights from 1997 to 2002 and as President of Ireland from 1990-1997. She is a member of the Elders. She serves as Honorary President of Oxfam International, chair of the GAVI Alliance Board and President of the International Commission of Jurists. She is a former chair of the Council of Women World Leaders and a member of the Club of Madrid. The recipient of numerous honors and awards throughout the world including the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Obama, she serves on several boards including the Mo Ibrahim Foundation and the Global Compact. She is a professor of practice at the University of Pretoria in South Africa and serves as Chancellor of Dublin University. She is the President of Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative.

“I made a number of speeches on particular occasions valuing the contribution of women and making sure to include women who were supporting community activities. I was trying to make the Irish women’s movement more inclusive, so that all women felt empowered. I would hear from my constituents, ‘Oh I’m not important, I’m just a housewife.’ But I would ask, ‘What do you do in your community?’ They would say, ‘Well I run this and I manage that,’ and what you would find is that behind these self-described ‘housewives’ were very active and engaged community leaders.

“Perhaps what I was most proud of during my presidency was reaching out to women in Northern Ireland, of both Protestant and Catholic background, working-class women. It was quite exceptional for them to come to Dublin from Belfast, and secondly to come to the official residence. We had wonderful discussions, and I could see the enormous value of their efforts to reach across religious lines. These women were so courageous and knew what was necessary to build peace step by step.

“Raising the profile of women and women’s efforts to improve their communities was always terribly important to me. I really wanted the women I met to understand that they were no different than I—working hard to make a difference in their society. But I learned an important lesson about power and position as well. It really meant something to these women that I was their president, that I acted and dressed presidential. It was a privilege for them to meet with someone in high office. I learned that when I hosted delegations or traveled, that people wanted to see me with all the pomp and circumstance of the presidency, not as an ordinary citizen. I had to change my perception of how a good leader would function, and to grow comfortable with the level of decorum traditionally associated with the Irish presidency. So although I was able to change the nature of the presidency and the expectations of the president in Ireland in many ways, the office also changed me.”



Questions for Group Discussion

- How do people react to women in positions of power? What are the expectations of women leaders? What are women’s expectations of women leaders?
- What is your ideal for how a woman leader should conduct herself?
- What does it mean for a woman in power to be “genuine”?
- What do you think about President Robinson’s efforts to meet with everyday women and to honor their work in their communities?
- Do you think a woman leader is obligated to support other women and to raise the profile of their efforts?

2.3

Exercise: Code of Conduct

(Approx. 45 min.)

Divide the group into three or four teams for this exercise. Ask each team to choose a political figure (male or female) familiar to everyone on the team. Each team should take approximately 20 minutes to draft a code of conduct for the political figure (local, national, international, from any country and from any level of government).

First, each team should write on the top of a large piece of paper the following sentence, filling in the banks:

I, _____, in my capacity as _____, will conduct myself by following a set of principles and code of ethics:

Second, the teams should brainstorm what rules, principles, policies, etc., they would want their political person to observe, and record them on a large piece of paper.

Some examples are: I will not lie to my advisors, colleagues, or the public; I will not threaten, harm, stigmatize, or in anyway punish those who publicly disagree with me; I will not exercise favoritism; I will not use my term in office to benefit my own interests; My actions and policies will not discriminate against women.

When the time is up, have a representative from each team report back to the group the politician they chose, and the code of conduct that they drafted.

2.4

Exercise: Dividing the Pie

(Approx. 45 min.)

Write the following information on the blackboard for the whole group to see:

There is funding available to cover the expense of putting computers in three schools for students to use. You are on a special education committee tasked with deciding which three schools—out of ten possible candidates—will get the computers.

Divide the group into teams of three or four participants. Each team should discuss possible processes for deciding which schools should get the computers (about 20 minutes). Should there be age, economic, neighborhood, gender, or other criteria? Would it be just as “fair” to distribute through a lottery? Each team should record the questions they would ask, and the steps they would take to decide which schools will get the computers. Ask a representative from each team to report back to the group the steps and criteria they had decided upon for choosing which three schools would receive the computers.



Questions for Group Discussion

- How would you go about making your decision?
- How would you make sure that your decision was as fair as possible?
- Is it important that local residents understand how you made your decision? Why or why not?
- How will you communicate your decision to local residents?
- What will you do if local residents challenge your decision?

SESSION 3:

Where Do I Fit in as a Political Actor?

(Approx. 3 hours in total)

Session Objectives

- To explore the role of an activist versus that of a politician—an outsider versus insider
- To examine diverse personal and political strategies: quiet diplomacy versus visible confrontation through writing, speaking out, joining a campaign, running for office, etc.
- To consider the challenge of balancing personal obligations with public obligations, balancing family needs against professional demands, in general, making hard decisions and dealing with the consequences

3.1

Exercise: Crossing the Red Line

(Approx. 20 min.)

Please ask a volunteer to read the following narrative by Masuma Hasan,⁵ women’s rights advocate and former cabinet secretary in Pakistan.

5 Dr. Masuma Hasan is former cabinet secretary to the Government of Pakistan. She was Pakistan’s ambassador to Austria, and permanent representative to the United Nations Office in Vienna and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and other international organizations in Vienna. She was Chairperson of the Working Group on Gender and Development set up by the Planning Commission to prepare for the Medium Term Development Framework 2005-2010, and chairperson of the Group of 77 in Vienna. She serves on the board of governors of Aurat (Women’s) Foundation, a WLP partner, and other academic and development institutions.



“When I began public service, there were very few women working in its ranks in Pakistan. There were no legal or constitutional barriers to women’s recruitment in public service. Nevertheless a red line existed between the elite cadres in the government’s bureaucracy and the National Institute of Public Administration in Karachi where I was employed. This was one of government’s in-service training organizations for civil servants which also engaged in research and consultancy. Even my male colleagues did not hope to ever break that barrier.

“My family were pioneers in women’s education, and my parents made no distinction between me and my two brothers. A Ph.D. degree in Politics from the University of Cambridge was an unusual achievement at that time, especially for a woman. My educational qualifications should have made all the difference between my career prospects and those of my male colleagues. However, I was at the receiving end of prevailing patriarchal and patronizing attitudes towards women’s employment.

“My career took many twists and turns because of my husband’s political commitment to democracy in a decade of harsh dictatorial rule in my country. He suffered long prison terms, and my children and I endured equally long periods of isolation and harassment. During this difficult time, I was transferred to the Management Services Division in Islamabad. But I never wavered in my loyalty to my husband’s commitment or in my belief that our struggle would lead to better times.

“After the dictatorship ended, the political environment changed. I was promoted and returned to my former institution in Karachi, becoming the first woman and first professional to head any training, research, and consultancy organization in the government. I worked hard to develop programs that brought public policy and civil servants closer to the community, and my institution became known for its bold support of public interest issues and for drawing large numbers of women to its open programs.

“The turning point in my career came with my appointment as ambassador and as Pakistan’s representative to the United Nations and other international organizations in Vienna. Subsequently, I was appointed cabinet secretary to the government, which is the highest post in the civil service. The red line had been crossed.

“The people I worked with were almost all men, but I learned that my success gave women hope and confidence in public service and even in other professions. They were wonderfully supportive and I always found time to meet them and to listen to them. Hearing that a woman occupied the powerful position of cabinet secretary, many women would come to my office with their problems. But helping individual women one-on-one was not going to provide any long-term advances for women generally.

“Early in my career, I realized the importance of empowering women politically in fields critical for women—such as transportation, water, education, health, and

the environment. So I started supporting public policies being promoted by women's groups. Some of their key recommendations, like the large reservation of seats for women in local councils and federal and provincial legislatures, were implemented by the government and have changed the political landscape in my country. Building a bridge between community and government can help women to take charge of their lives."



Questions for Group Discussion

- What are some advantages to working inside government? What can you achieve more easily?
- What are some disadvantages to being a government employee or holding elected office? What sorts of activities or tasks are more difficult to accomplish as a government official?
- Is there a stigma attached to activists and politicians moving back and forth between the two worlds? Why or why not? Is it easier for men or for women?
- Is political ambition for a woman different than for a man? Is it selfish? Why or why not?
- Should women vote for and/or support women because they are women? How would you make the decision?

3.2

Exercise: What would YOU do if...

(Approx. 30 min)

This exercise invites participants to reflect upon potential situations they might face and what actions they would take in each situation. It can be conducted as a Circle Activity, with everyone answering questions in turn, proceeding around the circle.

First, write on the board or hand out sheets with the following actions (feel free to change or add actions):

- Do nothing
- Offer personal condolences and empathy
- Follow the stories in the newspapers and other news outlets
- Complain verbally to leaders in private meetings
- Complain verbally to leaders in public forums
- Write a public letter of protest (through the media)
- Write a private letter of protest (addressed individually to a concerned politician or decision-maker)

- Organize a joint letter of protest
- Participate in a rally
- Organize a rally
- Participate in a campaign
- Lead a political campaign
- Run for political office

Then, pose the following questions to the group, asking participants to choose from the list of actions or to state their own. For each question, try to elicit six to eight responses, so that participants hear a range of answers. Add actions to the list as they are suggested by participants.

- What would you do if you were growing colder and colder in the room where we are meeting, and you noticed that the windows were open?
- What would you do if your husband lost his job at a nearby factory?
- What would you do if *every worker* was laid off at a nearby factory?
- What would you do if your friends and colleagues were active on a campaign in support of a political candidate you also approved of?
- What would you do if you had signed a joint letter with six other signatories complaining about the inadequacies of services for victims of domestic violence, and now your family is asking you not to get involved?
- What would you do if many community leaders asked you to run for local political office and made promises to help your campaign?



Questions for Group Discussion

- Are there personal and/or political actions that you would feel comfortable committing to? Are there actions you would not feel comfortable taking? Why?
- What sort of political person are you? What sort of political person would you like to become? Why?
- Is it possible to be personally ambitious for political power and still be ethical? Why or why not?
- Is non-involvement ever a political action? If so, what might be an example?

3.3

Exercise: Inspiring and supporting women leaders

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the story below about Daphne Olu-Williams, and her journey from concerned citizen to political leader in Sierra Leone.



Daphne Olu-Williams was an academic for nearly two decades before civil war drove her and her family out of Sierra Leone and into Ghana for refuge. Her experience of receiving charity and the good will of others shaped Daphne's desire to give back. When she returned to Sierra Leone, she became a youth supervisor at an orphanage. She went on to found the African Kind Hearts Organization (AKHO), a community-based organization that provided relief for women and children in the seaside village of Goderich (the native home of her late husband). AKHO later expanded the scope of its activities to providing women with vocational training and business skills.

In 2005, Daphne attended a leadership institute in Calabar, Nigeria, organized by Women's Learning Partnership and its Nigerian partner organization, BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights. The institute experience inspired her to become involved in the women's movement. According to Daphne, her participation at the institute opened a new chapter of leadership in her life. She realized that it was not enough for her to have a vision of how her society could improve. She needed to take bold action. In particular, Daphne believed that women in Sierra Leone needed to be more actively involved in political participation. Daphne challenged herself in numerous ways to engage in the political life of her country.

Within a year, Daphne was appointed to serve as an Electoral Commissioner for the Western region, the largest of the four regions and the region where the capital city, Freetown, is located. Daphne went on to serve her electoral region through Sierra Leone's transition to a new, democratically elected government. The male-dominated staff of the Electoral Commission proved to be a major challenge for her. She also was subjected to all forms of sex discrimination and intimidation, and even received threats on her life. But Daphne was determined to ensure that the results of the election were credible.

At the end of the electoral process, the Chief Electoral Commissioner declared the election valid. For Daphne Olu-Williams, the election had been a very demanding time in her life, but also a profound opportunity for her to play an important role in the political fate of her country.



Questions for Group Discussion

- What are some of the events you believe could have inspired Daphne to become politically engaged?
- What role can women play, and in particular the participants in this workshop play, in encouraging and supporting women to become active in politics?



Circle Activity

Starting with yourself, have each woman around the circle finish this sentence*:

“I can help women participate in governance and political action by_____.”

*There are no right or wrong answers. Women can help women by registering to vote and voting, by canvassing for a candidate, or by raising strong and confident girls and fair-minded boys. All of these actions and thousands of others will help women help women to change the world.

3.4

Exercise: Choices and Obligations

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask a volunteer or two from the group to read aloud the following personal story of Asma Khader⁶, Coordinator of Sisterhood Is Global Institute/Jordan (SIGI/J) and human rights advocate.



“I am the eldest of three daughters. As is the custom in Jordan, until I was ten years old, my father was referred to as Abu Asma (father of Asma), and my mother as Um Asma (mother of Asma). My parents were under a lot of pressure from their families because they had no sons, and so they decided to try to have another child. When I was ten years old, my brother Samir was born. Within one hour of his birth, I suddenly realized that everyone around us was calling my father Abu Samir (father of Samir), and my mother Um Samir (mother of Samir). It was

⁶ Asma Khader, a lawyer and human rights activist, is General Coordinator of Sisterhood Is Global Institute/Jordan, a WLP partner, former Minister of State and Government Spokesperson for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and former President of the Jordanian Women's Union. She is a member of the Arab Lawyer's Union, the Arab Organization for Human Rights, and the Executive Committee of the International Commission of Jurists. She was instrumental in creating a legal literacy and legal assistance program for Jordanian women. Elected to the Permanent Arab Court as Counsel on Violence against Women, she is a leading advocate to strengthen legislation outlawing honor killing.

as though I had disappeared. Even though I was the eldest, Samir was a boy, and because of this in the eyes of my relatives he was the most important child.

“At first I was really angry and hurt. For months I acted out by not doing housework expected of us daughters, and instead played with boys—who people seemed to think were so much more important. I was lucky, though. My father was a thoughtful and educated man. He could see what I was feeling and spoke to me about how important his daughters were to him.

“The experience left its mark on me. I understood that women and girls need someone to fight for them. As I grew older, I often found myself advocating for my girlfriends, standing up for them when I felt they were being discriminated against. It was a natural thing for me to become a lawyer and to support women’s rights.

“By the time my own daughters were born, I was working very hard and long hours as an advocate. When my second daughter was just five years old, she told a neighbor, ‘I never want to be a lawyer. I never see my mother. When I grow up, I want to be a government teacher who can come home at noon.’ I felt very torn. On the one hand, I really was passionate about my work, and on the other hand I was worried that I wasn’t being an attentive mother.

“One day when my daughter was a teenager, by chance she came with me to the prison where I was meeting with a client. She was upset by the terrible conditions at the prison. She wanted to know how I could sleep if I thought that there might be innocent people in the prison. She asked me a lot of questions that day. Still, no one was more surprised than I when she decided to study law herself. I was shocked. If I had listened to my heart when my daughter was five, I would have left the legal profession. Today my daughter is a lawyer, and she also is involved in human rights. I feel, finally, at peace with the choice I made.”



Questions for Group Discussion I

- In our country, do women and men face the same challenges in balancing family and professional life?
- What are some factors that limit women’s political participation?

Make two columns on the board, and ask the group to brainstorm the obligations of men to their family and the obligations of women to their family:

Women’s Obligations To Their Families	Men’s Obligations To Their Families



Questions for Group Discussion II

- What is the same about these two lists? What is different?
- What did you learn from this exercise?
- How would women’s obligation to their families affect their opportunities in political participation?

3.5

Exercise: Role Models

(Approx. 45 min.)

Have the group name all the different roles women have in society, such as mother, housekeeper, doctor, teacher, engineer, driver, accountant, lawyer, domestic worker, minister, seamstress, and so on. Record participants’ answers on the chalkboard. When the list reaches 40 to 50 roles, stop and go on to the next step.

Divide the group into pairs. Ask each pair to:

- Choose the ten most important roles for women identified by the group.
- Rank the top ten roles in order of importance with “1” being the most important and “10” being the least.

Reconvene the group and ask a representative of each pair to share their list.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Was this an easy or difficult exercise?
- Did the partners agree on most of the list—yes or no?
- Was anyone persuaded by her partner’s viewpoint? Explain.
- What was the area of greatest agreement? What was the area of least agreement?

3.6

Exercise: Past, Present, and Future

(Approximately 20 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following narrative of Tolekan Ismailova⁷ about stories and events that influenced her choice to become a human rights activist.



“As long as I can remember, I have been a human rights activist. Even when I was a little girl, I understood that in my part of the world women were second-class citizens. All power in the home and in society is dominated by men. In our Parliament, we did not have a single woman until 2007, although in Kyrgyzstan there are so many talented women leaders. The policies that control electoral practices and passing legislation are controlled by people who want to hold onto their money and power—and they are men.

“My grandmothers used to tell me stories about refugee children dying from cold and hunger. They would be sold for food by their parents. Daughters were given away more frequently because sons were viewed as more important to the clan. But these terrible stories are not just things of the past. In this decade, refugees fleeing violence and unrest from places like Andijan in Uzbekistan or the Chechen Republic are attacked or ‘disappeared.’

“Kidnapping of young women is still a common practice for men seeking brides in Kyrgyzstan. These bride kidnappings are supported not only by the young men and their friends but by the families of the women. They defend their acquiescence by saying that the brutality is just an ‘ancient tradition.’ Hundreds of young girls in Kyrgyzstan are victims of kidnappings, which are often violent, and can result in injury—and even death. There are many stories of young women who are kidnapped and then cannot return to their parents even if they are able to escape. Because they have been kept out all night, their virginity is put into question, and custom dictates that they be considered ‘damaged’ and no longer fit for marrying another.

⁷ Tolekan Ismailova is a human rights defender in Kyrgyzstan and the Director of Human Rights Center/ Citizens against Corruption (CAC), a WLP partner; a founder of the NGO Forum of Kyrgyzstan (1996), which played a key role in the development of the non-governmental sector in Kyrgyzstan; and the Founder and first President of the Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society, which united Kyrgyzstan’s NGO sector during a national campaign on civil society education and monitoring of elections. The recipient of several international awards for her work as a civil society activist and human rights defender, Ismailova was also the first Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow from Central Asia in 2002.

“My grandmothers hoped that I would have a different life than they had. They wanted me to be strong-spirited, well educated, and independent. They were afraid that I would suffer domestic violence and other harsh practices tolerated in our patriarchal society. My grandmothers wished that I would have a good life—that I would make my own choices about how I want to live.

“Thanks to my parents and my husband, who was a journalist, I was able to be independent, and to act on my aspirations to change my society. I have always been a human rights activist, and I will remain so until women are treated with dignity and have equal rights. I knew that if I were to challenge injustice suffered by women in my country, I would need to act, to speak out, and not fear to take risks.”



Questions for Group Discussion

- How did this story make you feel?
- Are there events in your past that influence who you are today?
- Are there commitments you have made to make the world a different place for the next generation?
- What do you want to change most?

WORKSHOP SESSIONS

SECTION II

Leading to Action:

What Are My Next Steps?



Taking political action takes courage. We are familiar and comfortable with making decisions and influencing the decisions of others in our personal spheres, and even in our professional spheres. But the political world can be intimidating, and in many of our communities, it is unreceptive or even hostile to women. Putting pressure on the levers of political power—whether through speaking out, joining a campaign, or running for political office—is usually a public activity. Political action can expose you to scrutiny, criticism, or worse by those closest to you and people you have never met. The exposure, or risk, however, is the source of the power behind your action. By taking the political step, you have exerted power to change the conditions you seek to change.

This section's learning exercises are designed to help participants take their next, and for some their first, political step. Beginning with identifying the political issue participants wish to address, Section II's seven sessions provide examples and exercises on finding support for one's political cause, developing ways to communicate the issues, and framing what success will look like. The exercises are meant to inform and inspire participants, and, hopefully, lead to action.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FACILITATION

You may want to refer to the suggestions for facilitation on page 38. Otherwise, you may have developed by now your own method for facilitating exercises, which is also fine. It would be good to ensure that all participants take active part in the exercises.

If you have devised your own way to facilitate exercises, you may want to jot down some notes on what works best based on your own experience. These would be helpful for other facilitators as well as for developing other training manuals and curricula.

Most important, you will need to ensure that whatever method or tool you choose to use, you will be emphasizing the principles and spirit of participatory leadership — non-interventionist, respectful and encouraging communication.

Most importantly, enjoy yourself and ensure that your participants share your enthusiasm!

SESSION 4:

Identifying Our Political Issue and Developing Our Message

(Approx. 3 hours in total)

Session Objectives:

- To identify the issue or issues on which we want to take action
- To examine our issue’s impact on gender
- To create an effective message for our issue that supports gender equality

Prepare the meeting space by posting the following quote where everyone can read it:

“If you don’t like the way the world is, you change it. You have an obligation to change it. You just do it one step at a time.”

– Marian Wright Edelman⁸

⁸ Marian Wright Edelman serves on Women’s Learning Partnership’s Board of Directors and is the founder and president of the Children’s Defense Fund. She is the first African-American woman to be admitted to the Mississippi Bar. Her involvement in the civil rights movement began when she became director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund office in Jackson, Mississippi, in the mid-1960s. In 1968, Ms. Edelman served as counsel for the Poor People’s March that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., began organizing before his death.

4.1

Exercise: What do I want in my world in 20 years?

(Approx. 20 min.)

Circle Activity

Ask everyone to relax, sit in a comfortable position, close their eyes, and breathe deeply and comfortably.

In this relaxed position, ask participants to think about what they want to see in their world in 20 years. Ask participants to stay in this position and reflect for a few minutes. Inform participants that they will be sharing their thoughts with the group.

After a couple of minutes, ask participants to open their eyes. Begin the process yourself by saying, “In 20 years I would like...” Then list between one and five positive changes for society, your community, and/or your family that you would like to see.

The person next to you should then continue by saying, “And I would like to see...” and then list between one and five positive changes important to her for society, her community, and/or her family. Continue with the next woman in the circle and the one after that until everyone has spoken.



Questions for Group Discussion

- How did that feel? Are you ready to get involved or does it feel overwhelming?
- Which changes seem doable? Which seem impossible?
- Which issues do you want to address the most? Which issues do you want to address first?

4.2

Exercise: Framing Our Issue (I)

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask the participants to brainstorm the political issues and goals that most concern them. Write down on the chalkboard what participants say. For this exercise, it would be very helpful to assign two note-takers, one to take notes on the board and the other to record the group’s discussion on paper for later use in other workshop sessions.

Divide the group into teams of three or four. Ask each team to draft one sentence (it must be just one, single sentence) that expresses a political goal, shared by the team members, that they all wish to address throughout the course of the workshop. This may take some time. Check in with the teams in 20 minutes, but teams may need longer.

Examples:

Our aim is to support, through our writing, coalition-building, and campaign participation, female candidates at all levels of office whose political agenda advances the rights of women.

We want the newly proposed legislation aimed at improving the property rights of widows to pass in Parliament.

Reconvene the group and ask a volunteer from each team to read aloud their political goal. Record these goals on the chalkboard and ask a volunteer to record them on a separate sheet of paper for future use.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Why was each particular goal chosen?
- Are many of the goals what you would consider “woman’s issues?”
- Do the goals help all of society? Who benefits? Who doesn’t?

4.3

Exercise: Articulating Our Position

(Approx. 45 min.)

Distribute to participants sheets of paper with the following information on two political candidates.

Imagine that A.A. and B.B. are two candidates running for a seat on the community council in your district:

Candidate Ara Azadeh (A.A.) is a well-liked elementary school principal who takes strong stands in the community in support of children’s welfare. She is 62 years old, a widow, and has no children of her own. This is the second time she has run for a community council seat. The first time, eight years ago, she lost by a wide margin after it was discovered that her then-alive husband had once been convicted and fined for threatening local shop owners who did not purchase insurance from his company. Most people felt pretty certain that A.A. knew nothing about her husband’s corruption. Nevertheless, the revelations heavily damaged her election prospects.

Candidate Bitā Bahar (B.B.) is not well known in the community, having only lived here for the past four years. She is 48, the wife of a wealthy retired gem merchant, who moved to the area with its low humidity and warm winters for health reasons. Living with her and her husband are her son, daughter-in-law, and three-month-old grandson. Before her family’s move, she was very involved in charitable works in the nearby city, fundraising and donating her own funds to orphanages, children’s hospitals, and schools.

The single most important issue for everyone in the community right now is the recent report that babies and old people are getting sick from the local water supply, which may be contaminated with chemicals from a leather tannery located about 15 kilometers upstream.

Divide the group into two teams. One team will role-play that they are supporters of A.A., the other team will role-play that they are supporters of B.B. Have the A.A.s sit on one side of the room and the B.B.s sit on the other.

Each team should meet for ten to 15 minutes to discuss their candidate and to draft talking points for winning over supporters for their candidate.

Next, in front of the whole group, have each member of the A.A. team take a turn role-playing that they are door-to-door campaigning. B.B. team members

role-play household residents who answer the door. One at a time, an A.A. team member pretends to knock on a door and a B.B. team member “opens it.” The A.A. team member explains that she is supporting A.A. for the community council. She has only two minutes to:

- Introduce herself. She might want to mention how long she has lived in the community, a little about her family or her business, or whatever information she thinks might be important.
- Explain what she is doing.
- Give reasons to support her candidate—or not to support her candidate’s opponent.
- Describe what she wants the person at the door to do, such as vote, join the campaign, attend a rally, or read more literature on the candidate.

Repeat the campaign exercise, alternating between A.A. campaigners and B.B. campaigners, until everyone has had a turn to campaign for their candidate. A volunteer should time each campaigner’s speech to keep it under two minutes. However, this exercise is meant to be fun as well as useful, so supportive comments and laughter are permitted!



Questions for Group Discussion

- Did you feel it made a difference that you were campaigning for a woman? Why or why not?
- Were gender arguments (why as a woman she would make a good community council member) used to support the candidate? Why or why not?
- Was this exercise hard or easy? Why?
- From observing everyone’s campaign pitch, which approaches worked best? What did not work as well?

4.4

Exercise: Framing Our Issue (II)

(Approx. 45 min.)

Identifying a Session 4 Goal

The purpose of this exercise is to identify an issue, or more than one issue if necessary, that the group members would like to support by taking political action. The issue they select will be discussed in later sessions as participants explore their next steps. It will be referred to in later sessions as the “**Session 4 Goal.**”

Divide the group into pairs. Ask each pair to review the political goals written on the board during the earlier exercise, Framing Our Issue (I).

Each participant has three to four minutes to persuade her partner why she should choose a particular political issue, goal, or objective from the board to work on in future sessions.

Next, have the partners in each pair work towards agreeing on just one of the goals. If the partners began by supporting the same issue, then they should develop together an argument in support of their issue that they can present to the rest of the group.

Ask the group to reconvene, and have each pair report back on which issue they chose.

Have the group as a whole discuss the chosen issues. Instruct the group to work towards a consensus on one political issue that they will work on throughout the workshop sessions. If agreeing to one issue is too difficult for the group, then narrow the choices down to just two or three. This agreed-upon issue (or issues) will be used in exercises later in the workshop.

SESSION 5:

Mapping the Political Scene

(Approx. 4 hours in total)

Session Objectives

- To map the challenges and opportunities for political action
- To explore which spheres of political power we should seek to influence—local, national, or international
- To consider what steps need to be taken to create a political platform

5.1

Exercise: Seeking Solidarity

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask a volunteer or two from the group to read aloud the following news article on the Arab women’s nationality campaign.

Nationality Is A Right For Me And My Family Campaign

“My husband is Palestinian. He cannot live with me in Bahrain. We are separated most of the time. I love my husband but we have made the decision not to have children because we do not want to bring into this world a child who will be discriminated against and who will not have equal rights.”

– *Fatima, 25, Bahraini woman married to a Palestinian national*

“My sister died before being able to pass on her nationality to her family. I am demonstrating here today in her memory.”

– *Khadija, 58, Moroccan, speaking of her sister Saida who was married to a non-Moroccan national*

“We will take action. The parliamentary elections will be held in June. We are calling for a boycott of all candidates who are not committed to reforming the nationality law.”

– Suraya, 32, Lebanese woman married to an Egyptian national

In most countries in the Arab world, only fathers are allowed to transmit their nationality to their spouses and children. Nationality laws are among the most discriminatory in this region as they blatantly state that men can transmit their nationality while women cannot. Nationality laws in the Arab region are not only violating the principle of equality among citizens upheld by most constitutions, but are also ensuring that women remain second-class citizens enjoying far fewer rights and privileges than men.

In 2002, women activists from six Arab countries—Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Morocco, and Syria—joined forces to challenge such discrimination. Together they created a regional campaign calling for full and equal rights for women and men, and for the reform of nationality laws in all Arab countries. This reform, they said, was an absolute necessity as discrimination in nationality laws violates women’s basic right to provide their families with the same education, health care, and economic and political representation as men.

Campaign activists began by listening to women married to non-nationals, collecting their stories and transforming them into campaign messages. The stories were used to draw attention to petitions and attract media interest. Public events, testimonials, sit-ins, and direct discussions with parliamentarians, decision-makers, and the media sent clear messages about the impact of this injustice and the need for reform.

Solidarity among women in Arab countries involved in the campaign was and remains a critical success factor. In 2004, Egypt became the first Arab country to reform its nationality laws. “We are continually checking to make sure the law is being applied, and we have succeeded in taking to court and winning the right for women to give their nationality to their children if married to a Palestinian man,” says campaign activist Mirvat Abu Teej, a member of the Women’s Forum for Development in Egypt. Algeria followed suit in 2005, and more recently Morocco in 2008.

In 2006, the Lebanon-based regional coordinator of the nationality campaign, Collective for Research and Training for Development–Action (CRTD.A), and Women’s Learning Partnership launched the campaign on an international level. Since then, a Facebook presence was created⁹ that now has more than 24,000 active members taking part in collective action to demand reform of nationality laws in the Arab region.

9 http://apps.facebook.com/causes/view_cause/17486

To date, the Nationality Is A Right For Me And My Family campaign continues to lobby for women’s full and active citizenship rights using all available and innovative methods and tools such as ICTs, as well as building leadership skills of women and men affected by unequal and discriminatory laws. Though many Arab countries have yet to reform their laws, the nationality campaign is increasing the pressure on them by exposing their discriminatory practices and engaging tens of thousands of people in the debate across the region.



Questions for Group Discussion

Pose the following questions to the workshop participants, and ask a volunteer to record the answers on the board.

- Which women’s rights issues should be addressed nationally, or even internationally?
- What international mechanisms, commissions, or courts do you know of that will take up a local issue at the international level?
- How important to your legislators or other government leaders is what other nearby countries are doing? Are your government leaders influenced by other governments? Why or why not?

Ask the group to brainstorm for which countries they feel a natural kinship with the women who live there, and with the human rights challenges these women face. Record the list on the board. Have participants explain why they chose those countries.

Consider what might be the advantages of undertaking advocacy, networking, campaigning, and alliance-building internationally. What are some of the disadvantages? Make two columns on the board and ask participants to brainstorm the pros and the cons of campaigning on issues with women from other countries.

Pros	Cons

5.2

Exercise: Political Power in Our Community

(Approx. 60 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following quote from Rabéa Naciri¹⁰, leading women’s rights advocate in Morocco.



“The lesson that I have drawn from my years of political organizing is that for a person or a group of people to bring about change, they must first have a clear vision. Secondly, they must develop their long-term and short-term action plans. And thirdly, they must build coalitions and attract media coverage to their cause. With these steps in place, it is possible to succeed in a political campaign.”

Break the group into three teams (A, B, and C) and ask each team to make a list:

Ask team “A” to brainstorm the most powerful *local* people and governing bodies. Define “local” for the team to clarify the parameters of their inquiry.

Ask team “B” to brainstorm the most powerful people and governing bodies *regionally*. Define “regional” for the team to clarify the parameters of their inquiry.

Ask team “C” to brainstorm the most powerful people and governing bodies *nationally*. Define “national” for the team so as to clarify the parameters of their inquiry.

Most powerful people and governing bodies locally	Most powerful people and governing bodies regionally	Most powerful people and governing bodies nationally
---	--	--

After ten minutes, reconvene the group and have each group record their list on the board, filling in three columns:

Ask the group to consider their Session 4 Goal , and then to identify those persons and entities in the three columns that could help or hinder their efforts. Circle the “helpful” entities in one color, and the “hindering” entities in another.

10 Rabéa Naciri is a founding member of Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc, a WLP partner. She has served as the coordinator of the Collectif 95 Maghreb Egalité, a network of women’s associations and women researchers from Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia committed to women’s rights, as well as the “Equality without Reservation” campaign for full implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Naciri has written several articles and other publications on Arab women and poverty, women and Islam, capacity-building for women, and strategy development for the promotion of women’s rights. She is a Professor in the Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines at the University of Rabat in Morocco.

Together, the group should consider which persons or entities might already support the Session 4 Goal, and which persons or entities might be persuaded to support it. Record the results of this discussion on the board.



Questions for Group Discussion

- In which political context do we want to press for our Session 4 Goal/s? Is it local, national, and/or international?
- Whom do we need to influence?
- What governing body/bodies do we need to join, appease, and/or persuade?
- Are there governing bodies/political frameworks we should work to influence? If so, what are they?

5.3

Exercise: Why should someone vote for me?

(Approx. 60 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the story below.



Maria had to remind herself to breathe, she was so excited. Sitting on the stage with the other candidates, all old men in wrinkled suits, was a woman named Carla Hernandez. Months ago, Carla had come to Maria's church and met with many of the women parishioners to tell them about herself and to ask them for their vote. Maria liked Carla instantly. Carla was warm, articulate, and seemed to exude honesty. Even though Maria and the others donated money to Carla Hernandez's campaign, and had put up signs throughout the city to support her, Maria could hardly believe that Carla was up there, about to take the podium in a real political debate with the men who were also running for mayor.

The men went first. They each said the same things they always said, accusing each other of corruption, promising prosperity, and professing how much they loved their beautiful city. Finally it was Carla's turn:

"I am a new kind of candidate. I can really change the things that need to be changed in this city," she began. The audience, which had been drifting away in boredom, was suddenly very attentive. Carla went on to describe her experience and compare herself to the other candidates. She talked a great deal about the terrible poverty in the city, and how the current mayor was failing at his job. The audience was again starting to lose interest. Maria kept hoping that Carla would talk about what she planned to do, and why people should vote for her. Carla

finished her speech telling the audience why she loved the city so much. Maria looked around and could see that most of the audience had already left.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Could the audience understand what Carla Hernandez's plans were for their city?
- What would have been the advantage of her stating clearly her aims and what she planned to do if elected? What would have been the risk?
- What is a political platform? Did Carla present one?



Circle Activity

Imagine that you are running for political office. As the facilitator, pick the political office that makes the most sense for your group: municipal council, local congress, Parliament, trade union council, president, or other, and tell the participants that they are, collectively, a single candidate for this office.

Beginning with yourself, finish this sentence: "If I were elected, I would" and name one goal or activity. Continue around the circle so that everyone has a chance to build the political platform of the candidate.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Did you like the candidate's platform? Why or why not?
- If you were really running for office, how would you shape your platform?
- Would you already know what your political platform would be? Or would you want to talk to others (your family, your advisors, your core constituents) to get their perspective? Why or why not?

Give everyone paper and pencil. Ask participants to write down what political office they might consider seeking. If some participants feel that they would never want to be a politician, just ask them to choose a political office for the purpose of the exercise.

Next ask participants to write down four principles and/or aims of their candidacy. After five or ten minutes, ask for volunteers to read their political platforms. Keep going until everyone who wants to share her platform has had a chance to speak.

5.4

Exercise: Quotas. What are they? Why use them? Why not?¹¹

(Approx. 45 min)

Ask volunteers to read this information on quotas and the news article that follows:

Women face unique challenges to their political participation. Among these are cultural expectations and the burdens of caring for their families, less access to high paying jobs and powerful social networks, lower education, and higher rates of poverty. To leapfrog the incremental advancements of women in the social and economic arenas, some governments have adopted quota systems as a strategy for inserting a higher percentage of women into seats of political power.

What is a Quota?

A quota is a numerical goal that represents a target minimum or maximum. In politics, gender quotas set a minimum threshold for female representation. Quotas are a solution to the historical problem of under-representation of women in politics related to a variety of traditional, socio-cultural, religious, and other reasons.



25 December 2009, WLP

Women Hold Up Half the Sky, But Not Parliament

“Women hold up half the sky,” goes the Chinese proverb, but women aren’t even half way to achieving equality with men in national legislative bodies. In 2009, 18.0% of the legislators in Parliaments were women, up from 17.7% at the end of 2006 and 15.7% in December 2004. The progress is incremental. Inter-Parliamentary Union Secretary-General Anders Johnsson noted that at this rate, “We will not achieve parity in Parliament before 2050.”

According to IPU¹², eight countries have no women legislators at all, including Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, and the Pacific island nations of Micronesia, Nauru,

¹¹ Please see Appendix H: Quotas as a Gender Equity Measure for additional information.

¹² www.ipu.org

Palau, Solomon Islands, and Tuvalu. In Lebanon, Iran, Egypt, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Yemen women represent 3% or less of Parliament.

Half the countries above 30% are from the developing world including Burundi, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda. Rwanda is at the top of the list with 56.3% women members followed by Sweden at 46.4%, South Africa at 44.5%, and Cuba at 43.2%.

Although quotas remain controversial, many political scientists are quick to note that in most countries where more than 30% of parliamentarians are women, there is some form of quota in place. Notable exceptions are Finland, Denmark, and Cuba.

As the debate about the use of quotas to increase the political participation of women gains momentum, the impact is being felt at all levels of government, from local councils to national Parliaments. The visible presence of women in political office sends a message to young people that women can and should contribute to the legislative process.

Still, the politically-charged question remains: what does it imply to be elected to Parliament as a ‘quota woman’?



Questions for Group Discussion

Take a few minutes for a general discussion on quotas using the following questions to guide the discussions:

- What is the percentage of women in the house of Parliament and in the cabinet in your country?
- Have there been any changes during the past decade? Are more women running for elections?
- Does your country have a quota system? Since when? What result did it have on women’s political participation?
- Have you ever voted for women in your country? Why or why not?

5.4 (Continued)

Quota Exercise

Ask volunteers to read the following story from Lebanon:



In February 2010, the Lebanese Cabinet discussed and approved a women’s quota of 20% to be applicable during the country’s forthcoming local municipal elections planned for June 2010. Women’s representation in local municipal councils in Lebanon is very recent (since the 2004 local elections) and has never

exceeded 1%. Lebanon did not fare better in parliamentary elections where women's representation does not exceed 3%. For the past three decades, women's organizations have been lobbying for a women quota in parliamentary and local elections and for the application of the Beijing Platform for Action which recommended provision of a 30% quota.

As most women's organizations celebrated the Lebanese government's baby steps in putting in place a women's quota, they were nevertheless surprised by an article published in the local press and written by one of their own.

Farida Hajjar, a well-known veteran of the women's movement and a lifetime president of an association which supports poor women in remote areas, launched a vociferous attack on the new law. According to her, "Women in rural areas as well as in poor urban areas are ill-prepared to enter the world of politics. The quota system will force them into politics and will result in having incompetent women in politics simply because they are women." According to Hajjar, "A quota system is artificial and non-democratic. Women will enter politics when they are ready. There is no need for such measures."

Shortly after this article was published, several parliamentarians known for their position against the women's quota declared to the local press that, "They would certainly be reluctant to vote for the law especially since there is no consensus on the quota system amongst women themselves!"



Team Activity

After reading the story, break the group into two or three teams. Ask the teams to brainstorm the following questions:

- What do you think about the arguments put forward by Farida against the women's quota?
- Do you think that the lack of consensus on the quota among women's organizations will affect women's political participation?
What do you think will happen in the case of Lebanon?
- What are your views and position vis-à-vis the women's quota?
- Do you think it would help if a women's quota is proposed as a temporary measure until approximate parity is reached?

5.5

Exercise: When there is no support....

(Approx. 45 min)

Ask volunteers to read the following story from Turkey:



Gulser Esim was born in 1939. She has established the Tomurcuk Cooperative in Istanbul to serve disabled children and their families.

Gulser participated in a conference on women and politics in the mid-eighties. The conference was organized on the occasion of International Women's Day by a local political party to which she belonged and as a precursor to upcoming local elections.

Women party members were weary of the men. According to them, their male colleagues were simply "piggy-backing on their votes." Back then, Gulser felt quite happy about women awakening to the fact that their battles will not be fought by men in the party.

Strengthened and motivated by this realization, she decided to run for the local elections. She felt greatly concerned for and totally committed to her community. She was particularly aware of the need to fight for women's rights, equality, and dignity and she was ready for that fight.

Once Gulser's candidacy was made public, the women who were complaining about their fellow male party members came to see her. One of them, Ayse, tried hard to convince her to withdraw. Ayse said that if Gulser would withdraw, she would convince the party to give her husband a seat on the party's executive bureau. In any case, Ayse added, nobody would really vote for Gulser.

These arguments convinced Gulser that she should run for these elections regardless of her chances to win. She recalls that the pre-elections campaigning was one of the most exciting periods of her life. There were eleven candidates of whom two were women. Gulser lost the elections with a 15% margin but she was not deterred.

She remained convinced that more and more women should engage in politics. As an active member of the Tomurcuk Cooperative, she remains actively engaged in mobilizing women for political participation.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Do you think that Gulser should have gone ahead with her candidacy even though she knew that she would not have political support from her party?
- What was the point she was trying to make?
- In your opinion, why would Ayse and other women from the party try to deter Gulser from running?
- In your experience, do women vote for women candidate? Why or why not?
- What is the position of political parties in your country regarding women's participation in elections?
- Gulser seems to have been empowered and motivated by this experience. Even though she has not won, people voted for her. What do you think she has learned?

SESSION 6:

Core Constituency Building

(Approx. 4 hours in total)

Session Objectives

- To identify strategies for building a core constituent base
- To explore the risks and advantages of deviating from the viewpoint of one’s core constituency
- Raising funds from base supporters

6.1

Exercise: One Million Constituents

(Approx. 20 min.)

Choose a volunteer or two from the group to read aloud the following descriptions of the *One Million Signatures Campaign* in Iran.¹³



The One Million Signatures Campaign officially launched on August 27, 2006. Its participants are collecting one million signatures in support of a petition to the Iranian Parliament asking for the reform of current laws that discriminate against women. One of the main aims of the Campaign is to educate citizens and particularly women about the negative impact of these discriminatory laws on the lives of women and society as a whole. Those who agree with the Campaign can support it by signing the petition. Those who are interested in becoming more engaged can join local groups working on the Campaign.

The Campaign uses a face-to-face education approach to promote awareness of the laws. Campaign activists, after going through a training course on Iranian laws

¹³ Excerpted from <http://www.sign4change.info/english/> and *Iranian Women’s One Million Signatures Campaign for Equality: The Inside Story*, by Noushin Ahmadi Khorasani, 2009.

and the campaign's face-to-face approach, can begin collecting signatures from fellow citizens. To date, nearly 1,000 individuals have been trained, and there are countless others who have downloaded the petition from the Women's Learning Partnership site www.learningpartnership.org, or have received it from friends and who are engaged in signature collection.

The founders of the One Million Signatures Campaign learned from thirty years of revolutionary tumult preceded by more than a decade of ideological in-fighting to set aside ideological differences and emphasize specific, concrete demands to attract the support of women from a variety of backgrounds and belief systems. Agreement need not be total. It can be centered on incremental changes and reforms that are thoroughly plausible.

This issue-based approach to feminism not only won the campaign legions of supporters, but also helped it to form a coalition of women's groups that were able to push back parliamentary passage of a discriminatory Family Law in 2008.

During the presidential election campaign in 2009, women activists decided to take advantage of the election campaign process, which provided opportunities to participate in demonstrations, meetings, and press coverage, and to connect with other networks and expand their own. Subsequently, six organizations and 700 individual activists prepared a list of women's demands for presentation to the presidential candidates. This effort mobilized many women who had boycotted the previous election because they were unhappy with the regime's pre-selection of candidates and the consequent lack of choice.

The mass mobilization of women, begun during the activists' campaign for reform of discriminatory laws, using door- to-door awareness-raising, street theatre, email, text messaging, and Web sites, paid off in political clout. Thanks to activists' demands, the two front-runners among the pre-approved candidates in the presidential campaign, Mir Hussein Moussavi and Mehdi Karroubi, shifted their public positions toward gender equality. The campaigns of both men also then vowed to support ratification of the UN's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)—a document that Iran's Guardian Council has rejected as "anti-Islamic."



Questions for Group Discussion

- What are some recent information campaigns that have taken place in your community? Was there a campaign to promote health? Resolve environmental problems? Help another community struggle with a disaster? Where was the information posted? Where did you learn about the issues?
- Can you recall a legislative campaign (an effort to change, block, or reform a law) where you felt you really understood the issues and had a strong sense that the legislation would make a difference in your own life? How did you learn about the law and its potential changes?

- Have you ever participated in mobilizing a constituency? What was the message that you were trying to deliver? How did you go about educating people?
- What do you think of the strategy the campaign adopted? What are its positive aspects? Negative aspects? Can it be improved? Given the cultural and political milieu where you live, is the approach that the campaign adopted optimal?

6.2

Exercise: Who Cares? (I)

(Approx. 30 min.)

Share with the group the following information about the Equality without Reservation Campaign:

The Equality without Reservation Campaign

The Equality without Reservation Campaign is a regional campaign in the Middle East and North Africa. Its aim is to lobby states in the region to lift their reservations on the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, ratify the Convention's Optional Protocol, and commit to the full and immediate implementation of the Convention.



Circle Activity

Write on individual cards:

- Mother of three boys who is not employed
- Male banking executive
- Male who lives near a munitions plant
- Father of three boys whose wife is a stay-at-home mother
- Male zookeeper
- Female flight attendant
- Teenage girl applying to colleges
- Male social worker
- Male doctor
- Female teacher
- Widowed mother of two girls
- Grandmother whose husband is ill
- Male sports newscaster
- Male librarian
- Female owner of a small grocery store
- Female women's rights lawyer
- Female parliamentarian

- Female street-cleaner
- Male street-cleaner
- Female who owns her own hair salon
- Female who is not married, has no children, and attends a house of worship regularly
- Unemployed father whose four children sell food at a stall with his wife
- Male religious leader
- Male farmer
- Female who runs a domestic violence shelter

Distribute a card to each participant. Then, starting with yourself, show your card to the participant sitting to your right. She must explain to you why you (as the person described on your card) should support the Equality without Reservation Campaign.

When she is finished, she should turn to her neighbor sitting to her right and show that person her card. The new person must convince her neighbor to support the campaign. Repeat this exercise around the circle all the way back to the facilitator, so that everyone has a chance to campaign, shaping their arguments to match the interests and perspective of the type of person on her neighbor's card.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Which people were the most difficult to engage? Who was the hardest to convince to support the issue? Why?
- Which people were the easiest to engage with the issue? Why?
- Were there any people that you had trouble engaging in the issue, but you felt should share your concern? If yes, what else could have been said that might have persuaded them?

6.3

Exercise: Who cares? (II)

(Approx. 20 min.)

Make three columns on the board with the headings shown below. Ask the group to brainstorm what types of people might make up the core constituency for supporting the Equality without Reservation Campaign. Consider gender, age, type of employment, class, education level, religion, interest, family status, etc.

Types of people whom the issue directly effects and would naturally share our perspective	Types of people whom the issue may not directly effect, but are nonetheless likely to be sympathizers if they were well informed	Types of people who will totally disagree with our concern and might even work to counter our efforts

6.4

Exercise: The Frequent Flyer

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following story.



Nadia Al-Alawi was very active in a charitable women’s organization, the Women’s Vocational Centre (WVC), which recruited women professionals to provide basic secretarial and bookkeeping training to widows, rural women, and poor women. Ms. Al-Alawi was proud of WVC’s success in training poor women and finding them well-paid work. She also felt that WVC’s unique model of women supporting women could be replicated in other industries and for other causes.

High among Ms. Al-Alawi's goals was using WVC's network to support women political candidates in parliamentary elections. Therefore, she was shocked and angered to discover that WVC's registered status with the government would be revoked if any of its members participated in political campaigning. More galling still, only women's organizations were subject to the ban.

Ms. Al-Alawi had never noticed the ban on political activities in the organization's registration documents, and she doubted others involved in women's charitable organizations had either. In response, Ms. Al-Alawi designed a small flyer, 4" x 6", on which she printed in bold letters the language from the offensive law. Anonymously, she began posting the flyer inside women's restroom stalls in public buildings and the headquarters of large women's organizations.

At first the flyers were immediately removed. But after a story appeared in a major newspaper about them, other people began making copies of the flyers and posting them as well. Soon, in all major cities, and in some rural communities, one could not go into a women's restroom without seeing the flyers. They began appearing in public spaces frequented by men as well as women—on telephone poles, on community notice boards, and even on the walls of the House of Parliament itself. Embarrassed by the blatantly discriminatory legislation, Parliament quietly passed a repeal of the ban in the late hours of the night. Although members of Parliament did little to advertise the law's repeal, within days the media caught wind of the change, and covered the story extensively.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Are there laws banning political activities by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in your country? What are the pros and cons of NGOs getting involved in political activities? Are there limitations (legal or otherwise) to what women's organizations can do in your country?
- Do you think that Nadia Al-Alawi's secret action was a clever, thought-provoking strategy, or merely an ill-thought act that ultimately undermined the larger goal of demonstrating women's ability to conduct transparent, professional political campaigns?
- What were the advantages of Ms. Al-Alawi posting small flyers to educate people about the legislation? What were the potential problems? Consider the flyers' impact, expense, ability to be replicated, newsworthiness, chances of success, etc.
- What do you think motivated others to make and distribute duplicate flyers?
- How significant was the media in the flyers' success? Could the flyers still have influenced public opinion and swayed Parliament without the press coverage they received?

6.5

Exercise: Creating Slogans and Catchphrases

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following paragraphs on grassroots strategies to get the word out.



There are dozens of places to advertise your campaign, and each one is an opportunity to educate more people about why they should take action. Radio and television spots can reach a large audience, but they can be prohibitively expensive. If you are creative about where you post flyers, bumper stickers, signs, and flags, your message will get out. Remember that flyers can be mailed, faxed, emailed, and posted or linked on websites, as well as posted on walls and windows in public spaces. If you can find willing local merchants, shop windows are a great place to post your signs.

To make your flyers and other campaign materials compelling, it is helpful to have a slogan or catch-phrase that you can reuse over and over again. For example, in the previous exercise, The Frequent Flyer, Nadia Al-Alawi takes a quote from an unfair regulation and prints it on hundreds of flyers posted around the city and surrounding environs. Her strategy brings attention to her cause, while further exposing the injustice of the law.

It is important that your slogan be easy to understand and easily recognizable. It should be short, memorable, consistent with your talking points, and supported by your data. For instance, a group that supports increasing the number of women in the judiciary might choose a set of scales as their symbol, signifying equality and justice. Their slogan might be “Women Judges Now! It’s Only Fair.”¹⁴

Break the group into teams of three or four. Ask each team to come up with at least one slogan for each of the following campaigns:

- **SUPPORTERS** of Faten Khatija are hoping that she will be elected to Parliament. She would be the ninth female parliamentarian—out of 114 members. Dr. Khatija was a prominent neurologist before she retired from medicine. She has spent the last decade of her life working on women’s rights and equality in the legal system.
- **STUDENTS** want to bring attention to the problem of young women being harassed and assaulted on campus by men who do not believe they should be

¹⁴ For further discussion about getting the word out, please see Appendix D: Mobilizing: Getting the Word Out Tip Sheet.

allowed to attend university. The students ultimately want the administration to impose stricter punishment on the young men who are carrying out the acts of intimidation.

- **PEDIATRICIANS** want to educate mothers about the health benefits (to babies and mothers) of breast-feeding over formula.
- **WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS** want to lobby the Parliament to endorse a petition to instate a 20% quota for women in the new electoral law.

When the teams have developed a number of slogans, reconvene the group. Ask team members to share their team’s slogans.



Questions for Group Discussion

- What are some of the ways that slogans can be used? Where have you seen political slogans?
- If you created campaign flyers for the supporters, students, and pediatricians (above), where are some of the places you would want to post them? How else could you distribute the flyers?
- How could you use information technology to spread the word about your political campaign? Faxes? Emails? Web sites? Facebook? Other ideas?

6.6

Exercise: Broadening Our Appeal or Selling Out?

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following narrative from a woman grappling with the decision of how to broaden the appeal of her group’s work to end domestic violence:



Last night I met with the Working Group to Eradicate Domestic Violence. I attend most of their monthly meetings, but not all. I really believe that we can get legislation passed to better protect victims of domestic violence and to get them justice in the courts.

At last night’s meeting, however, one person kept pressing that we should try to attract more supporters to our cause by expanding our political platform. Her idea was that we should also be fighting to raise the tax on alcohol. She made a strong case that there is a connection between alcohol consumption and domestic abuse, particularly abuse aimed at children. Therefore, we should join forces with the anti-alcohol groups to get them to support our legislative initiatives, while we in turn can support theirs.

Another person at the meeting pointed out that the folks working to get alcohol banned are often the same folks objecting to women’s equality. Many of them defend a husband’s or father’s right to “discipline” his family using corporal punishment. We were asked to vote on whether to extend our platform to include alcohol regulation initiatives. I didn’t know which way to vote, so I abstained.



Questions for Group Discussion

- If you were the writer above, what would you want to know before you could vote to expand the Working Group’s platform to include addressing alcohol regulation? How would you make the decision?
- When is it ethical to join with people or groups who are normally your opposition to get an important piece of legislation passed?
- Can you think of examples where opposing political forces joined together on some issues? What are they?
- Are there times when by supporting a certain candidate or piece of legislation or other issue, we are simply “selling out” in politics? If yes, what are examples?
- In weighing the decision to “bend the rules,” step beyond one’s traditional viewpoint, or compromise on an issue, what should an individual consider? How do you make such a decision? What factors should you weigh?

6.7

Exercise: Choosing Our Battles

(Approx. 20 min.)

Choose a volunteer to read the following description of a strategy used to avoid backsliding on women’s rights in the new constitution of Brazil, by Jacqueline Pitanguy,¹⁵ former president of the National Council for Women’s Rights:



“The National Council for Women’s Rights (NCWR) was created in 1985, as part of a general movement in Brazil towards democracy. In 1986, there were congressional elections and the newly elected members had as their main task to prepare a new constitution for the country.

“NCWR’s first major campaign and slogan was, ‘A constitution, to be worthy, has to have women’s rights!’ We put this slogan on billboards and posters in all of the capitals of the different states, led marches, and held a national meeting to bring together representatives from each state and from various sectors of the women’s movement. Out of the meeting came an important declaration, ‘Letter of Brazilian Women to the Constitutional Congress,’ which demanded women’s rights, family rights, labor rights and social benefits, maternal rights, protection from violence against women, and protections for rural women and domestic workers. We applied many strategies to inform the public and to put pressure on congress to support women’s rights. We used billboards, television, conferences, marches, and one-on-one lobbying of congressional members.

“When it came to protecting reproductive rights, we faced formidable challenges. The conservative bloc in Congress was very powerful, and the Catholic Church was lobbying political leaders for criminalization of abortion under all circumstances—including rape and risk to a woman’s life—and speaking out in Sunday masses across the country. At the same time, women’s groups were collecting signatures (275,000 were needed) to put an initiative on the ballot to decriminalize abortion.

¹⁵ Jacqueline Pitanguy, Chair of the Women’s Learning Partnership Board of Directors, is a sociologist and political scientist in Brazil. She is Founder and Director of Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informação e Ação (Cepia), a WLP partner and non-governmental organization based in Rio de Janeiro. She held a cabinet position as President of the National Council for Women’s Rights (1986-1989), during which she designed and implemented public policies to improve women’s condition in Brazil. She is also on the editorial board of several health journals and has published numerous articles and co-authored four books. She has been awarded the Medal of Rio Branco, the highest decoration of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

“NCWR felt that the signature movement would be no match against the conservative forces. We decided that the safest route to protect women’s reproductive rights was to keep abortion out of the constitution altogether by arguing that abortion was not a constitutional matter. With intensive lobbying, and the support of the women’s movement behind them, NCWR’s campaign was successful.

“During the campaign, I experienced feelings of fear in the face of the strong opposition to NCWR. But the fact that my commitment was to the women’s movement—where I came from and where I was going—and that I was not there trying to further my career, gave me the strength and courage to struggle. Looking back at the four years that I was president of NCWR, it was a period of exceptional political activity, democratization, and the creation of a new constitution. I experienced periods of profound joy and a sense of accomplishment.”



Questions for Group Discussion

- What do you think of NCWR’s strategy? What were its strengths?
- How did NCWR get the message out? How did it put pressure on Congress?
- How did the signatures movement help NCWR’s campaign?
- How did NCWR’s decision to take the middle road, between the signatures movement and the conservative bloc, help it to achieve its aims?

6.8

Exercise: Raising Hopes, Raising Funds

(Approx. 45 min.)

Choose a volunteer to read following description of a candidate planning her fundraising campaign.



Sara al Wazir was elated driving home from the state assembly house. Her party had just nominated her to run for state governor. She and her supporters had lobbied hard, and at 11:07 p.m. the party leadership unanimously voted to put her name on the ballot. She had assured the leaders that she could raise the funds to run a successful campaign.

Sara rose early the next morning, and began outlining her fundraising plan. It included going to her wealthy supporters and asking for funds outright, organizing auctions with donated items, running raffles, holding fundraising sales of baked

goods, car washes, craft items, and hosting gala dinners where guests would pay a fee. The trick was always collecting the best donated items for the sales, auctions, and raffles. She had a good friend who was terrific at convincing restaurants, movie houses, and various retail establishments to donate items or tickets. This time, she thought, she would also do a letter campaign, sending letters to all of her contacts to ask for funds to support her candidacy. Maybe some of the requests could go by email, which would cost practically nothing to send out. She jotted down the names of her supporters who would be the most likely to offer their support and could lead the fundraising projects. Then she began calling them one by one to ask for help.



Team Activity

Write on the board the following fundraising activities:

- Direct appeals for financial support
- Letter campaigns
- Gala dinners
- Auctions
- Raffles
- Sales (crafts, food, car washes)

Tell the group to imagine that they are going to raise funds for Sara's candidacy. Divide the workshop space into six work areas, one for each fundraising activity.

Ask participants to go to the area or activity that they want to participate in to support Sara's campaign. Each activity team, large or small, should develop a plan for raising funds through their activity. Teams should select a person to take notes on their plan and to report back to the group.

After about 15 minutes, reconvene the group, and ask each team representative to describe their activity/ies for raising funds for Sara.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Why is fundraising important?
- Have you ever donated funding to a candidate or political campaign?
If so, how were you solicited for funding?
- What sort of fundraising activities have you participated in before?
- Which types of fundraising do you find the easiest or most comfortable?
Why? Which types are the hardest?
- Do you need to have a well-planned budget before you ask people to contribute funds to your campaign? Why or why not?
- Did you hear any new ideas in today's workshop session that you had not thought about before?

SESSION 7:

Networking and Coalition-Building

(Approx. 4 hours in total)

Session Objectives

- To explore the strategic advantages of joining or creating a coalition to press for political change
- To weigh the costs and the benefits of collaborating with other groups on initiatives.
- To consider what policies and practices among its members would maximize the success of a coalition

7.1

Exercise: Making Friends in New Places

(Approx. 30 min.)

Choose a volunteer to read the article below about Rabéa Naciri’s efforts to pass a reformed Family Law, Moudawana, and the steps she and other pro-reform campaigners took to reach out to different constituencies.



For Rabéa Naciri¹⁶, Change Is Possible and Necessary

In October 2003, Rabéa Naciri was spending an evening with friends in Beirut when she received an urgent phone call from Rabat. “Where are you? Did you not listen to the news? That’s it! It’s done! The King has announced the reform of the Moudawana! We won! We won!” said her friend Mina who was calling from Rabat.

¹⁶ Refer to Rabéa’s Naciri’s bio on page 56.

Rabéa was flabbergasted. She had been campaigning for the reform of the Moudawana (Family Law) in Morocco since she co-founded the Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM) in 1985. A graduate of history and geography, Rabéa had served as a university professor, but her passion had always been in her struggle for women's rights in Morocco.

In the early 1990s, there had been minor reforms to the Family Law, which brought some hope that rights for women could improve, some day. "We all knew that despite all its flaws, this first reform was important," says Naciri. "It meant that things were changing and changeable. The Moudawana was no longer sacrosanct. We had succeeded in planting a wedge, but the hardest was yet to come."

Rabéa and her colleagues worked tirelessly—lobbying, campaigning, and mobilizing women for action. Sit-ins, picketing, and rallying marked the years to come. "We had to show how the current Moudawana was undermining and hurting women. We highlighted taboo issues such as violence against women, rape, child abuse, sexual harassment in the workplace. Women started giving testimonials and the media became more and more interested in supporting our struggle." The reform of the Moudawana became a common topic of discussion in the streets, in the newspapers, and in people's homes.

Towards the end of 1998, Rabéa Naciri hosted a meeting of activists from women's organizations. At this meeting, activists launched the creation of the National Network to Support the Plan of Action for the Integration of Women in Development in Morocco. "We learned to work together and put our differences aside. We had the responsibility to unite the movement if we wanted change to happen," she says.

The drafting of the Plan was requested by the Moroccan government. Coordinated by Rabéa, it involved contributions from various ministerial departments, universities, and women's organizations throughout Morocco.

According to Rabéa, "1998-99 was a crucial period. We worked together and organized a women's march in Rabat on March 12, 2000. Women took to the streets claiming equality. We called for change and for respecting and upholding women's rights. But our movement was so strong that the conservative religious forces became worried. They organized a large, parallel march in Casablanca with women calling for sustaining the present situation of inequality."

The setback provided even more impetus for collective action. Rabéa describes their response, "We realized the importance of working together and of involving all social strata. We called on theologians, academics, lawmakers, jurists, human rights organizations, and women's organizations in the region and internationally. We researched religious texts, cultural practices, other experiences in reforms, etc. We developed our own well-thought arguments for the reform of the Moudawana. We never missed an opportunity to speak out, but we were armed with facts, figures, and irrefutable arguments. But most of all, we sent a clear message that

our struggle would not be deterred and would not end before the Moudawana was reformed.”

When the Moudawana was reformed in October 2003, “It was an amazing moment,” recalls Naciri. “I had been waiting for this moment for more than 20 years... We won. We did it. But the fight was not over. We have to be there to help women understand and use this new law. Now we must be the watchdogs for its interpretation and implementation.”



Questions for Group Discussion

- How did coalition-building help secure the passage of the new Moudawana?
- What are some other examples of coalitions?
- What has been your experience participating in a coalition, both good and bad?
- What are some advantages of coalitions? What are some drawbacks?

7.2

Exercise: Working within coalitions

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following description of the International Women’s Democracy Network, launched by Women’s Learning Partnership in 2005.



Women’s Learning Partnership took a leading role in developing the International Women’s Democracy Network (IWDN) at the recommendation of participants attending the World Movement for Democracy’s Third Assembly in 2004. During the Assembly, participants explored the viability of creating a network to support women’s participation in democracy work. The discussion focused on identifying existing international or regional networks that could be brought together to support each other’s work, and to exchange ideas about shared objectives and resources. Participants shared their concern that there are a comparatively small number of women who are actively taking part in democracy movements.

In September 2005, WLP established the IWDN Secretariat¹⁷ to provide a coordination mechanism through which women could engage in dialogue and pursue the goals of the Network. Grassroots women’s organizations and activists

¹⁷ Please visit <http://www.learningpartnership.org/iwdn> for more information about IWDN.

could coordinate networking activities at the national and regional levels. Today, the International Women's Democracy Network provides a means for building solidarity among women and women's organizations engaged in democracy activism. By providing a virtual resource center and a forum for exchanging information and knowledge, the Network supports women's full engagement in the development of democratic practices and institutions at the community, national, and international levels.

The IWDN's goals are to:

- Exchange experiences, share best practices, and train others in democracy work;
- Develop and support advocacy campaigns initiated by members at the local, national, and international levels;
- Build solidarity among and support individuals and organizations engaged in democracy activism;
- Increase interaction and communication among and between various transnational networks, including those working on women's rights, human rights, peace, and environmental issues.
- Create an Online Resource Center that presents information and knowledge on the priority areas of the network.



Questions for Group Discussion

- What do you think about the International Women's Democracy Network?
- What are the advantages organizationally and strategically in creating such a network? What could be the disadvantages or "non-advantages" of this Network?
- What questions would you ask the Network coordinators before committing your own or your organization's time and resources to the Network?
- What would you say to your group or your organization to convince them to engage in such a network?

7.3

Exercise: Youth Movement

(Approx. 20 min.)

Choose one or two volunteers to read the following story.



Lena Rivas and her colleagues at the Women's Union had been in the meeting for over two hours discussing strategies for attracting more young women to join their efforts to promote women's rights. Looking around the room, the women had laughed grimly when they realized that the youngest among them was 41 years old. Most were in their 50s. Where had they gone wrong in passing on to the next generation the importance of continuing the struggle for women's rights, at home and abroad?

Young women seemed to think that their freedoms would simply increase automatically. They did not understand how hard women like the members of the Women's Union had worked in previous decades to secure basic liberties for women. But it was a waste of everyone's time to sit around complaining that young people did not appreciate all the sacrifices they had made. The Women's Union needed to focus on the future.

Lena argued that they had to work harder to make the work they were doing relevant to young women. "What are most young women concerned about today?" she asked. "Music? Clothes? Text messaging?" several of the women suggested ruefully.

"But what about going to college and finding decent men to marry?" asked one. "And what about whether they should have careers or be stay-at-home mothers?" suggested another. "Perhaps we should invite young women to a workshop to talk about their issues so that we can better understand them," said a third, "and use the meeting as an opportunity to talk about the Women's Union and our history."

"But we shouldn't call it a 'workshop.' I can promise you that my daughter would not come within a mile of a workshop led by old ladies."

"What if the Women's Union could get a celebrity to endorse our work, or even join our organization, someone who is popular with young women? Someone who is involved in charity or other causes and who cares about young women today?"

"That's fine, if we could find someone. But let's focus on the young women and what the Union might be able to do for women today."

"I don't think that what my nieces might want from a women's organization has much to do with what we've been fighting for over so many years."

“That’s not necessarily true. Sexual harassment, the glass ceiling in the workplace, property laws to better protect women’s equity... all these issues are as relevant today as they were 20 years ago, or more so.”

Lena raised her hand. “Ladies, we’ve been at this for hours. Can we agree that we need to attract more young women, and that to do this we need to understand what issues are most important to young women today? And that we need to figure out ways to make the Union more youthful and relevant—through involving celebrities, hosting music events, or other activities?”



Questions for Group Discussion

- Do you think that the members of the Women’s Union are being realistic about what they will need to do to attract more young women? Why or why not?
- If you were at the Women’s Union meeting, what suggestions would you have made?
- Assuming that the Women’s Union can attract a number of young women to their next endeavor, what measures could the Union implement to take greatest advantage of the young women’s presence?
- How might the Women’s Union use the media to draw attention to their work?
- How important is it to consult with young women about programs that would interest them?

7.4

Exercise: Our Own Coalition

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following description of working collaboratively¹⁸ with other organizations:

Partnerships, Collaborations, Networks, Alliances, and Coalitions

Partnerships, collaborations, networks, alliances, and coalitions are all relationships in which organizations or individuals share information and resources to reach their goals. You can increase your effectiveness when you capitalize on the resources and services of other organizations, and they in turn benefit from your organization’s contributions and expertise.

There are, however, some disadvantages to working collaboratively. The most common is slowness of group decision-making or even, in some cases, an inability to act. Every organization has its own decision-making process. Thus, the greater the number of organizations that are involved in a decision, the more steps will be needed to reach a course of action that all can agree upon, and the greater the likelihood that there will be conflicts. The second big drawback is the amount of time, energy, and resources that must be dedicated to communication between and among the coalition partners to keep each abreast of the coalition’s needs, as well as its next steps.

Next, write on the board the group’s **Session 4 Goal**. Make three columns and ask the group to brainstorm the following regarding their Session 4 Goal:

Organizations, agencies, political parties, media, and other groups that are already working on this goal:	Organizations, agencies, political parties, media, and other groups that are not working on this goal, but might be sympathetic:	Organizations, agencies, political parties, media, and other groups that would be opposed to supporting our work:

¹⁸ For additional information on building coalitions, please see Appendix E: Networking and Coalition-Building Tip Sheet.

Ask the group which of the organizations listed are their top five (or more, if appropriate) that they would want to work with. Circle the ones they list.

Break the group into pairs. Ask each pair to consider one or two of the organizations circled, so that every circled organization is discussed.

Ask each pair to take notes on paper about:

- What would they gain from working with this organization?
- What might be potential conflicts, difficulties, complications?

Reconvene the group and ask each pair to report back their findings.



Questions for Group Discussion

- How diverse is the list of organizations, agencies, political parties, media, and other groups that are already working on the Session 4 Goal? Are they all women's groups?
- Will a coalition be more effective in reaching the Session 4 Goal than if organizations pursue it independently?
- What are the likely obstacles that the organizations will face in working together? Can these obstacles be overcome?
- Is each partner organization interested in contributing to the coalition's work, not just garnering publicity or other individual rewards from the coalition's efforts?
- Is each partner organization accepted within the coalition by the other partners?
- How important will it be to form alliances with media representatives—newspapers, radio, television, and others? Why?
- How important will it be to include other social justice organizations?

Together reexamine the lists on the board. Ask the group whether there are any groups they now want to add or remove as potential collaborators. Why or why not?

SESSION 8:

Getting the Word Out: Personal Communication Techniques

(Approx. 3 hours in total)

Session Objectives:

- To study the differences in perception of female leaders versus male leaders
- To consider ways to communicate messages effectively through verbal and non-verbal actions
- To discuss our fears about “dirty politics” and how to respond to overt hostility and misogyny in the public/political arena

8.1

Exercise: Does good leadership have a gender?

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following excerpt from an interview with Chilean president, Michelle Bachelet, on BBC’s “Hard Talk” with Gavin Esler (April 7, 2008):



Esler: Are women in positions of leadership judged differently than men?

President Bachelet: I agree with that. For example, somebody just told me that the newspapers in Chile are making remarks about my visit [to England]. They are speaking about how I dress, the color of my [clothes] when I visited the Queen yesterday. Those things would never appear in a discussion about leadership when we are talking about men’s leadership. We discuss if [men] are intelligent...if they speak well, if the projects they are defending are correct, if you agree or disagree with them....

I remember with President [Ricardo] Lagos, when he was moved for example by human rights, or something that was very painful...and his eyes would fill with tears. Everybody said, “Oh, what a sensible man he is, he is very sensitive.” If that happened to me, they would [say] in the media, “She could not control her emotions. She’s hysterical.” It is always like that. If you make a tough decision as a man, they say [you are] a man of character. If a woman makes a tough decision, you read that an advisor convinced her...

It is a matter of time. It is a matter of cultural change [for] women who are capable, who have merits, who are sometimes invisible to get the opportunities in life to develop whatever they want to develop.



Questions for Group Discussion

Ask the group to brainstorm about the characteristics of a strong leader?
Write the list on the board.

- Are there characteristics listed that are sometimes perceived as negative for women?
- Are there characteristics listed that are sometimes perceived as negative for men?

8.2

Exercise: What are my own conflicts or struggles with leading?

(Approx. 20 min.)

Break the group into pairs. Ask each participant to share with her partner an experience she had (or an ongoing struggle, i.e. at work, with her family) where she tried or continues to try to balance her femininity, womanliness, and being a “good woman,” with being an effective organizer, manager, and leader. Time the meeting so that each partner has about five minutes to speak. After five minutes, announce that it is time for the second person in each pair to speak. When the group meets as whole again, ask for volunteers to share anything they observed or learned.

8.3

Exercise: What advice would you give?

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following WLP editorial on media coverage of U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton:



February 2009, WLP

Seriously, Is THAT What You Want to Know About Hillary Clinton?

Last year, the Washington Post reported that “there was cleavage on display Wednesday afternoon on C-SPAN2. It belonged to Sen. Hillary Clinton.” Readers learned that the presidential candidate was wearing a rose-colored blazer over a black top. The neckline sat low on her chest and had “a subtle V-shape.” And in case readers were worried, the Post reassured us that, “there wasn’t an unseemly amount of cleavage showing.”

And just a few months later, ABC News panted, “The New York Senator was taking questions from a primarily female group at Cafe Espresso in Portsmouth, when she choked up responding to one woman’s question about how she stays ‘upbeat and so wonderful.’”

Choked up? Didn’t they mean wept, cried, or better yet—beat her breast and tore her clothes asunder?

Clinton explained, “It’s not easy, and I couldn’t do it if I didn’t passionately believe it was the right thing to do. You know, I have so many opportunities from this country. I just don’t want to see us fall backwards.”

The ABC News story went on to describe other instances when Ms. Clinton became teary eyed, emotional, noticeably agitated, and most damning of all—loud.

“Making change is not...making a speech, it’s about working hard,” Clinton said. But the news story was careful to report that the candidate added, “a little bit louder,” that “I want to make change, but I’ve already made change. I’m not running on a promise of change.... We don’t need to raise false hopes of people in our country about what can be delivered.” And then, no holds barred, we learn that Hillary Clinton raised her voice to say, “I think that having a first woman president is a huge change.”

All that noise prompted the author to question whether “Clinton has appeared too emotional, too sensitive, or too weak in her recent public appearances. “

Really? Too emotional?

At least Robin Givhan's description of Clinton in a black Donna Karan dress evoked an image of power, even if it wasn't exactly senatorial. "[Hillary Clinton] was photographed wearing a black Donna Karan gown that revealed her shoulders. It was one of Karan's 'cold-shoulder' dresses, inspired, Karan once noted, because a woman's shoulders remain sensuous and appealing regardless of her age."

Now that she's Secretary of State, perhaps the media will stick to more substantive issues than Hillary's hemline. After all, solving global political tensions is very much in fashion!



Circle Activity

Ask each participant to:

- Give Hillary advice about how she should speak, dress, her body language, or how she should present the content of her messages, etc.
- Explain why she offered the advice that she did, and why it would be important advice for any woman political leader.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Can female political leaders be genuine, frank, angry, or emotional in public? Why or why not? Can male leaders?
- Are emotions, sexuality, or toughness acceptable characteristics for a woman leader to have? Why or why not? Are they acceptable characteristics for her to show publicly? Why or why not?
- What is the balance you would like to find in how you present yourself as a leader? What leadership characteristics do you strive to convey?

8.4

Exercise: The Personal is Political

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask one or more volunteers to read the following story.



Mira Gupta has been a workshop leader for the Campaign for Good Hygiene (CGH) for over four years. She and her CGH colleagues give lectures and demonstrations to adults and children on the health benefits of good hygiene. In addition to giving the workshops, Mira is responsible for training other workshop leaders. On many of her field trips, she is accompanied by young interns or leaders-in-training.

In the week leading up to each workshop, Mira usually researches the town or village she is going to visit to find out as much as possible about the people and their history. She often asks her workshop trainees to inquire about the probable ages, education levels, religious backgrounds, and the gender composition of their workshop audiences. Days before an event, Mira and her trainees plan together what materials they will need, which exercises they will use, how they will conduct the practice sessions, and even what they will wear.

On one recent occasion, Mira and an intern were asked to give a CGH workshop at a clothes manufacturing plant located in a rural area. The workers were all women, largely illiterate, and most were from very traditional families. It was the intern's first workshop and she was very excited, but also very nervous. Mira counseled the intern to dress modestly and conservatively. She talked with her about the history of the families in the area, and their ancient connection to textile weaving.

When the pair arrived at the plant, the intern was relieved that she had chosen to wear a long dark dress because it fit in with what the workers were wearing. Speaking clearly and using simple and straightforward language, Mira explained to the women why they were there and what topics would be discussed in the workshop. In many of her workshops she would hand out a printed agenda, but not this time because most of the audience could not read. She made clear that no one was obligated to participate, but warmly invited everyone to do so.

After arranging the group in a circle and suggesting that the women sit down, Mira introduced the intern, and asked the workers to introduce themselves. She explained that the intern was training to lead workshops, and also encouraged the workers to consider leading their own workshops. She personally offered to train anyone in the group who might want to become a workshop leader, and gave the

women information about how to contact her. Mira and the intern then began to present the workshop topics.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Why did Mira learn about the history and background of her audiences before she conducted workshops?
- Would you have had additional advice or suggestions for the intern? What would they be?
- What were the short-term and long-term benefits of asking members of the audience to consider training to becoming workshop leaders?
- What steps, procedures, or actions did you most admire about Mira's conduct? Why?
- In which ways is she assisting other young women to become community leaders?
- Is there anything else you might have done if you were leading the workshop?

8.5

Exercise: What can we do when things get really “dirty?”

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask one or two volunteers to read the following story.



Zeina Shareef, the wife of a wealthy real estate investor, was hurriedly appointed to the City Planning Commission after it was revealed in the international media that the mayor had secretly banned all city departments from hiring or appointing women. The story made headlines across the country and abroad because of the mayor's widely publicized participation in international human rights conferences. Despite the air of scandal surrounding her appointment, Zeina was committed to trying to do her best on the Commission.

From the first meeting of the commissioners, Zeina knew she was going to face a tough battle. Her husband advised her not to attend the meetings at all. He had political connections with the Commission and felt that the best strategy was for Zeina to do nothing. But a storm was brewing over an illegal encampment at the center of the city. Thousands of homeless people lived in the shanty slums that had

slowly built up next to the city park. The reason the encampment was so populated was that a creek ran along its edge, and slum residents used the creek for washing and refuse. Zeina knew that hundreds of street children, as well as prostitutes, garbage pickers, and beggars lived in the encampment, and if it were bulldozed, they would have nowhere to go. She feared that many would die on the street.

When Zeina tried to speak to the other Commissioners about the plans to raze the encampment, she was ignored. In the formal session, although she held her hand high to speak, the Chairman never called on her. Only one more meeting was scheduled to discuss the encampment. The Chairman advised the commissioners to arrive promptly at two p.m. the next afternoon for a final vote.

Zeina spent the next 24 hours contacting everyone she knew who might hold political sway in the encampment matter, even pulling the owner of a shopping complex away from his dinner party to sign her petition to stop the bulldozers. By noon the next day, she had nine signatures from business leaders. She prepared carefully for the Commissioners, and arrived a few minutes early to secure a center seat.

When she entered the meeting hall, she was surprised to see that all of the others were there already. The Chairman smiled as she enter, “Ah, Madam Shareef, you have finally arrived. Well, we finished the vote about a half hour ago. I am sorry we were not able to hear your petition to support the prostitutes and dirty children.” Zeina was stunned. The Chairman just smiled, and the others laughed. And then the Commissioners quickly left the room. As the door closed behind them, Zeina heard one snickering loudly, “Two p.m. She’s such a stupid woman.”



Questions for Group Discussion

- What do you think about this story? Do you believe that it could happen in real life?
- Was there something that Zeina could have done differently so that she would have had more influence with the commissioners?
- How should she have responded when she realized that she had purposely been told the incorrect meeting time?
- Do you have any advice for Zeina? What would you do if you were in her situation?
- If you were a colleague of Zeina, how could you help her be more successful? What role can other women and men play in supporting women in political office?

SESSION 9:

Negotiation/Compromise/Non-Negotiables

(Approx. 3 hours in total)

Session Objectives:

- To consider how negotiation can be used as a tool for bringing you closer to your objective
- To examine the myths and truths about “compromising” in the political arena
- To explore how to set the bar for your “non-negotiables”

9.1

Exercise: Finding New Options

(Approx. 30 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the story below told by Kim Campbell¹⁹, former prime minister and minister of justice in Canada, about her experience negotiating for a new gun law.

¹⁹ The Right Honorable Kim Campbell P.C.; C.C.; Q.C. was the nineteenth and first female Prime Minister of Canada in 1993. Ms. Campbell also held the cabinet portfolios of Minister of State for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minister of Justice and Attorney General, and Minister of National Defence and Minister of Veterans’ Affairs. Thereafter, she served as Canadian Consul General in Los Angeles, taught at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, and chaired the Council of Women World Leaders. Ms. Campbell was President of the International Women’s Forum and served as Secretary General of the Club of Madrid. Today, she serves on the boards and advisory committees of several international organizations including the Club of Madrid, Foundation for Effective Governance in Kiev, Crisis Group, Salk Institute, Middle Powers Initiative, Arab Democracy Foundation, and Forum of Federations, and chairs the steering committee for the World Movement for Democracy.



“When I was Minister of Justice. I had a chief of staff who said to me one day when I was having trouble making up my mind, ‘You must not be happy with the options you have.’ I asked him, ‘Why do you say that?’ His answer was, ‘Because you’re normally very decisive. So the very fact that you are not making a decision is because you are not very happy with the choices presented to you.’

“About a month before I was sworn in as the new Minister of Justice, a man named Mark Lépine went into the École Polytechnique in Montreal with a semi-automatic firearm and shot and killed 14 women engineering students and faculty. It was very shocking, and the natural response from people was that we needed more gun control legislation immediately.

“The situation was complicated for me as well as being terribly tragic. I was the first woman to be Minister of Justice and I was a feminist. When he was shooting the students, Lépine had shouted out, ‘You are all feminists,’ and then taken his own life. You can imagine how I felt.

“While that kind of pressure is good for making change happen quickly, it does not create an environment for the most thoughtful policy development. Very often people want you to do things that seem responsive, but that won’t actually make the world any safer. The risk is that you wind up wasting a lot of money and political capital doing things that at the end of the day don’t really make a difference.

“What I learned is that you need to know how to read your own mind, and determine whether you are happy with your options. The person who gets to frame the issue or question has an enormous amount of power. Sometimes other people frame issues for us in ways that leave us with no good choices.

“I really felt that it was important to get people’s feedback on the proposed gun legislation before they started painting themselves into a corner. People had very different views. So I created a Minister’s Advisory Council on Firearms which consisted of people from all over the issue—firearms experts, hunters, a psychiatrist dedicated to reducing urban violence, an attorney who specialized in prosecuting violence against women, even a woman who had won an Olympic gold medal in pistol shooting.

“My view was that there are a lot of different opinions on this issue. I engaged my colleagues in consultation and I did a lot of consulting with members of Parliament. While I had an obligation as the justice minister to try and do things that will make Canadians safer, I respected all points of views. And this was very unusual for people. They weren’t used to this process.

“What I realized was that the options that were initially presented to me were only about how strong or how weak the gun bill would be. But I wanted to go in a different direction and apply a really democratic process to this tough issue. Eventually my bill passed with an overwhelming majority.”



Questions for Group Discussion

- Why was creating a new gun law so politically complicated for Ms. Campbell?
- What do you like about how she proceeded to make her decision? Are there things you might have done differently or in addition?
- Have you ever felt as though you were faced with an important decision and didn't like any of your options?
- Did you seek out the opinions of others? Whom?
- What do you feel you might risk by bringing many people into a decision-making process? What might you gain?

9.2

Exercise: Difficult Decisions

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask one or two volunteers to read the story below.



Tatiana Nazirova, Executive Director of the Women's Legal Resource Campaign (WLRC), was supposed to be organizing a banquet and city tour for two dozen international women judges who were arriving the next day. However, the office phone lines were down again, so she could not use the telephone, fax machine, or email to sort out the catering, touring, and hotel arrangements. Tatiana was not surprised when the electricity suddenly shut off as well. The shoe repair shop located on the floor below still had electricity and presumably a working phone, so she could use their phone in an emergency. Still, without electricity, she could not access her computer files with all of the judges' names, when they were arriving, and where they were staying. Next to her was a sample packet of information that she had planned to copy for each of the judges. She would just have to go to a printing shop, which would cost a fortune.

The mission of the Women's Legal Resource Campaign was to inform local and international jurists about the policies and practices of the judicial system, and current protections and violations of people's human rights. Over the years, Tatiana had organized dozens of informational tours and events for judges, lawyers, and human rights advocates from all over the world.

Recently, however, the government was cracking down on organizations that were deemed to have too much contact with suspected foreign agitators. The judges were hardly "agitators," thought Tatiana. These women were well-meaning, very successful, legal professionals on a junket—that was all. But the government

did not know that, or did not care. Tatiana was fairly certain of why WLRC's electricity and phones had been shut off, and suspected that they would not be turned back on for the duration of the judges' visit.

As Tatiana began collecting papers and folders to take to the printers, she heard the cobbler calling her name. Downstairs a man dressed in a navy suit was waiting for her. He offered his business card and explained that he was from the office of the Minister of Justice. The Minister had heard that WLRC was hosting the women judges and wanted to find out if his office could assist in any way. The Minister's first deputy would be delighted, said the man, to personally conduct a tour of the city and the courthouses in a government bus, and to provide lunch and dinner for the judges.

Tatiana thanked the man graciously. She explained that WLRC's board members were meeting later in the day and she would convey the Minister's generous offer. She asked the man if she could let him know in the afternoon. She did not mention the dead phone lines and the shut-off electricity, but she assumed that he already knew about them. The man agreed and left.

Two hours later Tatiana and WLRC's board members were back at the organization's office, sitting on chairs pulled close to the window for light. Tatiana told them about what had happened. If they accepted the Minister's offer, they might get their electricity and phone lines back, the city tour would be taken care of, and four meals for 24 judges would be paid for by the government. As the situation currently stood, WLRC's staff was faced with the daunting task of confirming and coordinating 24 reservations for taxis, room, and board for two-and-a-half days, organizing a banquet, and responding to the various professional and personal needs of a large group of high-level women—all without phone lines or electricity.

On the other hand, Tatiana was very concerned about the government's blatant effort to manipulate WLRC's activities. The Deputy Minister's tour and descriptions of the judicial system would be totally unbalanced and reveal nothing of the corruption, prejudices, and inequities that plagued their courts. The women judges would see few, if any, non-governmental organizations, and would have little chance to meet and talk with local human rights advocates. They might go home believing only that the government was generous and the judicial system fair—and nothing could be farther from the truth.



Team Activity

Ask the workshop participants to break into two teams. Each team will role-play as WLRC's board members. Ask the teams to decide what the next steps should be for the WLRC. Among the issues they should consider in coming up with a plan are:

- What is your obligation to the women judges on their junket?
- What is your obligation to fulfill the mission of WLRC?
- How would you advise Tatiana?
- Could you negotiate with the government? Would that be ethical? What are the risks? What might be the benefits?

When the participants reconvene, ask a representative from each team to explain her team's plan and her team's rationale for choosing the particular course of action.

9.3

Exercise: Finding Common Ground

(Approx. 90 min.)

This is a role-play exercise. Ask a volunteer to read the following scenario:



A Global Poverty Working Group of approximately 40 country representatives will be convening for a three-day meeting at the United Nations in Geneva to discuss the impact of globalization on the world's poorest nations. The issue paper put forward by the Working Group seems to be oblivious to the particular vulnerability of poor and highly indebted countries and do not take into consideration the specific impact on women. The Chair of the Working Group, Monica Gane, is tasked with keeping the meeting on schedule, on topic, and productive. Also interested in this meeting is an international coalition of women economists called Count Our Research (COR). COR wants access to the Working Group delegates to present its findings on the rapidly increasing number of women worldwide unable to feed themselves or their families, and to make several policy recommendations. COR is organized by Ailana Benge. Monica Gane has been asked by the Working Group delegates to make sure that COR does not disrupt their proceedings.

For the first part of the exercise, divide the group into two teams—the Working Group (WG) and Count Our Research (COR). Following are one fact sheet for the WG team and one fact sheet for the COR team. They contain background

information about the team and facts that can move negotiations forward. The fact sheets should be copied and distributed to each team, but the team should only see its own handout. **Fact sheets should not be shared between teams.**

WG Fact Sheet

The Global Poverty Working Group (WG) was established in 2000 by concerned nations who wanted to create a multinational advisory body to make policy recommendations on multilateral poverty alleviation. The Working Group members are a combination of the wealthiest nations and some of the poorest nations on earth. With only a few exceptions, the WG's members are deeply committed to finding and advocating for global strategies to address poverty. Since its inception, the WG has reported on 25 countries.

The WG has two main goals for its meeting in Geneva:

Goal 1: To create a short list of three or four countries it will report on over the next twelve months. The criteria for choosing the countries is highly politicized. Choices must show that the WG is serious about critiquing the impact of globalization on the poor, but must also be acceptable to members' respective governments

Goal 2: To respond to the criticism that the WG is ignoring the plight of indigenous peoples around the globe. To date, the WG's analyses have largely been directed towards ascribing responsibility for certain economic and social conditions that endanger the poor to governments and non-specified cultural traditions. Several vocal indigenous rights groups have found the WG's analyses at worst blame them for their poverty. The Working Group stands by its analyses, but is very interested in addressing the rift with indigenous people's human rights groups.

Monica Gane is the smart and dynamic chair of the WG, with over 30 years experience as a human rights advocate and non-governmental organization (NGO) leader. She is from an East African country with a mixed human rights record, and her appointment to the Working Group is widely viewed as a positive sign that her country is interested in protecting the rights of its most poor populations.

A Working Group member has asked Monica to meet with Ailana Benge, Chair of the coalition Count Our Research (COR). COR's members are women economists who want their research on the impact of globalization on poor women to take center stage at the upcoming WG meeting in Geneva. The economists and their supporters have been very well organized in the past—staging protests and garnering lots of press. Although WG members are aware of the issues COR wants to raise, they do not feel that poverty is a gender issue and resent the criticism and disruption from COR.

Monica has never met Ailana before, but knows that Ailana is a well respected, indigenous Native Islander in her country, Pacifica. Four years ago, the WG

published a report on poverty in Pacifica that came under harsh criticism from some indigenous peoples groups, who felt the report wrongly blamed the traditions of the Native Islanders for their shorter life span, poor nutrition, and higher rates of obesity.

Monica Gane's objectives in the meeting are to:

- Find out whether COR is planning a protest, and if they are, to do what she can to persuade Ailana to call it off
- Convince Ailana that COR's research will be fully considered—so that COR will not need to present its findings directly to the WG and will have no opportunity to disrupt the proceedings
- Prove to Ailana that the WG always considers women's unique vulnerability to poverty and its manifestations
- Establish an informal partnership between the WG and COR where COR members would be consulted on the economic conditions for women in countries under WG review

COR Fact Sheet

Count Our Research (COR) members are women economists from all over the globe. Out of its 467 members, 32% are from developing countries. Approximately every four years, COR commissions a research study on a cause of poverty for women. Past studies have included access to clean water and sanitation, access to obstetric and gynecological health services, and AIDS. Three months ago COR published its most recent report, which was on globalization. It received enormous coverage in the media, and has been heavily mined by governments for quotes that support their positions on international trade and foreign aid.

A dozen COR members have come to Geneva to draw further attention to their report and to press the Global Poverty Working Group (WG) to pass a resolution that it will make women a special focus of all of their country studies.

The current Chair of COR is Ailana Benge, a Native Islander of Pacifica, a small nation inhabited by immigrants and indigenous Native Islanders. Four years ago the WG published a controversial report on poverty in Pacifica, which was widely viewed as blaming the Native Islander customs for the poor health and high rates of obesity among the country's indigenous populations. Ailana herself is on the board of an organization dedicated to improving the health of Pacifica's indigenous peoples. She personally feels that the WG reported fairly on the government's responsibility for not providing adequate access to medical services for Pacifica's poorest, who are disproportionately Native Islanders.

Ailana is well aware that the Global Poverty Working Group (WG) was established by concerned nations who wanted to create a multinational advisory body to make policy recommendations for multilateral poverty alleviation. The Working

Group (WG) members are a combination of the wealthiest nations and some of the poorest nations on earth. With only a few exceptions, the WG's members are deeply committed to finding and advocating for global strategies to address poverty. Since its inception it has reported on 25 countries.

Ailana has learned that Monica Gane is the smart and dynamic Chair of the Working Group, with over 30 years experience as a human rights advocate and non-governmental organization (NGO) leader. She is from an East African country with a mixed human rights record. Her appointment to the Working Group is widely viewed as a positive sign that her country is interested in protecting the rights of its most poor populations.

Ailana has a friend on the WG who arranged for a meeting between her and Monica Gane. Having already laid plans for a well-attended protest in the halls outside the WG's meeting place, and knowing that at least two major media outlets would cover the protest, Ailana agreed to the meeting, reluctantly. Ailana's objectives in the meeting are to:

- Secure two hours for her COR members to present their findings to the WG on globalization's specific and excessive impact on women
- Get Monica to agree to present a resolution to the WG that they will make women a special focus of their findings reports
- Establish a formal partnership between the WG and COR so that COR members will be consulted on the economic conditions in countries under WG review

Each team should meet for 20-25 minutes to review their fact sheet and to discuss options, tactics, and non-negotiables. "Non-negotiables" are objectives that the team will not back away from; that is, points for which there is no room for compromise.

In the second part of the exercise, the group will break into pairs made up of one WG and one COR. Role-playing Monica Gane and Ailana Bengé, the pairs will discuss their options and explore whether they can come to any mutual agreement. The pairs should be given approximately 20 minutes to negotiate. When the time is up, the group will reconvene to discuss what happened in their pairs and to report on any compromises.



Questions for Group Discussion

- For the WGs, what was the most difficult hurdle?
- For the CORs, what was the most difficult hurdle?
- Did any pair feel that they had a good compromise solution? If so, what was it?
- Did any pair feel that there just was no way to sort out the conflict? Why?
- Was this a difficult or an easy exercise? Why or why not?

9.4

Exercise: Fighting the good battle, but till... when?

(Approx. 60 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following story.



General elections (governorship elections) were held in Nigeria in April 2007. Various reports indicated that abuses and vote rigging had taken place in the election processes in several states, notably in South West Nigeria.

Opposition parties challenged the results and won their case in court. The Court ruled that indeed, election infractions had taken place, and consequently ordered redo elections which were held in April 2009. Human rights activists were monitoring the redo elections. The media reported various cases of intimidation and violence against the monitors, in addition to several irregularities in the redo elections.

The government-appointed Resident Electoral Officer for the state in question is a woman named Temi Mutesi. Aware of the electoral wrongdoing, she did not want to declare a winner in the race, knowing that the apparent winner, a person from the ruling party, had cheated his way to victory. Mutesi declared that “It was against our Christian conscience to continue with the process” in view of the rigging and wrongdoing.

Mutesi submitted her resignation rather than be part of a fraudulent process. Her resignation was rejected by the Federal Government. Mutesi was later forced to come back to the commission, and turned in the results that she had initially refused to validate.

The opposition candidate who had lost the election because of fraud contested the results. His wife, a prominent feminist activist in the country issued a public statement denouncing, among others, Temi Mutesi and the role she had played, especially the way she had reversed her initial position.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Mutesi apparently had a change of heart. What do you think of her action?
- Mutesi seems to be taking the blame for the whole process, and for many, she has been complicit. Does this undermine women's political participation?
- In your opinion, was Mutesi more prone to intimidation as a woman occupying a public political position?
- The leading feminist figure and wife of the opposition candidate indicated in a solidarity statement that “her heart bleeds for yet another woman who has allowed herself to be used as another cog in the wheels of democracy.” Do you think that women in politics are more closely scrutinized than men?

SESSION 10:

Measuring Success/Building on Experience

(Approx. 4 hours in total)

Session Objectives

- To consider the benefit of routinely evaluating your campaign’s plan, tactics, and progress
- To discuss strategies for holding ourselves and our candidates accountable to promises made during the campaign
- To explore how to learn from one’s past experience and to build a repertoire of best practices as a leader

10.1

Exercise: How will we know when we are successful?

(Approx. 60 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following narrative.



Usha Patel entered the room and sat at the head of the long conference table. The twenty coalition members and campaign staff applauded her loudly.

“Thank you for joining me today,” Usha began, “to launch our national campaign for girls’ literacy. As you all know too well, over 50% of the female population in this country is illiterate. The purpose of this campaign is to raise awareness of the problem, to raise money to help fund solutions, and to raise our country’s expectations of what we can achieve. If our society does not truly believe we can do better, there is nothing that this coalition can do or say that will change current conditions. For that reason, I need to know that everyone here believes, really believes, that we can eradicate illiteracy among girls.”

Usha paused for effect and cast her eyes around the table. A woman sitting to Usha's right raised her hand. "Yes, Gita," said Usha smiling.

"Shall we set a deadline? Say, in ten years? In ten years we will eradicate girls' illiteracy throughout the county?" asked Gita.

"Sure, we can say that. But I don't want to lock us in to too narrow a dream. What if illiteracy is not eradicated in ten years? Have we failed? We will know success when we see it."

"But don't we need some concrete goals?" pressed Gita. "Ways that we can take stock of what we are doing, how we are campaigning, our advertisements, our investments in schools, how we are spending our money, our time, all of our resources?"

"Of course, Gita, but that can wait. Our job right now is to speak to our donors, to raise money, and to raise awareness of what we are trying to achieve. You just have to have faith. We are all so committed, and as long as we all believe that we can do it, we will eradicate the illiteracy of girls. I know it!"



Questions for Group Discussion

- Did you agree with Usha that they "will know success when [they] see it?" Why or why not?
- What was Gita trying to do? Was her advice good?
- Were the benchmarks she suggested going to be helpful to her organization? Why or why not?
- What other benchmarks might you add to their list?

Divide the group into teams of five or six. Ask each team to develop a ten-year calendar for Usha and Gita's coalition. On a long piece of paper, have each team draft a ten-year timeline with from five to fifteen benchmarks for a literacy campaign. It is up to each team to determine what resources they have, and to develop their goals and benchmarks accordingly.

After 20 minutes, reconvene the teams. Each team should present their ten-year timeline and explain their goals and benchmarks for success.

10.2

Exercise: Setting Our Benchmarks

(Approx. 45 min.)

Write on the board the **Session 4 Goal**.

Benchmarks are accomplishments that help you see that you are reaching your goal. For instance, if your goal is to get your local government or city board to adopt the articles of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) into its governing charter, benchmarks of success might include 1) holding a meeting with the local council to educate them about CEDAW, 2) presenting panel discussions at area schools and universities on the topic, 3) getting local media to discuss the issue, 4) measuring an increase in public awareness about what CEDAW is and what it might mean for local women, and 5) circulating a petition that successfully collects over 4,000 signatures in support of CEDAW.

Ask the group to brainstorm indicators of success in pressing for the Session 4 Goal. Try to identify from five to ten. What objectives does the group want to achieve?

Divide the group into teams of three or four participants. Assign each team a couple of objectives from the board. Ask each team to brainstorm two to four benchmarks for success for each of the stated objectives.

Reconvene the group and ask each team to report back their benchmarks. Ask a volunteer to record the benchmarks on the board.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Do the benchmarks on the board empower you? Make you feel like you can start to see the path you should be taking to achieve your goals? Why or why not?
- Which benchmarks do you like the best? Why? Which do you think will be most helpful in assessing your progress towards your goals?
- Which benchmarks do you like the least? Why?
- Going back to the objectives, do you think it would be possible to prioritize the objectives on the board—putting some first and others last? Or are all the objectives equally important?
- Which objectives can be achieved more quickly than others? Which objectives depend on others being achieved first?

10.3

Exercise: Watering the seeds you plant

(Approx. 45 min.)

Ask a volunteer to read the following narrative.



Nasreen opened her newspaper and hunted, as she did every morning, for news of her candidate for the national Parliament. Astrid Hejinian had been a popular candidate among women and the poor because of her promises to improve the schools and to make education more accessible to girls and the very poor. Since her success in the election, Ms. Hejinian seemed to have disappeared from public view. It was eight months since she was voted into office and there was no word, at least in the papers, that she was doing anything for education, or was politically active on any issues at all. “She could be working hard behind the scenes,” thought Nasreen. “Hopefully...”



Questions for Group Discussion

- If there has been no news of Astrid Hejinian’s activities in Parliament, is it likely that she has not been doing anything to press for the issues she promised during the campaign? What are other possible explanations for there being so little news about Astrid Hejinian?
- Have you ever supported a candidate for political office, and once they were elected wondered if they were really working towards the goals they said they would?
- What can you do to follow up with a political official to learn if she is trying to do what she said she would do?
- Do you still need to support your candidates once they are in office? Why or why not?
- What can you do to ensure that candidates fulfill their campaign promises once they are in office? Do you think that candidates should be supported in fulfilling their campaign promises?

Break the group into teams of three or four. Ask each team to imagine that they had supported the candidacy of Astrid Hejinian. Their task is to draft a manifesto of five to ten strategies, activities, or promises they will commit to that will demonstrate their support for MP Hejinian. (If there is a real candidate that team members support, they can alternatively draft their manifesto on behalf of that person.)

Ask the teams to consider whether they need more information about the actions of Parliament and more information about Astrid Hejinian. How could they get

this? What can they do if she is having trouble finding supporters in Parliament for her initiatives? What can they do if she is afraid to speak out? What can they do if Astrid Hejinian's efforts are being undermined by other members of Parliament?

Reconvene the teams when they have completed their manifestos. Ask a volunteer from each team to read her manifesto.



Questions for Group Discussion

- What were the themes or strategies that more than one team mentioned?
- Have you personally taken any of the steps mentioned in the manifestos in support of a political official?
- What steps could you see yourself taking in the future to support women in political office?

10.4

Exercise: What did we learn from the women in this workshop?

(Approx. 45 min.)

Put the names of each participant and yourself on a small piece of paper, folded in half, into a bowl. Have everyone, including yourself, pick a name from the bowl. (If someone pulls her own name, have her trade with another person.)

Make sure everyone has a sheet of paper and pen or pencil. Ask everyone to write on top of the sheet the name of the person on her slip and to record the two or three most important things learned from that person—about leadership, political organizing, being a powerful woman...or something entirely different. Take five or ten minutes to do this.

Reconvene the group, and have everyone identify the woman she picked and what she learned. This should be an enjoyable process, so let the group take its time and share stories about each other.

Workshop Evaluation Tool: What did we learn from the Workshop Sessions?

(Approx. 45 min.)

It is useful to take notes during this discussion, as the comments of participants may help guide your facilitation of other workshops.

Divide the groups into teams of three or four. Ask each group to discuss the following four questions and record their answers on a sheet of paper (this should take about 20 minutes):

1. What did you achieve during the workshop that you hoped to achieve?
2. What objectives did you have that you feel were not met, or might have been met if more time had been devoted to them?
3. What was the most inspirational or enjoyable exercise, discussion, or experience during the past ten sessions? Why?
4. What recommendations or changes would you suggest for facilitators of these workshops?

Reconvene the group and have each team share their report.

Questions for Group Discussion

What specific lessons did you learn or ideas did you gain from the workshop sessions that you will try to incorporate into your own work? How will you change your own behavior, expectations, or choices in the future as a result of the workshop sessions?

What is the group's next step towards addressing its **Session 4 Goal**?

WORKSHOP EVALUATION

Please evaluate the political participation training experience and the facilitator of your workshop by checking the box that best indicates your response in the chart next to each statement. The responses on this form will be used to adjust and improve future workshop programs.

5=Excellent, 4=Good, 3=Satisfactory, 2=Needs Improvement, 1=Very Poor

Your evaluation form is anonymous unless you choose to write your name on it.

Sessions

1. Participating in the workshop enabled me to reflect upon issues that arise in my daily life.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
2. Participating in the workshop gradually reduced my reluctance to voice my opinions to others.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
3. Participating in the workshop improved my listening skills.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
4. Participating in the workshop enhanced my ability to communicate effectively with others.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
5. Participating in the workshop increased my self-confidence.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
6. Participating in the workshop motivated me to think about my vision for a better community.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
7. Participating in the workshop inspired my spirit of volunteerism.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
8. Participating in the workshop made me appreciate the need for teamwork when addressing a problem confronting my family and/or community.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
9. Participating in the workshop enabled me to cultivate a network of friends and colleagues with whom I feel comfortable discussing my personal and professional concerns as I aspire to effect change in my life and/or community.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
10. Participating in the workshop stimulated my desire to learn more about political participation and what I can do to empower women.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>
11. Interacting with other workshop participants enabled me to understand the importance of women's participation in my community's decision-making.	<div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div>

12. Examining case studies from around the world was a useful way to consider the challenges and opportunities involved in political participation.	5	4	3	2	1
13. Participating in the learning exercises was a useful way to consider the challenges and opportunities for my involvement in political advocacy.	5	4	3	2	1
14. I believe that both women and men can benefit from participating in this workshop.	5	4	3	2	1
15. I would recommend to my family members, friends, and/or colleagues that they participate in the workshops.	5	4	3	2	1

In the space below and on the back of this page, please comment on any aspect of the workshop experience that you liked and/or disliked. What recommendations would you offer to make the workshop more relevant and useful for you and others in your community? Please feel free to discuss examples of women engaged in political advocacy that you are familiar with, suggestions for learning exercises, themes you would like added, and any other items.

Comments:

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This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

Facilitator

The facilitator conducted the workshop at a reasonable pace—quickly enough to avert my boredom and fatigue but slowly enough to allow me to benefit from the sessions' case studies and learning exercises.	5	4	3	2	1
The facilitator created an environment in which I could speak with ease about sensitive personal and professional concerns.	5	4	3	2	1
The facilitator was willing to share her life experiences with the participants in order to stimulate discussion.	5	4	3	2	1
The facilitator enabled the participants to understand the challenges and opportunities involved in political participation.	5	4	3	2	1
The facilitator welcomed the participants' recommendations about issues that were relevant for consideration and adapted the workshop to their needs.	5	4	3	2	1

In the space below and on the back of this page, please comment on any aspect of your experience with the workshop facilitator that you liked and/or disliked. What recommendations would you offer to this facilitator to help her make future workshops more relevant and useful to participants? Please feel free to share your suggestions.

Comments:

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APPENDICES

A. Additional Exercises

B. How to Write a Press Release: Examples and Exercises

C. Organizing Ethical Campaigns Tip Sheet

D. Mobilizing/Getting the Word Out Tip Sheet

E. Networking and Coalition-Building Tip Sheet

F. Glossary of Political Participation Terms

G. Website Resources for Women's Political Participation

H. Quotas as a Gender Equity Measure

I. Faith and Freedom Presentation

J. International Legal Agreements Relating to Women's Political Participation

K. Women's Learning Partnership Publications and Learning Tools

APPENDIX A

Additional Exercises

Exercise: Radio Time

Ask a volunteer to read the story below.



The conservative radio station “Bharatiya Airwaves” was rapidly slipping in the ratings and the program’s corporate sponsors and advertisers were pulling their spots and asking for refunds. Facing compromise or obliteration, Bharatiya’s board relented on their policy of eschewing shock-jock strategies.

The station’s first foray into loud, sensationalist, partisan programming was to be an interview with a female college student from the Women’s Action Group (WAG) at the country’s largest university. The station heavily advertised the upcoming interview, using derogatory language against women and mocking the young student, and its audience grew.

At the time, Heena Dilawar was in her second year as a microbiology student at the university and was interested in an academic career. Teaching science at a university would give her plenty of opportunity to conduct her own research, and to stay on the cutting edge of microbiology. The problem, she discovered, was that there were very few women science professors, and not one leading female microbiologist—this despite the large number of women studying science.

Ms. Dilawar and several of her colleagues formed the Women’s Action Group (WAG) to address the paucity of women science professors, and more generally the glass ceiling that hindered women’s advancement in most professional fields. The members of WAG were considering a number of strategies for educating students and others about discriminatory hiring practices, and what they could do about it. One day they received a call from “Bharatiya Airwaves” asking for an on-air interview with the group’s leader. Although WAG had not officially designated a leader, it was generally agreed that Heena Dilawar would be the best person to sell their message to a radio audience.

In the days leading up to the interview, it became clear that “Bharatiya Airwaves” intended to humiliate the women. The women of WAG debated whether to pull out of the interview. Ms. Dilawar argued that they should not; that the interview was too valuable an opportunity for publicity to pass up.

On the day of the interview Heena Dilawar had time to reread some of WAG's materials on the way to the interview, as her bus rolled sluggishly through the city's traffic. She arrived at the radio station a little late and was immediately rushed into the broadcast studio. The radio host thrust a microphone in front of her and said into his own, "Well audience, Miss Heena Dilawar is finally here. I guess I'd like to begin by asking how she expects herself and her lady friends to be promoted in professional jobs when she cannot even get to an interview on time?"

Shocked, Ms. Dilawar took a few moments to respond. The host's follow-up question was equally rude, and moved the conversation far away from the issues that Ms. Dilawar had come to discuss. The members of WAG, listening to the interview on their radios at home, waited breathlessly for Ms. Dilawar to redirect the conversation. A third question came, this time about whether any of WAG's members were married. Ms. Dilawar's voice grew louder and angrier as she answered every one of the host's questions, each more irrelevant to WAG than the last. Ten minutes later the interview was over.



Questions for Group Discussion

- Did WAG achieve what it hoped to achieve by participating in the interview? Why or why not?
- Were there steps that Heena Dilawar and her colleagues could have taken to prepare her better for the interview?
- Were there other ways that Ms. Dilawar could have responded to the host's off-topic questions to bring the discussion back around to WAG and its objectives?



Team Activity

In the story *Radio Time*, Heena Dilawar read through her organization's material before her interview. However, in the confusion and pressure of the moment, it is easy for even the most prepared or articulate person to run out of interesting or persuasive arguments. If Ms. Dilawar had prepared talking points, they might have reminded her of things to say to redirect the conversation back to the issues important to the Women's Action Group (WAG).

- If you were a member of WAG (dedicated to promoting women's professional advancement in academia and other professions), what statements, facts, anecdotes, or other information would you have wanted to convey in the radio interview?
- In teams of four or five, brainstorm three to seven points you think would be important for a radio audience to hear regarding discrimination against women in the workplace, why it is unfair, and what could be done about it.
- Write down your talking points in a succinct and clear manner so that they can be easily read and used as reminders by a spokesperson.
- Choose a spokesperson from the team **to summarize** your talking points for the whole group.

Exercise: “Elect Hoda Qurashi!”

Ask a volunteer to read the story below.



Parliamentary candidate Hoda Qurashi had wanted to back out of the rally. Five days earlier Ms. Qurashi’s brother, who lived abroad, had been arrested for drunk driving. The news programs, gossip shows, tabloids, and even the national daily paper were all covering the story. She felt it was a waste of time and a loss of dignity to hold a rally surrounded by journalists who would only want to hear about her brother. His mistake was an extremely painful and deeply personal tragedy for herself and her whole family. She felt she could not adequately address the important issues in her political platform while all the attention was focused on the scandal.

Nevertheless, Ms. Qurashi’s campaign coordinators prevailed, and the rally went on as planned. Wearing a cheerful pink suit and trying to look serene, Ms. Qurashi mounted the podium armed with her prepared remarks. Nearly 300 people had shown up and were waiting expectantly. She spoke for 20 minutes about the need for parliamentary reform and legislative changes to help ordinary women and men. She hoped that her appeal to common people would persuade them to vote for her.

For a moment after Ms. Qurashi concluded her remarks, the crowd was silent. Then the voice of a woman shouted, “But what changes are you suggesting to Parliament? What sort of legislation would you want to pass?”

“I think I have been very clear about the sort of reform I am proposing,” Ms. Qurashi answered hurriedly. She pointed to a female journalist whose hand was raised.

“Can you provide more specific information about your reform ideas?” the journalist asked.

“Of course I can. And I did.” Ignoring the dozen or so male journalists frantically trying to get her attention, Ms. Qurashi again pointed to a female journalist.

“How are you going to fund your candidacy?” the journalist asked. “Who is supporting your reforms?”

The funding question was complicated. Although all of the “Elect Hoda Qurashi” funding contributions had been lawfully gathered and reported, most of the money had come from supporters of stronger laws against honor crimes—prior to the announcement of her candidacy. Vowing to press for more stringent punishment for perpetrators of honor crimes, the End Honor Crimes Coalition (EHCC) had poured its funding into her campaign coffers. She could not figure out how to answer the question without getting bogged down in the technicalities of campaign finance law, or branded a feminist for pandering to the EHCC. Without making eye contact with the questioner, she responded vaguely, “All of my campaign’s funding

comes from lawful sources that support a reformed Parliament. Are there any more questions?”

By now the journalists were growing restive, shouting rude questions and demanding answers. A male journalist who spoke loudly into a microphone could be heard over the crowd, “When will your brother be put on trial? Aren’t you ashamed of him?”

Although she had expected questions relating to her brother’s arrest, Ms. Qurashi still felt stung. It hurt so much that he was in jail far away from his family; and at the same time she was furious with him for getting into trouble just as she was launching her bid for Parliament. She cleared her throat. “The truth is,” she began, “that his arrest is extremely painful for me and my family. We are very sad about what has happened and we are praying for him. But what happened to my brother is a private, family matter and has no bearing on my qualifications to be an MP. So that is all that I will say about my brother.”

At first there was only the sound of a few hands clapping. Then others joined in. Someone called out, “Elect Hoda Qurashi!” With that the audience erupted, the people clapping and shouting their support.



Questions for Group Discussion

- What were some of the mistakes made by Hoda Qurashi? How do you think her speech and answers to questions might have affected constituents’ perception of her?
- What could Ms. Qurashi have done differently?
- How would you have answered the question about the funding for her candidacy?
- What did Ms. Qurashi do or say that was successful?
- Why do you think the audience liked her answer about her brother? Did you like her answer about her brother? Why or why not?
- Do you think the public has a right to know the specifics of a candidate’s political platform? Does the public have a right to know the source of a candidate’s funding? Does the public have a right to know about a candidate’s brother’s arrest for drunk driving?
- What questions and issues do you believe a political candidate is responsible for addressing frankly?

APPENDIX B

How to Write a Press Release: Examples and Exercises

Writing Effective Press Releases

Press releases are written summaries of events, announcements, achievements, or positions that are sent to the press (including newspapers, magazines, television and radio news programs, and internet-based news sources) for the purpose of generating publicity. Press releases are one the best tools available for keeping the media informed about your campaign's activities and your other newsworthy events. The format of a press release helps journalists, radio hosts, television producers, and other media professionals know quickly and succinctly whether yours is a story they want to cover. Knowing how to write effective press releases and where and how to distribute them will help you get press coverage that can reach hundreds, thousands, and sometimes millions of constituents.

The best press releases read like well-written news items. They are not too long and are full of information that entices the reader to want to find out more. Although the culture, schedules, and objectives of media outlets vary, you can greatly increase the likelihood that your press releases will generate news stories by following some very basic guidelines.

- Pay attention to the media outlet's preferred timing and method for receiving news items. A phone call or email to the editor or manager will usually get you this information. Although the manager at larger news organizations, television stations, or popular radio programs may be hard to reach, most of these organizations have websites that post information about how to submit press releases.
- Write your press release in a style and manner that includes all newsworthy details so that it can be printed without editing. The less work a journalist has to do, the more likely it is that your story will be published. Most publications will alter the language in the press release to some degree before publication, but often it is only a few word changes, or the addition of a direct quote.
- Keep the press release short—one or two pages maximum. If a news outlet chooses to write a longer article, chances are that the journalist will want to do her own research or follow-up. If a news outlet receives a press release that is too long, a busy editor may not take the time to read it.
- Write the release so that all of the most important and newsworthy information appears in the first paragraphs. If an editor needs to cut the length of an article, she will usually begin at the end. Also, to capture the attention of an editor, the most interesting details should be placed at the beginning of the release. If the

editor likes what she is reading, she will read on. If not, she might discard the release before she reaches the critical information.

- Use a conventional formatting style (see the “Basic Press Release Formatting Guidelines” box at the end of this section). Not all press releases need to look exactly the same. However, using a standard formula will make your press release easier for an editor to follow.
- Follow up by phone or email with the editor or manager (or other person or office assigned to review press releases) a day or so after the release is sent to make sure that it was received and to inquire whether additional information is needed.

For Further Discussion

1. What events have you organized in the past that would have benefited from better press coverage?
2. Which local, national, or international media outlets would you want to cover your events, issues, and alerts?
3. Are there specific radio stations, television stations, magazines, and newspapers that you believe might be interested in your organization or campaign? If so, which ones and why?
4. Are there media outlets that you believe would not be interested in your stories? Why or why not?

PRESS RELEASE CASE STUDY AND EXAMPLE 1

The Trojan Horse

Women Empowered (WE) had been pressing government officials to lift a burdensome tax on women’s sanitary and feminine protection products. Taxed at 10%, tampons and sanitary napkins are assigned the highest rate of sales tax, along with other luxury items such as perfume and imported cigars. Letters and personal appeals to government officials complaining about the injustice were ignored. Members of WE approached the press several times with persuasive arguments and statistics that demonstrated that the tax discriminated against women, but no journalist was interested in picking up the story.

Taking an entirely new approach, WE decided to donate a computer and internet service to a key government official. Once he was online and enjoying the benefits of the World Wide Web, he found he was suddenly the recipient of thousands of email letters from all over the world—complaining about the tax. WE distributed a press release about the donated computer and the barrage of

emails that the official was receiving, and the story was picked up by local and even some international press. WE made sure, in writing the release, that their political message was woven into the story.

Women Empowered

43 Bunche Road
P.O. Box 56643
City, County

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Anna Imbanga Jones
XXX-X-123456/8 (Office)
AlJones@we.org

**COMMISSIONER GENERAL’S DONATED COMPUTER
COMES WITH TAXING EMAIL MESSAGES**

City, November 18, 2003—When Commissioner General Sene Nderi learned that local women’s rights NGO, Women Empowered (WE), was donating a computer and Internet service to his office, he was overjoyed. What he learned later is that the email address that he had given, as part of the donation, had been shared with dozen’s of women’s organizations worldwide. Within days, Mr. Nderi was receiving thousands of emails all saying the same thing: “Repeal the tax on feminine protection items!”

The new computer was installed in the offices of the Revenue Authority on October 11 of this year. The computer was donated to the government by WE’s co-founder and president, Wangari Ndereba. “WE wanted to be strategic about where to donate. WE wanted our donation to help women and to help our county become better governed,” said Ndereba. “It wasn’t enough to just provide a computer. Understanding how to improve conditions for women involves being connected to others—at home and worldwide. That is why WE provided funding for internet access as well.”

The campaign for the computer gift began almost a year ago. Turning to its international support network of women’s organizations, WE raised awareness globally about sex discrimination in the consumer tax system. While most consumer goods have a 5% sales tax, feminine protection items, such as tampons and sanitary napkins, are taxed at the higher “luxury tax” level of 10%. With money raised to help fight this inequity, WE purchased the computer and donated it to the Revenue Authority.

With the computer in place, and an email account established for Commissioner General Sene Nderi, WE’s campaign began in earnest. Local and international supporters began sending Mr. Nderi email letters complaining about the unfair tax. WE asked its supporters to email copies of their letters to WE’s offices. At last count, on November 11, WE had received 1,808 copies of the letters sent to the Revenue Authority about the feminine protection tax.

Ms. Ndereba said, “We are very happy with the results, so far, of this campaign. Women have no choice in their biology, so to consider sanitary protection a luxury is absurd. I think that Mr. Nderi and the others at the Revenue Authority are now getting the message loud and clear.”

For others wishing to write a letter to Mr. Nderi or to learn more about WE, please contact WE’s offices by phone at XXX-X-123456/8 or email at info@we.org.

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For Further Discussion

1. Why do you think WE had so much trouble getting news outlets to cover the story of sex discrimination in the tax code?
2. Do you have any ideas about other ways WE might have presented the information about the tax code to the media so that editors would want to cover the story?
3. WE opted not to put the commissioner general's email address in the press release. What might have been the consequences if they had? Do you agree with their decision? Why or why not?

PRESS RELEASE CASE STUDY AND EXAMPLE 2

Pressed into Service

Supporters of women's advancement thought that for the first time in their country's history there was the possibility that a woman would be appointed Minister of Justice. The name of a well-respected female jurist, Aishah Binte Encik, was being mentioned by government ministers. It was rumored that they were looking for a Justice Minister who could reverse the damaged reputation of the judiciary, sullied in recent years by the prosecution of four Chief Justices for embezzlement. Although not a political advocacy group, the Women's Research and Rights Centre (WRRRC) strongly favored the candidacy of Ms. Encik and wanted to help generate support for her appointment to the post. To help bring attention to Ms. Encik's qualifications and personal integrity, WRRRC decided to bestow on her a special award during a ceremony honoring high-achieving women. It was their aim to entice the press to attend and cover the event. After extensive negotiations, well-connected members of WRRRC's board were able to secure a commitment from singer-celebrity Harry Belafonte, who would be in the country's capital for UNICEF-related activities, to present the award to Ms. Encik.

**WOMEN’S RESEARCH
AND RIGHTS CENTRE**

4th Floor, Rakyat Wisma
11501 City, Country
www.wrrc.org

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Violet Muhammed
Tel: (XXX) X14765/60
Email: wrrc_vm@hotmail.com

**HARRY BELAFONTE TO BESTOW PRESTIGIOUS AWARD
ON LEADING FEMALE JURIST**

*Women Professionals will gather at WRRC Gala
on April 14 to celebrate their successes*

City, April 8, 2005—Who’s afraid of women succeeding? Not super-star Harry Belafonte who is attending next Saturday’s Women’s Research and Rights Centre’s Women of Achievement Gala at the Capital Marriott. Among the honorees will be Fatima Puan, Charlotte Lee Tan, Hawa Sulaiman, and Samatha Ibrahim. A special Medal of Lifetime Achievement will be given to Aishah Binte Encik, whose integrity and legal prowess have served all her countrymen.

Each year the Women’s Research and Rights Centre honors the best and brightest women in business, academia, medicine, science, and law. Mr. Belafonte, who is here as part of his Pan-Asia UNICEF Tour, said, “This country is heading into the 21st century as a leader in promoting the rights of women. It is a great privilege for me to meet some of your most accomplished women.”

Mr. Belafonte will be presenting Aishah Binte Encik with her award. Ms Encik is well respected in the legal field for the depth and breadth of her legal knowledge. She served 18 years in the offices of the Attorney General where she held the post of Head Prosecutor. Her previous work at the World Bank made her an international figure, and won her many admirers beyond our borders.

The Gala will begin at 6 p.m., and members of the press are welcome. For information about purchasing tickets to the event, or to receive a press pass, please contact Cindy Cho at (XXX) X14765/50.

The Women’s Research and Rights Centre (WRRC) was founded in 1988 by leading academicians studying the causes and cures for discrimination against women. WRRC’s objectives are to identify barriers to women’s advancement, and to press for legal, economic, and educational changes that will promote women’s equality and improve the lives of all.

###

For Further Discussion

1. What information in WRRC’s press release made it likely that the media would be interested in the story?
2. Why would the quote from Harry Belafonte help get the story picked up by news outlets? Do you think what Mr. Belafonte said was important or helpful in getting the WRRC more publicity? Why or why not?
3. If you were writing the WRRC press release, is there anything you would change, add, or leave out? If yes, what?

YOUR TURN

Before beginning to write your press release, answer the following questions:

- 1. Which publications, organizations, and individuals will receive a copy of your press release?**
- 2. What facts in your press release will be most interesting to your intended audience? What is your “hook”? (Think of a fishing line, and the hook that a fish decides to bite.)**

For instance, in the WRRRC example above, although the real objective for the members of the organization was to draw attention to Aishah Binte Encik’s qualifications for the attorney general position, WRRRC felt that the media would be more interested in covering Harry Belafonte. Therefore, they were sure to put information about Harry Belafonte in the headline (title) of the press release, and in the first paragraph. The information about Ms. Encik was skillfully woven into the story later on.

Sometimes the hook can be the timing or location of an event. The hook is what makes the story newsworthy and what makes a journalist want to cover your story.

- 3. What facts are most important in your story?**

Remember that a press release should be kept brief, one to two pages. Only in rare instances should a press release go on to three pages. When a story is complex, or you need to include lists of names or other details to convey your story accurately or compellingly, three pages is acceptable. Beyond three pages you are likely to lose your busy reader/editor and the chance of getting your story published.

- 4. Which organization or individual is sending out the press release?**

This seems an easy question, but it can be complicated to answer when more than one organization or individual is sending out the release. It is important to keep your attention on the objective of the release—to generate publicity. The organization or individual listed at the top of the release should be the name that will generate the most interest by the media, or which will convey the most credibility to the media. It is usually more effective to have a press release originate from an organization that journalists have heard of and trust than from one that journalists feel they will need to research. Moreover, a journalist will likely perceive that yours is a more newsworthy story if one or more of the “characters” are already known to her reading audience.

- 5. When may an editor print your story?**

Most often press releases are written FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, meaning that the information they contain is ready for immediate publication. In some instances, however, you may wish to send out releases before you are prepared for the story to go public. For instance, you may want to notify journalists

about a prize recipient, but do not want the winner to be named publicly until a certain date. In this situation, write on your press release: FOR RELEASE ON [DATE or DATE/TIME].

6. Whom should journalists contact for more information or to set up interviews?

Choose a contact person for the release who can tell your story in an informed and engaging way. Whomever you choose should be prepared to answer journalists' questions in detail, be quoted, and be able to arrange follow-up meetings and/or interviews. It is important that the contact information printed on the release (telephone numbers and email addresses) be an easy and fast way to reach the contact person. If a journalist is interested in covering a story but cannot reach the contact quickly to get more information, she might decide to cover another story instead.

7. What would be an inviting headline? Would a subtitle help your release?

It is important that the press release's headline capture the reader's interest. Often, all an editor needs to do is read the headline of a press release to know that she is not interested in the story. Sometimes, editors are mistaken about the relevance or newsworthiness of a story, but they never find out because they do not take the time to read every press release they receive. For instance, WE was unable to convince news outlets to write an exposé on the unfairness of the luxury tax on tampons. It was not a story that national papers or other media outlets were willing cover. Instead, WE attracted media attention to its computer donation, and in telling the story about its "gift"-within-a-gift to the commissioner general, was able to relay information about the unfair tax.

When a catchy headline sounds great but does not quite provide enough information, a subtitle can fill in the missing information. For instance, the WRRRC was careful to put Harry Belafonte's name first in the title of its release. The subtitle that follows explains that the story is about an upcoming event, and says who will be attending and for what purpose.

8. What quotes can you include that will help strengthen your story or make it more interesting?

Quotes are a useful place to editorialize without making the entire press release sound subjective. For instance, rather than reporting that your organization's new handbook on divorce law is fascinating to read as well as amazingly useful, quote a recently divorced person who has used it:

Jill Morena, whose divorce was finalized in June, said, "The handbook was really easy to read, and indispensable in guiding me through the legal steps of my divorce."

If you cannot find someone from the general public (authorities, celebrities, and professionals are often good choices), you can always quote someone from your own organization.

For Further Discussion

1. Choose a recent event or issue to cover in a press release.
2. As a group, discuss the eight “Your Turn” questions in relation to the press release topic. A volunteer should take notes on a flip chart or large sheet of paper so that everyone can refer back to them.

Basic Press Release Formatting Guidelines

- Write the name and address of the organization sending the release in the upper left-hand corner.
- Skip a line and write **FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE** or **FOR RELEASE ON [DATE]**.
- Write the name of the contact person and her contact information on the right-hand side of the page beginning on the same line (or higher) as the words **FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**.
- Center, underline, and write in all capital letters the title of press release.
- A subtitle, if used, should be separated from the title by a space, written in upper and lower case letters, and italicized.
- The first paragraph of the release should begin with the city of origin, and the date of the release of the information (not the date the release is mailed).
- The press release layout should have plenty of empty (white) space so that it is easy to read. A break between each paragraph is helpful.
- At the bottom and center of the first and second pages should be typed the word more with dashes on each side to look like this: —more—
- At the end of the release, three pound signs, centered, indicates that the communication is complete: ###. This technique is especially helpful when sending press releases by fax. It lets the recipient know when she has received the final page.

APPENDIX C

Organizing Ethical Campaigns Tip Sheet

Tip Sheet

An ethical leader ensures that the means she uses to achieve her objectives are consistent with the objectives themselves.²⁰ The same can be said for conducting political campaigns. One way to begin laying the framework for an ethical campaign is to think through and articulate the larger principles your campaign addresses.

Whether your campaign goal is to change legislation, support a political candidate, or alert your community about a specific issue, it is likely that behind the immediate goal are more complex and long-term objectives. For instance, the long-term objective of a campaign to elect women to a local legislature was to make the legislature more representative of the community it governed, fairer, more responsive, and more accountable.

Fairness, responsiveness, and accountability are among the most important criteria for any campaign. You and the other campaign organizers have the responsibility to enact policies and practices that meet your own ethics criteria. This responsibility begins with the organization and strategies of the campaign itself, and extends to the personal conduct of every individual campaigner.

When establishing the ground rules of your campaign, it is helpful to think in terms of one's *rights* and *responsibilities*, and to strike a balance. For instance, you have the right to challenge your leaders' choices, but also the responsibility not to unnecessarily delay or disrupt plans. Likewise, members of a campaign coalition have the right to express their views about how the coalition should reach its goals, but must also take responsibility for considering the will of other organizers.

20 For an in-depth discussion of principled leadership, see "The Building Blocks of Leadership: Leadership as Communicative Learning," by Mahnaz Afkhami, in *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women* (Women's Learning Partnership, 2001).

Ethical Campaigns—Where to begin?

Organizational Policies and Practices	Personal Conduct
Egalitarian	Sharing
Responsive	Listening
Democratic	Including
Inclusive	Respecting
Tolerant	Tolerating
Transparent	Communicating
Participatory	Empowering
Leading by example	Setting an example
Accountable	Taking responsibility
Giving appropriate credit	Appreciating and thanking

- Ethically managed campaigns have greater credibility and sustainability because they allow constituents to observe and then participate in creating the conditions for change.
- The personal conduct, style, or behavior of campaign participants can have an equal or even greater influence on constituents than the message of a campaign. Therefore, it is very important that every campaign representative behave responsibly by being polite, respectful, honest, and informed. Many potential campaign supporters will judge the merits of the campaign based on the characteristics of the campaigners. Moreover, maintaining the highest ethical standards of behavior will increase the effectiveness and sustainability of the campaign organization itself.
- The cornerstone of an ethical campaign is good communication—among organizers, and back and forth between constituents and organizers. Good communication happens when every possible social interaction is exploited. Phone calls, faxes, emails, direct mail, billboards, flyers, commercials, interviews, symposia, meetings, rallies, door-to-door, and word-of-mouth are all channels of communication that can assist in running an effective and principled campaign. Good communication will keep the campaign organization flexible, responsive, and transparent; it will ensure that the campaign message reaches the broadest audience; and it will allow suggestions and feedback to reach campaign organizers who will benefit from the advice and guidance.

YOUR TURN

Make two columns on a piece of paper, chalkboard, or poster-board. As a group or individually, brainstorm *rights* you believe that leaders, organizers, and constituents have throughout the course of a campaign, and write them down in the first column. “Rights” can be everything from human rights (such as the right to free speech) to procedures (such as the right to know how one’s own financial contribution will be spent). In the second column, write down *responsibilities* you believe leaders, organizers, and constituents have throughout the course of a campaign—what are the ethical obligations of each participant.

RIGHTS	RESPONSIBILITIES

APPENDIX D

Mobilizing / Getting the Word Out Tip Sheet

TIP SHEET

The key to mobilization is education and empowerment, whether you are trying to change legislation, support a political candidate, or alert your community about a specific issue. Your task is to educate people about the issues that concern them. Education happens when you prepare your arguments, present your strategies, and persuade your audience. You can educate people on the phone, at their door, on the street, on websites, at rallies, in radio and television interviews, in newspaper and magazine articles and editorials, and in letters and emails. Even sign-on petitions, voter registration, and thoughtfully crafted appeals for funding can all be used as opportunities to educate a constituency.

Preparation, Presentation, Persuasion		
Speeches, Articles, Editorials, Letters to the Editor, Direct Mail Letters, Emails	NEED	Interesting, easy-to-follow arguments that are well supported by factual examples, data, and anecdotes
Telephone or Door-to-Door Campaigns, Interviews, Panel Discussions	NEED	Talking points and selected data to make the issues relevant to the particular audience
Rallying Cheers, Posters, Bumper Stickers, T-shirts	NEED	Quotable slogans, memorable facts, and recognizable logo and/or color scheme

- The most active and committed participants in a campaign are those who really understand the issues, and what steps need to be taken.
- Your education message must have two parts: (1) a straight-forward description of the problem, and (2) a clear and concise plan for how it can be fixed.

YOUR TURN

Talking Points

Talking points are an excellent tool for identifying and explaining your campaign's chief concerns and what you want done about them. Talking points can serve as an outline for a speech; they can help you stay on message during an interview; and they can prepare you for common questions that will arise when you speak with people about your campaign.

Talking points, which often look like a list of bulleted sentences or paragraphs, should be in a format that is easy to skim for ideas or can jog your memory while you are talking to someone. There really are only two rules when drafting talking points:

- Talking points should provide helpful and persuasive information that goes beyond your preliminary statements. For example, if you are campaigning for Helen Patois running for political office, you do not need to have a talking point that says, "Vote for Helen Patois." More helpful would be reminders of the legislation she supports, her economic expertise, and the important people who have already endorsed her candidacy.
- There is no length limit to talking points, but your list should be well organized so that the information is accessible. For instance, if your talking points fit on a single page, bolding or highlighting certain words may be enough to remind you of the points you intend to make in your presentation. Talking points can be much longer however. In fact, press spokespersons sometimes have binders with dozens of pages of talking points. In order to keep all the information they need at their finger tips, the talking points are divided into sections, and each section is carefully tabbed, labeled, and organized so that certain types of information are given priority on the page.

Preparing Your Lesson

Whether you are giving a speech, being interviewed, or are knocking on doors to talk to people individually, effective mobilization relies on effective education. And being effective means being prepared. Sometimes, you may have less than a minute to explain your issue, as well as what you want someone to do about it and why.

Slogans and Catch-phrases

There are dozens of places to advertise your campaign, and each one is an opportunity to educate more people about why they should take action. Radio and television spots can reach a large audience, but they can be prohibitively expensive. If you are creative about where you post flyers, bumper stickers, signs, and flags, your message will get out. Remember that flyers can be mailed, faxed, emailed, and posted or linked on Web sites, as well as posted on walls and windows in public spaces. If you can find willing local merchants, shop windows are a great place to post your signs.

To make your flyers and other campaign materials compelling, it is helpful to have a slogan or catch-phrase that you can reuse over and over again. It is

important that your slogan be easy to understand and easily recognizable. It should be short, memorable, consistent with your talking points, and supported by your data. For instance, a group that supports increasing the number of women in the judiciary might choose a set of scales as their symbol—signifying equality and justice. Their slogan might be “Women Judges Now! It’s Only Fair.”



Women Judges Now!

It’s Only Fair.

APPENDIX E

Networking and Coalition-Building Tip Sheet

Tip Sheet

A coalition is a group of organizations that are working in partnership toward a common goal. Organizations that unite behind a shared endeavor increase the resources, personnel, funding, visibility, and credibility directed toward their effort. Even organizations that might normally compete for funds or media attention, or organizations that have divergent ideological aims sometimes form strategic alliances to work together on certain objectives. There are times when establishing a coalition can be more work than it is worth, or for a variety of reasons, formal partnerships may simply not be feasible. In those instances, informal networks can still help secure endorsements and material support for specific campaigns.

Partnering with organizations with similar goals is the first step to building your campaign's network and resources. These organizations are usually already familiar with your organization, or with your work. In the best of circumstances, you will routinely find that you support the efforts of your partner organizations, and they in turn will often support your endeavors.

Depending on the issue or candidate you are supporting, there may be groups (unions, student bodies, civic organizations, etc.) with which you can establish a strategic alliance, even though usually you would have little to do with one another. Often the strongest and most politically powerful coalitions are those that have formed alliances across cultural, racial, gender, and political lines.

In addition, there may be businesses, community groups, religious affiliates, and individuals who are not able to join a coalition in any official capacity, but are able to provide "silent support" to your campaign. Silent supporters can help by contributing material resources—such as microphones and recording equipment, meeting space, and supplies for signs and flyers—or by offering funding.

Another potentially important campaign tool is securing endorsements from prominent politicians and celebrities, and influential editorial boards of newspapers and magazines. These endorsements, while not providing any immediate profit, may influence others to lend you their support.

Your network may be your single most important asset for getting your word out. When a coalition works well, it extends the campaign's credibility, productivity,

and responsiveness to the community's needs. Following some basic guidelines will help your coalition operate smoothly and effectively.

- Use democratic and transparent processes for making decisions and carrying out financial transactions among coalition members. Demonstrate respectful, tolerant, generous, and compassionate leadership. Engage in frequent dialogue with your coalition partners and remain flexible about their needs and expectations.
- Conduct regular meetings with representatives of all the coalition partners. The benefit of frequent meetings cuts two ways. Your coalition members stay involved and informed, and the campaign benefits from updated information and new resources that the members provide.
- Respect coalition members' efforts to balance the needs of their organization with the needs of the coalition. Understand and, as much as possible, accommodate the different organizations' internal decision-making processes.
- Delegate tasks to your coalition partners whenever possible. Delegating relieves some of the organizing or fundraising burden from the campaign's central coordinating body, and it empowers coalition partners by giving them a greater stake in the outcome.
- Be explicit about the responsibilities of each coalition member to avoid misunderstanding and mistakes later on.
- In building a coalition, you can never thank people enough for their support. Be alert to the many contributions, both material and in time and expertise, that your coalition members are making. Take every possible opportunity to acknowledge and thank contributors, and encourage others to do so as well. Being appreciated keeps participants' morale high, and can inspire them to become more involved.

YOUR TURN

Partnerships, collaborations, networks, alliances, and coalitions are all relationships in which organizations or individuals share information and resources to reach their goals. You can increase your effectiveness when you capitalize on the resources and services of other organizations, and you can increase your output when you lend your own organization's services or expertise. In addition to developing relationships with individuals in your own field, networking with policy makers, reporters, funders, academics, graphic artists, computer technicians, even travel agents, may provide you and your organization with a ready list of advisers, planners, and contributors for a variety of initiatives.

There are, however, some disadvantages to working collaboratively. The most common is slowness of group decision-making. Every organization has its own decision-making process. Thus, the greater the number of organizations involved in a decision, the more steps there will be to reaching a course of action that all can agree upon. The second big drawback is the amount of time, energy, and

resources that must be dedicated to communication between and among the coalition partners to keep each abreast of the coalition's needs and its next steps.

Before embarking on coalition-building, consider the following questions:

- What is the common issue that all of the coalition members want addressed?
- Will the organizations' efforts together be more effective in reaching their goal than if they pursued it independently?
- What are the likely obstacles that the organizations will face in working together? Can these obstacles be overcome?
- Is each partner organization interested in contributing to the coalition's work, not just garnering publicity or other individual rewards from the coalition's efforts?
- Is each partner organization welcome in the coalition by the other partners?

Steps to Coalition-Building

- **Choose a lead agency or lead agencies.** The lead's task will be to facilitate the work of the coalition by organizing meetings, ensuring that the delegated tasks are being completed, and evaluating and communicating to coalition members their progress in reaching their goal.
- **Consider the shared vision of the coalition members.** Write a mission statement and the coalition's long-term and short-term goals. How will the coalition know it has met its objectives?
- **Decide on the funding contributions of coalition members and/or the coalition's fundraising strategies.**
- **Delegate tasks to each coalition member and the timeframe in which the tasks need to be completed.**
- **Decide on when and how often the coalition members will meet.**
- **Discuss processes for evaluating the productivity of the coalition.** Seek an understanding from all the coalition members that they will be flexible and responsive to changing needs of the coalition.
- **Determine the coalition's criteria for inviting in new coalition members.**
- **Remember to thank everyone, often, for all their hard work!**

APPENDIX F

Glossary of Political Participation Terms

Political Terminology

Authoritarianism: A system of government in which leaders are not subject to the will of the governed. Individuals do not have freedom of thought or action, but must submit to the highest governing authority.

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: “The Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace,” was held in Beijing, China, in 1995. Governments of 189 countries and more than 5,000 representatives from 2,100 non-governmental organizations participated in the historical gathering. The principal themes were the advancement and empowerment of women in relation to women’s human rights, women and poverty, women and decision-making, the girl-child, and violence against women. The final document, agreed upon by the participating nations, was entitled the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The Declaration called for specific actions by governments and community-based organizations that would advance the rights of women and girls.

Coalition: An alliance between two or more organizations, political parties, individuals, etc., uniting behind a common goal, plan of action, or political campaign.

Consensus: A general agreement among the members of a given group or community, each of which exercises some discretion in decision-making. Achieving consensus requires consideration of each participant’s opinion and the final decision being amenable to all, to some degree.

Customary Law: In international law, customary law refers to the *Law of Nations* or the legal norms that have developed through accepted practices and exchanges between nations over time.

Declaration and Platform for Action: See “Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.”

Democracy: A form of government where the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodic elections.

Democratic Decision-Making: A form of decision-making and/or governance in which participants have equitable influence over decisions that affect them or issues they are resolving.

Dictatorship: Absolute, despotic rule by a leader or leadership unrestricted by law, constitutions, or other social and political forces.

Diplomacy: A system or plan of formal and informal communication that allows states or other focal points of power to conduct their business and negotiate with each other peacefully.

Family Law or Family Code: Covers rights and obligations of the members of the family, and typically regulates and enforces such matters as marriage, divorce, inheritance, child custody, and adoption. This also has implications on most other social, economic and political rights. In most Muslim-majority countries, Family Law is a formal legislation based on the state's interpretation and implementation of *shari`a* (Islamic law) and *sunna* (Islamic tradition).

Feminism: A belief, doctrine, and social movement to promote political, legal, economic, and social equality between women and men.

Human Rights: Basic rights and freedoms to which all humans are entitled. They are not privileges, but are part of what defines humanity, regardless of where a person lives, her beliefs, or her culture. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights codifies universal civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights.

Ideology: A comprehensive system of beliefs and values that explains society, defines the role of government, and guides an individual, social movement, institution, class, or group.

International Law: The body of customs, rules, and laws governing the relationships of states with each other.

International Human Rights Law: The systems, laws, and customs of human rights observance between and among nations that protect the rights of individuals and communities. These include local and international treaties, laws, and conventions, and universally accepted practices for protecting human rights. Human rights law has many authorities, including international treaties, conventions, and national constitutions—as well as religious teachings and customs—that protect the equal freedom and dignity of every person regardless of gender, race, creed, nationality, or other distinction.

Patriarchy: A social system in which the father is the head of the family, and men have authority over women and children.

Pluralism: 1. A theory that there is more than one frame of reference or perspective on a given topic. 2. A circumstance in society where members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain their unique status while participating in the advancement of the common community.

Propaganda: Persuasive ideas, facts, or allegations, or the deliberate spreading of those ideas to a specific audience to influence the audience's opinion about a cause or a person.

Rights-based: A rights-based initiative, program, or process is grounded in international human rights standards, and has as a key goal the promotion and protection of human rights.

Theocracy: Government controlled by a religious authority that is guided by a divine power, and which uses religious laws and traditions to regulate and enforce society.

Totalitarianism: Absolute control by the state to remake and enforce all facets of society according to an ideological design.

Tyranny: Oppressive, arbitrary, or unrestrained power exerted by government, sometimes with power concentrated in the hands of very few, or even a single despot.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights: In 1948, the member states of the United Nations codified a universal standard of human rights, based on tenets from world religions and philosophies, for all the nations of the world to uphold. The Declaration's preamble and 30 articles have provided the framework for hundreds of constitutions and governing laws around the globe.

Violence Against Women: Any acts of gender-based violence that result in physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women and/or girls, including acts of violence by a spouse or other family member, harm to women and girls as a result of violent conflict, and assault and rape by enemy combatants.

Quotas for Women: Policies aimed at increasing the proportion of women in political office. Mechanisms requiring that women must constitute a certain number or percentage of the members of a body, whether it is a candidate list, a parliamentary assembly, a committee, or a government.

APPENDIX G

Website Resources for Women's Political Participation

Helpful Websites for Political Participation Information and Support

The Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) works in cooperation with African Parliaments to strengthen parliamentary democracy in Africa, keep Africa high on the political agenda in Europe, and facilitate African-European Parliamentary dialogue. <http://www.awepa.org>

Campaign for Good Governance (CGG) is a registered national non-governmental organization (NGO) advocating for good governance, freedom, democracy, and gender equity in Sierra Leone. <http://www.slcgg.org>

CAWTAR is an independent regional institution promoting gender equality in the Arab World through research, training, networking, and advocacy. <http://www.cawtar.org>

The Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP) is a non-partisan, non-profit and non-governmental regional organization (NGO) dedicated to promoting equal participation of women in politics and decision-making. <http://www.capwip.org>

The Club of Madrid is an independent organization dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world by drawing on the unique experience and resources of its members—70 democratic former heads of state and government. <http://www.clubmadrid.org>

Elect Women Magazine is a U.S.-based online media site that provides campaign tips, stories, and resources to women running for political office or thinking about running for office. Candidates and elected officials provide the blog posts, and women candidates can blog in to ask questions, offer advice, and share information. <http://www.electwomen.com>

Global Database of Quotas for Women is a joint project of International IDEA and Stockholm University. <http://www.quotaproject.org>

iKNOW Politics, International Knowledge Network of Women in

Politics is an online workspace designed to serve the needs of elected officials, candidates, political party leaders and members, researchers, students, and other practitioners interested in advancing women in politics.

<http://www.iknowpolitics.org>

International IDEA: The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance is an inter-governmental organization. Its programs aim to provide knowledge to democracy builders, provide policy development and analysis, and support democratic reform. <http://www.idea.int>

The Inter-Parliamentary Union is the international organization of Parliaments of sovereign states. The Union is the focal point for worldwide parliamentary dialogue and works for peace and co-operation. The website's "democracy through partnership between men and women in politics" pages provide a number of interesting resources. <http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm>

MobileActive.org is a community of people and organizations using mobile phones for social impact. It is committed to increasing the effectiveness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) around the world that recognize the world's 3.5 billion mobile phones provide unprecedented opportunities for organizing, communicating, and delivering service and information. <http://mobileactive.org>

Mowatinat means 'Female Citizens.' This Arabic-language site of Sisterhood Is Global Institute/Jordan provides news, information and resources on women's political and public participation in the MENA and beyond. <http://www.mowatinat.org/articles/index.php>

NDI/The National Democratic Institute is a non-profit, non-partisan organization working to support and strengthen democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation, openness, and accountability in government. <http://www.ndi.org>

onlinewomeninpolitics.org was born out of the vision of Asian women leaders to explore creative ways in organizing a network of Asia Pacific women involved in politics, governance, decision-making, and transformative leadership. <http://www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org>

Program on Governance in the Arab Region (POGAR) is a United Nations Development Program that aims to assist government actors, civil society, and the private sector to improve governance processes in the Arab states, always with a view to achieving sustainability. <http://www.pogar.org>

United Cities and Local Governments' website is a world source of information on local self-government, local authorities, and international solidarity, and vehicle for experience exchange. <http://www.cities-localgovernments.org>

Women's Political Participation in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco: In partnership with the Centre for Arab Women Training and Research (CAWTAR), UN-INSTRAW has initiated this project on strengthening women's leadership and participation in politics and decision-making in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. <http://www.un-instraw.org/en/ggpp/maghreb-project/maghreb-project-2.html>

Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), compiled by World Bank researchers, shows that many developing-country governments are making important gains in control of corruption, and some of them are matching the performance of affluent countries in overall governance measures. See their country indicators chart. <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi>

The World Movement for Democracy is a global network of pro-democracy activists, practitioners, academics, policy makers, and funders who have come together to cooperate in the promotion of democracy. <http://www.wmd.org/>

World Wide Guide to Women in Leadership lists statistics and status updates on women in leadership roles throughout history and the present day. <http://www.guide2womenleaders.com>

APPENDIX H

Quotas as a Gender Equity Measure

The Female Quota System in Politics

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Beirut, December 2009

Women's participation in politics, reflected in their representation in Parliaments, is one of the main indicators of a society's degree of political and democratic development. Worldwide in 2009, women held only 18.6% of seats in national Parliaments on average, even though they account for half of the world's population. Demographic equality with men is not observed in any area related to power, whether social, economic, or political, where women are underrepresented or even totally absent. Historically excluded from the res publica, or politics, women have had to demand the right to participate and invent strategies to be able to take part in public debate and play a role on the political scene.

The rate of women members of Parliament exceeds 30% in 22 countries, but lies between 0 and 3% in 17. Regional averages put Scandinavian countries in the lead with 42.5% and Arab states in last place, with women making up only 9% of their Parliaments. This study focuses specifically on female representation in politics and on the importance of implementing quotas for women to achieve greater balance and establish true democracies.

The study will first attempt to define the concept of quotas and place them in the context of international conventions. It will then offer some thoughts about the impact and perception of quotas as a means of achieving parity, and conclude with some examples of constructive measures and policies adopted in different regions of the world to increase the number of women in politics.

I. Definition of Quotas

A. What is a Quota?

Definition

A quota is a numerical goal that represents a target minimum or maximum. In politics, gender quotas set a minimum threshold for female representation. Quotas are a solution to the historical problem of underrepresentation of women in politics related to a variety of traditional, socio-cultural, religious, and other reasons.

Thus, the goal of female quotas is to set the minimum ratio of women in an elected, appointed or nominated body. The use of a quota system helps increase female representation in politics by guaranteeing women a critical minority of 20, 30 or 40% of the candidate slate or seats held, with the ultimate goal being parity between men and women. There is a whole range of different quotas depending on the body to which they are being applied, the type of voting system in place, whether they are applied at the local or national level, and also whether they are mandatory or voluntary.

Quota typology

Quota systems can look different depending on each country's political and electoral system and its socio-cultural realities, as well as the degree of political awareness. There are two main types of quota systems: quotas imposed by the state at the constitutional or legislative level, and voluntary quotas freely chosen and adopted by the political parties.

Mandatory quotas: the state chooses the type of quota best suited to its institutions, with the goal of achieving gender parity under the best possible conditions. Quotas can be mandated through various legislative instruments: they can be constitutional, involving an amendment to the country's constitution, or legislative if they are implemented through a law. This type of obligatory quota is quite common in Latin America. The advantage of imposing quotas is that they apply equally to all political parties within a country, and there are legal sanctions for non-compliance. Different countries adopt them at the local, regional, national or federal level—with more or less success—depending on their political or electoral system.

Voluntary quotas are freely chosen and adopted by one or more political parties, which formally establish a certain quota in their bylaws, policies, and procedures, or operating rules. Parties are motivated to take positive steps to promote women for a variety of reasons, from the most patronage-oriented to the most ideological. These include attracting women voters, true political conscience, the simple quest for more equal representation, or a true desire to establish parity and consequently, to restore true democracy. Unlike mandatory quotas, voluntary quotas are not subject to any systematic penalty for non-compliance. In this case, pressure within the party and voter criticism are the only mechanisms observed.

These two systems are not mutually exclusive and can readily coexist, in which case it could be assumed that parity would be achieved more quickly and easily.

In addition, quotas—whether mandatory or voluntary—can have different variations depending on whether they are intended to be permanent or temporary. Some countries or political parties apply quotas for a limited period of time, like a medical treatment. The quotas lapse when a certain level of female representation is reached and when the obstacles and barriers to the presence of women in decision-making bodies have disappeared. However, care must be taken not to lift the quotas prematurely. In Bangladesh, the number of female representatives fell from nearly 10% to 2% in just one election in 2000, when the temporary provisions for quotas had expired. This example illustrates the importance of carefully studying the duration of quotas. The third section of this study will examine the case of Egypt and how withdrawing the quotas affected women’s participation in politics.

Quotas can also take different forms depending on whether they apply to volunteer or candidate lists or to elected seats, and once again, there can be a combination of all three levels. Some countries, such as Argentina and Belgium, have implemented a dual quota system to ensure both minimum representation of women and a certain number of seats or spaces reserved for women at every level of government and every level of the ballot. This prevents women from being relegated to the bottom of the candidate list, where they have little chance of being elected.

In the logic of egalitarian democracy, it also seems important to provide safeguards by setting gender-neutral quotas that correct the problem of underrepresentation of both women and men, if applicable. This is achieved by establishing a minimum threshold for each gender, which ensures that each sex would have a minimum quota of, for example, 40% and a majority not exceeding 60%. This type of quota is totally egalitarian because it sets the same limits for men and women, while ensuring true and effective representation. By definition, a 50-50 quota system would be egalitarian and neutral and have the advantage of limiting both female and male representation, which a simple minimum quota cannot do. However, this raises the following question: Would democracy be respected in this case?

The legal foundations for affirmative action in general, and quotas in particular, are based on international legal instruments that are universal or regional in nature and will be discussed below.

B. Quotas and International Law

The first international instruments that served as the basis for establishing the quota system are the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1976 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which laid the groundwork by explicitly stating that all humans are equal and by giving them the same rights. However, the notion of “universal” was muddled by the fact that the documents use only masculine references. “What a strange kind of universality, that forgets half of humanity!” exclaimed feminist Maria Deraismes. Hence the need to propose new conventions specifically aimed at protecting women.

This was accomplished with the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), augmented by its Optional Protocol. This text revisits the principle of gender equality, giving it full meaning this time, especially in the political domain since the Convention calls for absolute equality in voting rights and candidacy. Articles 3 and 7 recommend adoption of “all appropriate measures, including legislation...to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country....” However, CEDAW’s failure to stipulate the means for achieving this, or to provide legal mechanisms binding on the countries, reduces the effectiveness of its provisions. CEDAW also makes no mention of parity.

One-hundred and eighty-five states, or over 90% of UN members, are currently parties to CEDAW—making this an almost universal convention. Still, it is important to qualify this large number of signatures by noting how the Convention is actually being implemented. In reality, the strong reservations expressed by some of the latest signatories (Algeria 1996, Bahrain 2002, Kuwait 1994, Lebanon 1997, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia 2000), coupled with the fact that some countries have only partially incorporated CEDAW into their national legislation, with many of them preserving discriminatory laws in the name of religious beliefs or cultural traditions, mean that ratification is something of a moot point. This shows these countries’ lack of true political will to enforce egalitarian principles. Rare are the new signatories who have expressed no reservations. South Africa and Mozambique alone can be congratulated in this respect. It must be noted that in the absence of binding principles and sanctions for the countries’ failure to incorporate CEDAW into their own law, the Convention is being implemented only partially. It is therefore up to international organizations and civil society to apply pressure on the governments to remind them of their international commitments.

In 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing put forth the concept of equal access to power structures and decision-making bodies for men and women. The Declaration adopted by consensus called on the governments of the 189 attending countries to take all necessary measures to implement the Platform for Action from a gender viewpoint. States are required to set goals and to take positive steps to adopt measures that would substantially increase the number of women in politics. Thus, quotas are clearly recommended at the international level for the first time. Beijing suggests implementing measures to achieve a 33% rate of women in decision-making positions and positions of power and, yielding to pressure from NGOs, the final declaration talks about putting men and women on equal footing.

It must be noted that regional declarations of human rights, such as the three Islamic declarations on human rights—the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (UIDHR, 1981), the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam (CDHRI, 1990), and the Arab Charter on Human Rights (ACHR, 1994)—and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (adopted in Maputo in 2003 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government) reiterate all three of the fundamental principles of freedom, equality, and brotherhood from Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights (UDHR) (Articles 2 and 3 of the UIDHR, Articles 1 and 19 of the CDHRI, Article 2 of the ACHR). They also proclaim the absence of discrimination, but this is not absolute (Article 2 of the UDHR, Article 3 of the UIDHR, Articles 1 and 19 of the CDHRI, Article 2 of the ACHR). Article 9 of the Maputo Protocol creates an obligation to achieve gender parity in the political life of the signatory countries through positive and legislative action, but does not prescribe any binding measures.

In September 2000, in the context of its Millennium Declaration, the United Nations General Assembly adopted eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The third goal endorses the promotion of gender equality in education, work, and social and political participation so as to empower women. The MDGs also track progress in women's ability to participate in public decision-making processes on an equal footing with men. The MDGs set 2015 as the deadline for achieving the goals. They were adopted by 191 countries, of which 147 were represented by their head of state or government.

II. Some Thoughts on Quotas

A. The Ideological Debate

Demands for gender equality that emerged in Western countries at the end of the 19th century sparked debates based on different ideological schools of thought championed by the feminist, intellectual, philosophical, and literary movements. More recently, legal and philosophical arguments have been revived by quota proponents and opponents around the world. These arguments hinge on the opposing notions of the universalism of individuals and the differentialism of communities.

1. Universalism Versus Differentialism

Elisabeth Badinter, a French philosopher attracted in the 1960s by Simone de Beauvoir's feminist theory developed in *The Second Sex*, opposed quotas for women in politics, along with some of her female colleagues. She based her anti-quota argument on the republican universalism theory, which espouses the idea of the universal nature of humanity. According to Ms. Badinter and the proponents of this theory, humanity is universally sexual. So there is no reason to favor women by adopting affirmative action measures, which would not ensure more rapid progress or speed up change, but—on the contrary—would put women at risk of a serious setback. In the long run, women's competence would be doubted as they would be suspected of having been selected for a particular job merely because they were women.

But above all, affirmative action would restrict women to one category. Repeating the arguments of American conservatives who oppose the affirmative action and preferential treatment that various minorities enjoy in the U.S. social domain, Elisabeth Badinter warns against the possible drift into categories, causing quotas to have a separationist effect and resulting in a society facing the threat of a

thousand “ghettos.” She believes that legally recognizing discrimination would amount to reinforcing and legitimizing it.

In reply to this argument, authors who advocate parity, such as Sylviane Agacinski, retort that this fear is ungrounded because the universal difference between the sexes constitutes neither a category nor a minority (unlike belonging to a particular race, religion or social category in a given society, women are in all of these categories but do not constitute one). The sexual dichotomy results from the original, universal division of the world into two equivalent, immutable parts; it is the universal coexistence of the two sexes that makes up human race. Far from being a separate category, females are just as much a component of humanity as males. So in order to define the human referent, the subject of law, it is necessary to take into account the co-activity and co-responsibility of both sexes, i.e., parity, which really means the wealth of differences within equality. Consequently, this “equal duality” is the basis for national sovereignty, and democracy without equal reciprocity is not possible.

Gender difference is an argument often advanced to justify the use of quotas to “feminize” political bodies with the experience, culture, and sensitivity of women. Opponents of quotas reply that this differentialism is based solely on essentialist naiveties and that it leads instead to a society divided into minorities. “Nevertheless, American women gained the right to vote a generation before French women by emphasizing women’s unique qualities, and thereby demonstrated the political effectiveness of differentialism,” explains Pierre Rosanvallon, a historian and professor at Collège de France, in “La démocratie inachevée” [Unfinished Democracy].

Finally, authors who support quotas note the contradiction of defenders of republican universalism who wax indignant about the underrepresentation of women while considering the individual in the abstract.

2. Critical Observations Concerning Quotas

Quotas are frequently criticized on the basis of relatively accurate observations made after their adoption. For example, the uselessness of quotas that do not increase women’s participation in politics and the counter-productivity of quotas are mentioned. According to these arguments, women who are elected or appointed through the quota process might not have the necessary expertise; and women who are appointed might be “placed” by their family, spouse, community, etc., and would not be driven by any real political will. Thus women would be appointed to losing districts so as to give a very poor idea of women’s success in politics; or they would find themselves being given only the least important portfolios and would be relegated to sectors related to family or social life. All of this would tend to discourage women and therefore be counterproductive. In this case, affirmative action would work against the person experiencing discrimination. Quotas would prove to be not only ineffective but also counter to women’s best interests. It is therefore essential to consider the risk that quotas can represent if they are not accompanied by the necessary precautions for avoiding the pitfalls mentioned above.

B. An Attempt at Consensus: Yes to Quotas, But Only With Certain Conditions

From a philosophical point of view, the quota system can perhaps be interpreted as being contrary to democratic principles, in that it artificially forces the exercise of democracy, although the final goal is to create a true democracy. From a legal and political standpoint, it can be argued that adopting quotas is an admission that the principles of gender equality and democracy are not being followed. Thus, the quota system serves as a tool to promote a democracy that is based on the principle of gender equality as defined by international conventions, albeit a shaky and incomplete democracy. From a social perspective, the existing roles need to be changed. Society's entire traditional perception of the worth associated with men's experience and actions must be re-examined to include women and to recognize their political actions. This may be especially difficult in traditionally patriarchal societies. It is therefore important to show that the goal is not to deprive men of power, but rather to establish the rules of power-sharing among all the citizens of a democratic society.

What is the right approach? Should quotas be established in an attempt to achieve a high level of female representation, but at the risk of violating democratic principles through affirmative action practices; or should democracy, in its original sense, be allowed to freely take its course (provided that the freedom to do so is total and genuine)? Over the very long term—too long, namely a minimum of several generations—this would tend to produce the same result. There is no ideal solution, but it seems possible to propose some suggestions that follow both approaches.

The decision to use quotas must be the result of an in-depth analysis of the political institutions, constitution, and election laws at the country's federal, national, regional, and local levels, in order to determine which type of quota would be the most appropriate, and at which level, for which type of voting, and for how long.

In a way, the task is to bring out the national political structure's identity defining the country's current type of citizenship and its institutional structure, electoral system, structure and organization of the political parties, and gender culture. This would allow each country to introduce a specific quota model that would be the perfect solution to the obstacles identified. The use of perfectly tailored proactive measures would bring the countries to an appropriate level of parity and a sufficient level of public and political awareness to guarantee that female representation in political institutions would continue. When a country reaches this level of political and democratic development, then quotas, which are like a crutch that, by definition, is artificial and intended for temporary or exceptional use to support a failing system, can be lifted. The quotas play the role of a positive catalyst, so to speak, in the quest for parity.

The electoral system sets the rules of the democratic game within a country. Depending on these rules, women's participation can be furthered or hindered. So what is needed is a study of how electoral systems influence the level of women's participation in politics. While there is no set rule for applying a certain type of quota to a certain type of voting and political regime, studies tend to

show that quotas yield the best results when they are applied in a political system based on proportional representation. (The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women [UN-INSTRAW] is currently working on designing a tool for analyzing electoral systems from a gender perspective to see how they influence the level of women's participation in politics.)

Proportional representation aims to allocate seats based on the number of votes cast so that those elected (members of Parliament; local, city and regional councilors; etc.) can reflect the diversity of opinions among the voters as fairly as possible. Each political party presents a slate of candidates for the vote. The seats are allocated to each list by dividing the number of votes received by the electoral quotient (number of votes needed to win one seat). Any remaining seats to be filled are allocated using a previously determined method. This method of election is the fairest and most democratic. According to authors Muholongu Malumalu and Feghali, proportional representation is the method most often used in western democracies; it is the predominant form in Latin America, as well as in Europe with 63.8%, and represents 26.4% of the election methods used in Africa.

Plurality voting can be used for either single or multi-member district elections. This is the oldest form of voting and also the simplest, as it awards the seat(s) to the candidate or slate of candidates who receive a (relative or absolute) majority of votes. This voting system gives small parties less chance of being represented and means that the elected legislature does not truly reflect the entire electorate. Adopting quotas in a political system that uses this election method would have less of an effect.

C. The Effect of Adopting Quotas as Illustrated by Examples of Good Practices

From a quantitative standpoint, statistics compiled by UNIFEM, IDEA, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and Quotaproject show how adopting quotas affects women's increased presence in politics. Mechanically-speaking, the number of women in government services is exploding, and the significant presence of women in the leading bodies of government denotes a certain level of modernity. One wonders how long this "pioneer effect" will last. The more women there are, the less novel the movement will be, but this will allow for the establishment of new ways to exercise power over the long term. It is conceivable that it will take several election cycles for parity to mature. According to UNIFEM, in developing countries it takes two generations to reach an "equal" representation rate of 40% for women in politics. These figures show how slow the advancement of women in politics really is. UNIFEM also anticipates that only a few countries will reach the critical mass of 30% female members of Parliament by 2015, and that in developing countries it will take another 40 years to reach parity. As of September 2009, women make up only 18.6% of members of parliament worldwide, and there are only seven female heads of state in the world. A comparative study on the presence of women in Parliament in countries that have adopted quotas and countries with no quotas of any kind shows how quotas accelerate the process. In countries with no quotas, women advance much more slowly in politics than in

countries with quotas. The difference can be as high as sixteen percentage points, as in South Asia. (UNIFEM, Progress Report 2008-2009).

Moreover, the effects of adopting quotas should be studied not only quantitatively, but qualitatively as well. Few statistics are available in this area, but it would be interesting to study the limiting effects of quotas, for example, the “glass ceiling effect” that limits women to the proposed 30% while preventing them from rising through the political ranks in any great numbers. To remedy this, some countries have established alternative male-female quotas that allow women to gain access to all positions and so to reach parity. This is the case in Sweden, where the principle of “one candidate in two is a woman,” also called the “zipper principle,” allows each sex to achieve a rate of close to 50%, without this being perceived by public opinion as a restrictive quota.

It should be added that while quotas are certainly a mathematical solution, they do not completely break down all of the barriers to women’s representation in politics. To achieve lasting change in society, quotas must be accompanied by action on two fronts: first, civil society must evolve to better support women in politics, and second, women must themselves become involved in politics. Such involvement can take many forms, including taking a position, making public statements, demanding quotas within one’s own party, refusing to follow a political leader who does not observe parity, leaving parties that do not apply the principle of gender equality, and also creating political parties that have parity and respect for parity by all members as their cornerstone. Women must assert their political will, starting with the refusal to vote for a political party that does not respect them.

The case of the Scandinavian countries, which have achieved parity with very little use of quotas, is a particularly good example of the importance of mobilizing civil society and political will as a prerequisite for women’s rise in politics and in all levels of society.

In light of some political parties’ positive experiences in seeking equity, it is possible to cite some examples of good practices used throughout the world, specifically: creating women’s chapters within political parties, offering training and financial aid to female candidates to help them campaign effectively, creating a forum where women can exert pressure and debate policies, scheduling meetings at times when women can attend, establishing a task force to analyze the party’s ideology, platform, and bylaws and to verify that they incorporate the idea of gender equality, institutionalizing policies for equality within the party, and examining the democratic nature of parties’ internal candidate-selection processes. These are only a few examples of possible ways to improve women’s participation in politics.

III. The Reality of Quotas Around the World: Country Examples, Parity With and Without Quotas

A. The Arab World

As Heba Nassar of UNIFEM reiterated at the Conference on the Joint United Nations/Arab League MDG Report held in Beirut on December 9-10, 2009, Arab women's participation in politics remains the lowest in the world, with women holding an average of 9% of national Parliament seats in the region. Their underrepresentation in the governments of Arab nations is even cited as the main cause of underdevelopment in these countries by a 2006 UNDP report on human development. In 2009, the percentage of seats in Parliament occupied by women was still less than 10% in many Arab countries (Libya, Oman, Lebanon, Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Yemen, and the Comoros Islands) and women are completely absent from parliament in Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Palestine, and Somalia. Heba Nassar feels that this situation is the result of several factors: the patriarchal and sometimes tribal culture and the sectarianism that predominate in some Arab states, which give only clan chiefs the right to appoint candidates for the elections; stereotypes about the role of the Arab woman in society are very strong and still confine women to household tasks and raising children; and in many Arab countries, women's political participation is limited to a few appointments to ministerial or parliamentary positions.

Ratification of CEDAW by 19 of the 22 Arab countries indicates a commitment to recognizing women's rights and equality. However, it is unfortunate that, as explained earlier, many countries have expressed reservations, sometimes so many that they render the CEDAW text meaningless. Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco have ratified the Optional Protocol to CEDAW.

Still, note should be taken of certain constructive measures that could indicate a political willingness on the part of some Arab states to steer their society toward greater recognition of the role women have to play. These include:

- The emergence of a "state feminism" through the creation of national commissions for women, which have been established in several Arab countries to give women more influence (such as in Egypt in 2000 and the Supreme Council for Women in Bahrain in 2001). This controlled feminism is often criticized for its artificial nature intended only to give the appearance of a modern state with no real commitment to women. It is also accused of trying to channel and limit women's movements. Yet it seems undeniable that regardless of the government's true motives, women do benefit from the creation of these kinds of entities.
- Active participation by some Arab states in regional and international conferences on gender and strengthening the role of women.
- Adoption of universal suffrage in most Arab countries.
- Adoption of quotas (Algeria, Djibouti, Morocco, Jordan, Tunisia, Sudan, Palestine, Egypt, Mauritania, and Iraq),
- Successful implementation of legal reforms in some countries, eliminating laws that discriminated against women and replacing them with others more in keeping with equality.

In order for all of these political, legal, and social measures to be even more effective, they must be accompanied by information campaigns at the local and national levels to ensure that all women know their political rights and exercise them, regardless of their social status.

In addition to these positive steps, concrete initiatives have been taken to increase political participation by women in the Mashriq countries (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria). They are worth mentioning: arrangement of women-only transportation to the polls; cooperation with women's organizations to raise awareness and educate women about their voting rights, in collaboration with male community leaders; improved access to information and expertise; linking women with female members of Parliament, or male members of Parliament who support the women's cause, to help familiarize them with the rules of the political game.

By way of example, we will look at the following countries: Morocco, Bahrain, Jordan, Egypt, and Lebanon.

In Morocco, the principle of gender equality is guaranteed by the 1962 constitution. However, and despite the government's ratification of CEDAW in 1993 and the Optional Protocol in 2006, women's representation in politics was still only 10.5% in 2009, which places Morocco squarely among the average for Arab countries.

Yet ever since Mohammed VI ascended to the throne in 1999, the government has consistently demonstrated a growing political commitment to promoting gender equality and good governance. According to H. Alimi M'Chichi, a professor of political science at the Law Faculty of Casablanca, the introduction of gender analysis into the political domain has made it possible, first, to expose some of the socially and historically constructed relationships responsible for many gender-based inequalities; and second, to highlight the differences between modernists and Islamists, while revealing widespread confusion about women's place in Moroccan society.

The Moroccan government's innovative approach is part of a sweeping national agenda for democratic transition, economic modernization, and promotion of human development, which led to the adoption of a female quota of 12% for the 2002 local elections. This was a major step forward for Moroccan women, and certainly indicates the desire to make more room for them in Morocco's political institutions, even though the numbers still seem a little cautious. The government's desire to promote women was reaffirmed by its withdrawal of the reservations expressed when CEDAW was ratified, then by the revision of family laws (*Moudawana*) in 2004 and the amendment of the citizenship law in 2007. In 2005, the Moroccan government adopted a national strategy for preventing violence against women, and in 2006 a strategy to promote gender equality by incorporating gender objectives into public policy and development programs, thus favoring women's entry into the public sector.

As explained by Alain Roussillon and Fatima Zahra Zryouil, authors of “Etre femme en Egypte, au Maroc et en Jordanie” [Being a Woman in Egypt, Morocco and Jordan], when Moroccan feminists first mobilized, their efforts were localized and yielded little success because they were part of an elitist logic seeking to gain access to positions of power and not an attempt to more generally improve living conditions for working-class women. However, these movements have since evolved considerably and have gained real momentum throughout all of Moroccan society.

The Democratic Association of Moroccan Women (known by its French acronym ADFM) has also played an important role. ADFM was created in 1985 and works to promote a culture of gender equality by organizing work seminars, conferences, and debates. Working with the women’s rights movement, the association has disseminated and popularized the debate on female representation in Parliament by moving gradually from a general discussion of affirmative action measures to specific and quantified demands that led to the adoption of quotas.

ADFM also works at the legal and policy level seeking enforcement of the international conventions to counter the imbalance between the number of women in the population and the small proportion of female candidates and elected officials. Along with women’s networks and associations, ADFM also works side by side with the political parties to support the introduction of proactive measures and change the parties’ policies and procedures to allow women to hold positions of power within the parties.

Finally, the notable increase in the number of women in Moroccan politics should not dampen efforts by various political players to continue adapting domestic laws to the international conventions, or efforts by Moroccan society to promote modern education, which would help women in politics and steer the country toward equality-based democracy.

In the Middle East, as previously mentioned, women’s participation in politics varies tremendously from one country to another. In **Bahrain**, the government set up the Supreme Council for Women in 2001 and ratified the CEDAW in June 2002, with reservations limiting the Convention’s scope of application to that which is permitted by Islamic Shari’ah law. In spite of the stated reservations and the restrictions on its application, the convention’s ratification constituted a success for women, who finally gained the right to vote in August 2002 and were thus able to participate in the 2003 general elections. This was a great victory for women’s rights activists and a revolution for women. Still, in the absence of quotas or any affirmative action measures, Bahraini women occupy only 2.5% of the seats in parliament.

The “Equality without Reservation” campaign was launched in November 2008, and conferences on the place of women were organized. Certainly, this is visible progress for the legal status of women in Bahrain, but the gains are nevertheless rather moderate considering the country still has no uniform family code. There is much progress yet to be made.

Jordan has demonstrated its modernism and a real desire on the royal family's part to encourage and promote women's participation in politics. Jordanian women gained the right to vote in 1974 and CEDAW was ratified in 1992 (with some reservations). Women currently hold 6.36% of the seats in Parliament, a good outcome in this region that is due to the adoption of quotas in 2003. The Jordanian National Commission for Women, created in 1992, has worked to introduce proactive measures for women and has been given the responsibility of developing a strategy to further the interests of Jordanian women. The quota system was adopted after a series of actions and meetings designed to raise public awareness and convince government authorities eventually led to a consensus in 2003. Actions included seminars, a poll showing that 20 of the 33 parties supported the idea of quotas in 1995, and a petition with 15,000 signatures organized by a committee of NGOs that supported the introduction of quotas.

This system reserves six seats for women. The seats are filled based on the percentage of votes won by a female candidate in an electoral district. The women who win the election with the top six percentages win the seats. This is the minimum provided by law, but women can also win other seats by obtaining higher scores than the male candidates; in this case the seats won are not deducted from the quotas.

Jordan's electoral system is complex, because the system of women's quotas is matched by a parallel system of reserved-seat quotas for the Christian, Chechen, Circassian, and Bedouin minorities. Additionally, no standard criterion, such as population or number of voters, is used to determine the size of the electoral districts. District size varies from one to five seats pursuant to the quotas.

Jordan's quota system for women has several advantages. First, it is open-ended and does not limit women to the six seats reserved by law. Second, the women are not limited to certain predetermined seats, as are the Christians, Circassians, Chechens, and Bedouins. Finally, the quota for women is separate from the other quotas, so if, for example, a Bedouin woman is elected, her seat is not subtracted from the minority quota.

The main disadvantage of this election system is the insufficient number of seats reserved for women. Six seats represent only 5.5% of the total number of Parliament seats. This explains the current low female participation rate of 6.36%. Furthermore, the system of voting district apportionment and the unequal geographic distribution of female candidates within the country does not provide balanced representation for women, and makes it more difficult for them to be elected in large metropolitan areas.

In order to increase participation by women, it would be desirable to double the number of seats reserved for them, to contemplate revising the law on political parties to impose a minimum quota for female candidates on the parties, and to adopt a proportional voting system.

Finally, Jordan's government is motivated by a real desire to promote women and change traditional attitudes, as is tangibly demonstrated by the withdrawal

in February 2009 of two of the CEDAW reservations, passage of Protection Against Family Violence Act in 2008, the Jordanian Justice Ministry's support for judgeship training programs for women—with the hope of having 40% women judges in ten years, and the hosting of the second regional conference of the “Equality without Reservation” coalition in Jordan in May 2009.

Egypt, with women members representing only 1.8% of its Parliament in 2009, is one of the countries where women are the least represented in government. Yet Egypt—a signatory of CEDAW since 1981—is also the first Arab country to have given women political rights, in its 1956 constitution. Since the revolution in 1919, Egyptian women have always expressed and asserted their rights, and a quota system was even adopted temporarily in the past. While the 1956 and 1971 constitutions explicitly laid out the principle of equal rights and opportunities for all citizens irrespective of gender, two laws in 1979 and 1983 stipulated that 30 and 31 seats, respectively, be reserved for women in the People's Assembly in a system of proportional representation. With the quota system in place, the percentage of women in Parliament increased steadily until it reached 9% in 1979, a record for the country and the region. This did not last long, as a battle to oust women from Parliament began. This resulted in the Supreme Constitutional Court abolishing the 1979 law in 1986 and the quota system being abandoned on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. The court's real motivation for rescinding the law had to do with the unconstitutional nature of the electoral system, based solely on the candidate slates presented by the political parties pursuant to this law, which precluded independent candidates and therefore contravened the principle of equal opportunity between members of the political parties and persons unaffiliated with a party. Article 3 of the law, which reserved a number of seats for women, was not specifically challenged, but was still abolished. To justify this decision, some commentaries argued that reserving seats for women discriminated against men.

A new wave of support for women's participation in politics was finally born in Egypt with the help of the National Council for Women and the support of many organizations, which encouraged women to register to vote and to run in the general elections. Training seminars were held and standing committees created to support participation by women. There was a renewed demand for a quota system reserving 12% of Parliament seats for women, which was based on a new interpretation of the principle of equal rights and opportunities as found in the 1979 Constitution, in light of CEDAW and the March 15, 1984 Declaration of Alexandria.

This led the Egyptian government to amend Article 62 of the Constitution in 2007. This was done to strengthen the legislative branch and reform the electoral system to ensure better representation of the political parties in the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, and to give women a greater role by adopting a female quota system. Article 62 as amended does not specify an exact minimum number of seats reserved for women, but a substantial increase in the number of women in Parliament was already seen after the latest elections, jumping from 2% in 2005 to 11% in 2009. (Figures provided by the Egyptian Embassy at

the Conference on the Joint United Nations/Arab League MDG Report, Beirut, December 9-10, 2009.)

The Egyptian example shows the positive impact quotas can have on women's participation in politics, and also the negative impact when quotas are eliminated. It is thus paramount to keep these favorable measures in place until the cultural barriers that hinder women's presence in politics are eradicated and true equality is achieved.

Lebanon is unique among the Mashriq countries because of its history, culture, and religious diversity and the place it reserves for women. In fact, in Articles C (preamble) and 7 of its Constitution, Lebanon formally lays out the principle of equal rights for all its citizens without regard to gender. It has also ratified the international conventions on human rights, in particular CEDAW, thus reaffirming its adherence to the principle of equality between men and women.

Still, the proportion of Lebanese women in decision-making bodies and in politics remains limited, with only 3.2% of the Parliament being female even though women make up 30% of the labor force, the number of female graduates exceeds the number of male graduates, and women make up 52% of the country's population.

It is the illustration of a society based on a patriarchal structure, which is commonly found in Arab societies. According to Lamia Osseiran, of the National Commission for Lebanese Women, the major obstacle to the presence of women in politics is the family sectarianism on which the Lebanese state is based, which reserves power for the male members of a few political families on the basis of representation and not on their actual qualifications.

To remedy this, women's associations and the National Commission for Lebanese Women are undertaking sustained action to support the adoption of proactive measures. More specifically, they have been organizing workshops and attending international conferences on women's rights and quotas for women (in 1998, 2000, and 2004). In 2005, a bill proposing that 40% of the seats in Parliament be reserved for women under a system of proportional representation, and imposing a 30% female quota on the parties' candidate lists, was rejected. So there is still no quota for women in Lebanon. The existing quotas apply to religious denominations. Yet, as Marie Nassif-Debs explains, most representatives of the political class have criticized the quota system for women because they find it degrading, but they forget that they themselves came to power thanks to the quota granted to political representatives of religious denominations.

Other countries have geographic quotas, or quotas for castes as in India. These quotas are superposed on the quotas for women. Drude Dahlerup, a professor of political science at the University of Stockholm, believes that the legislative type of female quota system would certainly be the most suitable for Lebanon, which already has legislative quotas for denominational representation. This system would be more restrictive and therefore more effective.

According to Kamal Feghali, a Lebanese member of Parliament and co-author of the 2005 bill, female representation in politics will be improved in Lebanon only if the political parties commit to complying with the rules of equality and parity in their operational structures and if female quotas are applied when recruiting candidates. Moreover, Mr. Feghali insists that it is essential for women to become more involved in political life, and that they must wage a campaign to exert strong pressure on the parties to adopt favorable measures on their behalf. A long-term strategy needs to be implemented, based on action by both women and the political parties, to raise awareness throughout society and increase support for adopting a dual-quota system (for religious denominations and women) and for reforming the electoral system.

The new Lebanese government is very keen on denominational parity and affirmed in point 22 of its political statement its desire to implement CEDAW and to work on electoral reform. To that end, it will have to define the political, religious, and structural identity of Lebanon to determine what type of voting system (plurality, proportional or mixed) in which type of districts could best reinforce the effect of women's quotas so as to establish parity—this time, gender parity.

While some authors, such as Ahmad Beydoun, feel that the principle of equality of citizens in a democratic regime is a sufficient guarantee to compensate for the absence of denominational quotas, it seems, in contrast, that this principle of equality is insufficient regarding female representation, and must imperatively be supplemented by effective legislative quotas.

B. Quotas in the Rest of the World

A. Asia

Asia was a pioneer in proactive measures for women. As far back as 1956, Pakistan reserved between 5 and 10% of its seats for women, and Bangladesh did the same in the 1970s. Today, both Bangladesh and now India have implemented constitutional quotas. Indonesia, Pakistan, and China have adopted quotas through legislation. Asia prefers formal, mandatory legislative quotas over the type of voluntary quotas set by political parties themselves that are frequently used in western Europe and some African countries. There is also a clear tendency in Asia to resort to the system of reserved-seat quotas.

In India the debate surrounding the adoption of female quotas, which began in the 1920s, gained new momentum in the 1950s in the context of a broader discussion on the inclusion of historically disadvantaged groups, in particular, recognition of the lower castes. Furthermore, India is a good illustration of the different reactions to quotas at the local and national levels. In 1993, as part of the decentralization policy launched by Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Parliament adopted a constitutional amendment that called for a double quota system: 30% of the seats were reserved for women and a percentage was reserved for women of lower castes in proportion to their presence in the population. While female quotas of 20 to 30% were successfully adopted at the local level for local councils

or *panchayats*, in contrast, the Women's Reservation Bill reserving 30% of the national seats for women is still under debate in the Parliament.

The example of quotas on two levels could inspire countries such as Lebanon that need to correct underrepresentation of women in politics while at the same time taking into account a characteristic that cuts across the population, such as religious diversity. However, care must be taken to avoid the previously mentioned pitfall—often brandished by opponents of the female quota system—of having too many quotas in a society that could end up becoming heterogeneous (quotas based on gender, religion, geography, castes, etc.).

In Pakistan, quotas of 33% were adopted and have not only allowed women to enter politics, but have also gained representation for disadvantaged groups on the regional councils. Pakistan has also set up specific training opportunities for women and men wishing to enter politics, to give them more abilities and opportunities to succeed.

East Timor is a good example of strong female participation in the exercise of power and in building the government during a post-war period, without any proactive measures having been adopted. In fact, it was joint action by a powerful network of women's organizations, a critical mass of women at the highest decision-making levels, and support from the United Nations that combined to defend the principle of gender equality in policies, programs, and legislation and to create an institutional framework that respected the role of women. Today, women make up more than 30% of East Timor's Parliament and head up three of the nine ministries.

In conclusion, two trends are evident in Asia: the adoption of legislative quotas, and reserved seats for women. The Asian examples also highlight the importance of studying the specific religious, ethnic and cultural context of the country, as well as the caste system, before deciding which type of quota would be the most suitable.

B. Europe:

As in other areas of the world, women's participation in politics varies considerably from one country to another depending on the use of quotas, which is not systematic and comes in several forms.

Since the **Scandinavian countries** are among the leaders of female representation in Parliament, with an average of 42.5% women legislators as of October 31, 2009, it is important to examine the road they have taken and the methods used. This situation is a result of the combined effects of a multitude of positive factors: many years of political activism by women, governments with a strong social orientation, the massive entry of women into the labor market in the 1960s, along with an education boom, the secularization of government and the power of the social democratic parties. The conjunction of all of these elements at the same time brought nearly 25% of women to the Parliament. Quotas did not come into play until later, and then they only reinforced and confirmed women's participation. It has taken a total of eighty years for female representation in

the Scandinavian countries to rise from 0 to almost 43%. That is why Drude Dahlerup, author of numerous works on the subject of women in politics, believes that Scandinavia should not be considered as an example.

Currently, only voluntary quotas within the political parties are in place in the Scandinavian countries. In Norway, most of the political parties have a quota of 40% for either sex. Iceland and Sweden have adopted the same type of voluntary quota (called the “zipper system” in Sweden, which means alternation of the two sexes on the party lists) and their Parliaments are 42.9% and 47% women, respectively. It must be noted that Denmark abandoned all quotas in the mid-1990s, and currently 38% of its members of Parliament are women; and in Finland, which also has no quotas, women make up 41.5% of the Parliament.

Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden have a proportional electoral system.

In France, nearly six centuries passed between the first protest of discrimination against women, attributed to author Christine de Pizan in 1405, and the adoption of the law on parity in 2000. During that time, after a bitter struggle and much later than in most other European countries, French women gained the right to vote through a 1944 edict, as well as equal political and civil rights. The political conscience was truly awakened with the demands for equality popularized by the women’s movements of the 1960s and 70s.

The first bills supporting quotas were introduced in 1979, and especially in 1982 with a law calling for a maximum of 75% of candidates of the same sex, meaning a 25% quota for women. However, this affirmative action bill, which was unanimously adopted by the National Assembly, was declared unconstitutional and fell by the wayside.

A corner was turned in gender equality in France nearly twenty years later, in 1999, with the amendment of Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, which now stipulate that “The law promotes equal access for women and men to political offices and positions” and that “political parties and groups contribute to implementing this principle pursuant to the legal requirements.” As noted by Catherine Génisson, the general rapporteur for the French Observatory on Parity Between Women and Men, “This is a true revolution, because we are moving from a paradigm of abstract universalism (the abstract being assimilated to the masculine) to concrete universalism by introducing the word ‘woman’ in Article 3.” The barriers of submission to the masculine model embodying sovereignty have been broken down and the constitutional reform is literally opening the door for women by giving them an increased right to citizenship, that goes beyond “equality in terms of eligibility.”

The parity act was adopted in 2000 as part of the constitutional reform. The parity movement is well underway and finding much greater success in public opinion than the term “quota,” which makes people think of Brussels’ unpopular agricultural policies. Furthermore, “quota” and “parity” are not the same. Parity is the demand for equality, a quota is only the means for achieving it. As Valérie Mériour says in “La représentation politique des femmes dans les démocraties

libérales : les cas français : justice, égalité, parité” [Political Representation of Women in Liberal Democracies: the French Cases: Justice, Equality, Parity], “Unlike the idea of a quota, the concept of parity arises from a true vision of society based on gender equal co-management by men and women. The requirement for parity stems from the proven need for an adequate representation of society based on its existing makeup and representative of both of humanity’s genders.”

The new law requires the political parties to recruit men and women equally and stipulates financial penalties for parties or political groups that do not present a 50-50 male/female candidate slate (to within 2%). Results were immediate, and the number of women elected to municipal councils increased massively in the 2001 elections with the percentages ranging from 30 to 47.5%. In some municipalities, the proportion even doubled.

Thus the law has proven to be extremely effective on a local scale. At the national level, however, progress has been slower and women held only 18.2% of the seats in Parliament in 2009—lagging far behind the other European Union countries.

Change is therefore happening at two different speeds, and improvements are still needed in order to further increase women’s participation in political life, especially with regard to the scope of the law, the schedule and pace of the legislature’s work, and improvement of elected women’s status.

In the rest of Europe, the general trend is widespread use (in 27 countries) of voluntary quotas set by the political parties. Only about ten countries have enacted legislation imposing quotas at the national and local level.

C. The Americas

There are no quotas in the United States. Women hold 16.8% of the seats in the House of Representatives and 15% of Senate seats, but they actively participate in the government at the department (ministerial) level.

In Canada, 22.1% of the members of Parliament are women. However here, again, there is no legislative quota and there are no seats reserved for women; only voluntary quotas within the political parties. So politically speaking, the work is done at the level of the parties, which put forward as many women as possible, and also at the level of the government, which is making every effort to achieve gender parity on the Council of Ministers. The Quebec Liberal Party, currently in power in Quebec, has already reached parity in the past, even though currently women hold only 12 of the 28 minister’s seats and are nearly at parity. The risk with this strictly voluntary system is that it depends entirely on political will and offers no guarantees for the future. Up to this point, and despite periodic public debates, no law has been passed to enact legislation on gender equality.

Latin America stands apart from North America and Europe by the formal steps it has taken to promote women. Indeed, the constitutions of most of the region’s countries have a clause addressing gender equality. Furthermore, as a result of the Beijing Conference and the recommendations contained in its Action Platform, a

regional campaign supporting the adoption of quotas came into being. This led 16 Latin American countries to pass quota laws, which allowed for considerable progress in terms of female representation in the national Parliaments. As shown in a study by Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC), some laws specifically increase women's representation while others aim for a balance between the sexes and ensure that neither can hold more than 70% of the seats in Parliament. The number of women elected doubled in the 1990s, rising from 6% to 15% in one decade. These numbers are higher than in some European countries for the same period.

Although the Beijing goal of achieving parity in decision-making positions before 2005 was not met, the positive outcomes of quota laws in the countries that have passed them should be underscored.

The political parties and even professional organizations, which are very powerful in Latin America, have voluntarily instituted affirmative action measures. Many countries in the region now have laws requiring that party lists be 20% or 40% women. Here, again, we see a regional preference for mandatory legislative measures, not those left solely to the political parties' discretion.

In some countries in this region that have not passed this law, the political parties have still supported the process and are spontaneously using a quota system for their internal elections and in preparing for general elections. This is the case in Argentina, which has become a pioneer with the Peronist party's voluntary adoption of quotas for women.

But authors (Dahlerup, Htun, and Jones) agree that despite all of the positive outcomes of the quota laws, their true ability to increase the number of women in government is limited. In 2004-2005, the proportion of women in the parliaments of Honduras and Guatemala was only 5.5%. The political parties tend to apply quotas only minimally and the electoral systems make it difficult to enforce quotas for women. The road is long and difficult, but the numbers show slow improvement, in Honduras for example, which now has a Parliament that is 23.4% women. Still, even though final numbers are not yet available, preliminary trends in the results from the November 29, 2009, elections seemed to show a slight decrease in the number of women in Parliament (*El Heraldo* newspaper, November 30, 2009).

With nearly 23% of its Parliament seats held by women, Honduras is ahead of many countries, including European countries, but is still far from achieving parity.

Argentina is an interesting example of the advancement of women's role in politics because, first, the country was a pioneer in this area; and second, four types of quotas are in place and there are penalties for non-compliance.

In the early 1950s the region's leading political party, the Peronist party, adopted a quota for women. Then in 1991, Argentina started down the road of formal affirmative action when it incorporated into its electoral code a quota law setting the minimum proportion of female candidates on the lists at 30%. This

mechanism was supplemented by the passage of a law setting a quota of 50% female candidates for elected offices in the political parties of Cordoba province.

Argentina ratified the CEDAW in 2007 and incorporated its provisions into its constitution, including all of the provisions on gender equality.

Through the combined effects of all of these legislative and voluntary measures, Argentine women have always been very well represented in the Chamber of Deputies over the past sixty years. In 1955, they already held 22% of the seats, a record for the time, and they currently make up 41.6% of the deputies, which puts Argentina sixth in the world for female representation in Parliament. This led the country to select a female Chief of Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires in 1996, and to elect Cristina Kirchner as the country's leader in 2000.

D. Sub-Saharan Africa

Fatou Sow, a researcher with IFAN [*Institut fondamental de l'Afrique noir*, or African Institute of Basic Research] in Senegal and the CNRS [French National Center for Scientific Research] in France, says "African democracy is sick, suffering from underrepresentation of women, and this is due to the patriarchal culture that reigns in Africa. Women must have the ability to represent and be effective, and this must go beyond the merely quaint picture of formal quotas and parity." Ms. Sow raises the issue of African women being appointed to positions of power, and not democratically elected, simply because they belong to a particular party, family, ethnic group, or religion, regardless of their personal qualifications. She also denounces a form of state feminism that leads to the creation of structures that deal with women's status and the calls for a gender vocabulary that is very often devoid of true meaning.

A study conducted by iKNOW Politics in Africa showed that in 2005, the average for female representation in the 21 countries that use a plurality system was 15.5%, compared to 27.4% in the 12 countries with proportional representation. The lowest level of female representation was found in the countries with mixed electoral systems, at 13%.

In South Africa, women account for 44.5% of the legislature. This excellent result is due to the actions of a powerful women's movement (the Women's National Coalition, or WNC), which directed and strengthened the constitutional and legislative reforms while pressuring the political parties to adopt quotas. To accomplish this, the WNC developed a national action platform that heightened public awareness about women's place in politics. The ANC, South Africa's leading political party, then voluntarily decided to set a quota of 30% women for its candidates and to organize training for the women candidates. The combined effect of lobbying by women's movements, self-imposed quotas among the political parties, and quotas imposed by law have made the country third in the world in terms of the percentage of women legislators.

The government's decentralization program at the national level also played a very important role in helping women enter politics at the local level, where they had had a hard time getting elected due to the conservative nature of local politics. A study by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa has shown that national gender-specific policies are effective for increasing women's participation in local projects. But this research also notes that women's involvement in local governments often reinforces their traditional role rather than increasing their political influence. The study concludes that it is just as critical to raise men's awareness of women's representation and participation in politics as it is to raise women's awareness.

In April 2009, **Burkina Faso** adopted a minimum quota of 30% for female candidates on local and general election lists. This was accompanied by coercive measures and penalties for non-compliance. But what is really worth noting is the government's interesting and novel approach, which grants additional funding to the parties if they position women on their list in such a way that at least 30% of them are elected. Currently, 15.3% of Burkina Faso's legislators are women. Burkina Faso ratified the Maputo Protocol on parity and seems to be taking serious action to move in this direction.

Rwanda, with a 56.3% female participation rate in parliament as of October 2009, tops the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) list, ahead of Sweden, which has only 47%, and South Africa with 44.5%. Rwanda is the only country in the world to have achieved and even exceeded gender parity. This is the result of several factors, particularly provisions in the constitution reserving seats for women and a constitutional quota of 30% of seats for women in the Senate. Since the end of the 1994 genocide, Rwanda has been rebuilding itself on new foundations, and many seminars have been organized by the United Nations and the IPU to improve women's access to politics. It should also be noted that in Rwanda, the entire political class recognizes the need to include women in political life. All of these factors have brought political success for the women of Rwanda and gender-equal democracy for the country.

These examples demonstrate the considerable progress African countries have made in recent years in terms of promoting women in politics and public life. The best results have been obtained in countries that have implemented some form of quotas, whether voluntary, legislative, or sometimes a combination of both. Studies show that the success of quotas depends mainly on the country's electoral system, the commitment of party leaders and governments to promote women in politics, and the energy level of women's movements and groups.

CONCLUSION

Are quotas a powerful tool for establishing the gender equality advocated by international law, or are they a delayed-action affront to women? All of us, men and women alike, must answer this question for ourselves. Many countries have already decided by adopting a quota system. Many others have yet to define the strategy that will lead them to the establishment of an egalitarian democracy. States will have to find their ideal version of the quota system, the one that is best suited to their social, cultural, political, and administrative structures and foster the emergence of a society in which both women and men will finally be able to move toward a truly egalitarian political, social, and economic partnership.

As noted at the Conference on Male-Female Equality in the Euro-Med region, held in Istanbul in October 2009, “Full and complete citizenship for all women must be acknowledged and their political, socioeconomic, and legal rights must be guaranteed.” The combination of gender equality and equal representation is one of the essential conditions for democracy, social cohesion, and development.

Finally, women must mobilize and become solidly engaged in politics in order to assert their rights and gain access to egalitarian legal, economic, and political representation, which is so vital to economic development and democracy.

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APPENDIX I

Faith and Freedom Presentation

Faith and Freedom

By Mahnaz Afkhami

Presented at the Musawah Conference
Malaysia, February 2009

Over a decade ago I edited a book titled *Faith and Freedom*, subtitled *Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World*. The contributors, coming from across the Muslim world and beyond, discussed the lives of over half a billion Muslim women living in diverse geographical, social, and cultural conditions. They agreed that though the women they studied were different from one another, they all shared one over-arching characteristic: for most of them modernity meant conflict—a spectrum of values and forces that compete for their allegiance and beckon them to contradictory ways of looking at themselves and at the world that surrounds them. The most intractable contradiction they face is between the demands of living in the contemporary world, and the requirements of tradition as determined and advanced by the modern Islamist world view. At the center of this conflict is the dilemma of Muslim women's human rights—whether Muslim women have rights because they are human beings, or whether they have rights because they are Muslim women. At the center of this dilemma is woman in the family—her rights and her obligations. The conclusions they then drew still hold; the challenges and the potentials still exist, though both have become more pronounced since then because of the global events in the past two decades. The challenges we face have been exacerbated, but our potential and capabilities have also increased dramatically. Faith and Freedom, my subject today, addresses these issues.

Before I move on this point, let me recall what I believe is critical for Muslim women—that it is not Islam that holds us back; rather it is the path history of patriarchy in Muslim-majority societies has taken that limits our freedom. Otherwise, the status of women in society has been fundamentally the same across history for a majority of the world's population regardless of religion, creed, ethnicity, or nationality. Except for superficial differences in manner and style, the basic arrangements for division of labor and power between men and women have been the same across the world. A woman's rights over major decisions about her children's future, place of residence, marriage, inheritance, employment, and the like have been severely curtailed in most of the world during most of human history. Until the turn of the 20th century, when New Zealand became the first country to give women the right to vote, there was no

place on earth where women shared in the political process. Nor did they have the same chance to train for a job, get a job, or, once having gotten a job, receive equal pay. Indeed, in some socio-economic fields, for example, ownership—especially ownership of land—Muslim women fared better than women in the West.

It is also interesting to note that the first fundamentalist movement was Christian Protestant, launched in the United States early in the 20th century very much in response to a particular aspect of modernity, namely, a new energetic mobility and visibility of women. As in the case of fundamentalist Protestantism, Islamism is also a reaction to change. As was true in the case of fundamentalist Protestantism, Islamism is also fundamentally political, focusing on the status of women. Indeed, for Islamists every domestic issue is negotiable except women's rights and their position in family and society. They insist on singling out women's position in the family and their relation to society as the supreme test of the authenticity of the Islamic order.

We know that traditionally all religions—from Shinto and Buddhist and Confucian to Zoroastrian and Abrahamic—considered woman a complement of man. Insofar as it pertained to gender relations, the idea defined patriarchy. Naturally, the patriarchal order jealously safeguarded this key to its core identity. When societies set out on the path to modernization, family relations were last to change. Woman continued to remain man's other half: man the master, woman man's complement. The framework assigned a highly valued position to woman, but the value was qualitatively different from the value assigned to man. Patriarchy abstracted women's identity and honor, concretizing them in the thought, judgment, and behavior of men—fathers, brothers, and husbands. Women's actions expressing even a modicum of individual freedom almost always contradicted the governing social norms, vitiating men's honor, making life routinely hazardous for women. Historically, this dualism was so strongly entrenched in culture that men and women equally considered it self-evident.

Today, however, women see the contradiction in the self-evident belief because they have become conscious of their individual identity. Individual consciousness, as distinguished from communal consciousness, is a discovery that comes with time as science and technology provide the foundations for doubt about unchanging communal law—that is, law that springs directly or indirectly from God or nature. In this sense, history moves from law to right, as the individual begins to perceive that she has a right to participate in the making of the law rather than submit to the existing law as immutable and eternal. In this, all societies that develop and change move in the same direction, though not every move has the same shape or takes place at the same time or proceeds at the same speed. That is why we have fundamentalist reactions of various sorts in all societies and all religions. Contemporary Islamic fundamentalism is also a reaction by a section of society to inevitable change, taking naturally an Islamic hue, rather than being an innate or exclusive property of Islam. Women are its key victims, their plight worsening when religion becomes political.

The Islamists attack this new consciousness on two prongs—one internal, the other external to the Muslim community. Internally, the argument invokes

Islam and the inviolability of the text. The formulation is intellectually false, but politically well organized and ideologically inter-connected across the Muslim world through chains of traditions, clerical fatwas, and periodic government resolutions and legislation.

Externally the Islamist position meshes with the idea of cultural relativity developed in the West, where relevant arguments are waged for reasons that usually have nothing to do with Islam. In the contemporary West, especially in academic circles, relativity is often advanced and defended to promote diversity. In its theoretical forms, for example, as a critique of positivist and Marxist theories of history, cultural relativism sometimes suggests that universalist discourses are guilty of reinforcing Western hegemony by devaluing non-Western societies. Whatever other merits or faults of the Western relativist position, it insists on free choice and equal access. Islamists, however, use the argument to justify structural suppression of women's freedom and formal enforcement of women's inequality. This use of the argument is morally unjust and logically flawed. Rather than addressing real, evolving societies, Islamists abstract Islam as an esoteric system of unchanging rules and then equate it with complex, changing, and historically specific social and political conditions. As a result, they transform the practical issue of women's historical subjugation in patriarchies—which is a matter of the economic, social, cultural, and political forms that power takes as societies evolve—to archaic ideas of historical permanence, moral negligence, and religious slackness. The argument becomes dangerous when it seeks to portray women who struggle for rights as women who are against Islam, their religion in which they firmly believe. The Islamists try to confound the issue by positing their interpretation of religion for religion itself.

Women, of course, are becoming increasingly aware of this trick. Our response is simple and matter of fact. The questions we as Muslim women pose and answer are: Why should we not have the right to determine how to organize our lives? What gives another person the right to interfere in our personal life? Why is it that a Muslim cleric arrogates the right to forcibly place us in a preordained framework? Does he derive his authority from God? Does he derive it from the text? Does he derive it from tradition? We reject all these claims. We argue that as Muslim women we know in principle as well as any man what God ordains or what the text says. We argue that tradition is no longer a valid source because societies change, cultures change, and we are both willing and able to discuss these points with him. Before we begin this discussion, we grant him every right to be who he wants to be; to do what he wants to do; to preach what he wants to preach. We only demand that he does not force us to do what he wants us to do against our wish, in the same way that we do not force him to do what we wish.

We argue that right is related to obligation. This is the most central point to the concept of right, namely, that to demand it for ourselves we must defend it for others. We cannot have rights without obligation because we cannot have, let alone sustain, rights that are not reciprocal. But we know as a fact that we can be and have been forced to submit to conditions or to perform tasks under threat of sanctions that are disguised as obligation. This is precisely what many women in contemporary Muslim societies are forced to suffer and valiantly object to.

And we realize that in modern times, cultures, though changing constantly, do not change uniformly, and that therefore there are others in Muslim societies, men and women, who interpret reality differently than we do. This fact of cultural multiplicity, important as it is politically, nevertheless does not alter the moral foundation of our position—the frame of reference that rejects force and violence in religion and which respects the identity, privacy, freedom, and integrity of the human individual. This position recognizes that religious experience is a personal experience, and that all enforcements of religion are essentially not religion but political acts that are perpetrated by one group of people over another. The basic principle, therefore, that as a human being I have the right to choose is, by definition, a universal principle, morally true whether I live in Beijing, Katmandu, Kuala Lumpur, New York, or Tehran. The fact that in practice I may not be able to exercise it everywhere is a matter for political and social analysis, planning, strategizing, and acting.

So, we have learned that it is one thing to be entitled to rights in theory and another to exercise rights in practice. We know that despite the truth of the claim of universality of rights, there is a widespread disparity between rights in theory and rights in practice. This disparity has alerted us to the concept of relativity of means, which is a matter essentially of politics and implementation. That is why we have chosen many different ways to promote women's human rights across the world. We have learned and are learning to gear our approach to the prevailing cultural and political conditions. We seek dialogue. Not only because we need to communicate if we are to effect change, but also for a more fundamental reason. Right being universal, it is not a property of any particular culture but a potential of all cultures. In practice, it is a product of the evolution of human consciousness and the demands that the process produces. It has to do with the ability to choose, rather than the choice itself. Thus, each culture will produce its own appropriate language and process as its practice of rights evolves, but the frame of reference, the universality of the possibility of choice and the freedom to choose, is maintained.

Here is where we Muslims have an extra burden, because in our case universality is challenged, a challenge that is camouflaged in theology but is fundamentally political. Note that from the mid-19th century to the latter part of the 20th century, the ethos of history was toward emancipation, including the emancipation of women. Everywhere the fundamentalists were on the defensive. It is with the fall of the socialist counter-balance to capitalism and the seeming triumph of the liberal creed that varieties of fundamentalism surged and Islamism achieved prominence, energized by the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in the late 20th century. This may represent the last historical gasp of patriarchy; nonetheless, it presents a horrendous challenge to women in Muslim-majority societies. It also offers us the opportunity to debate the nature of our religion from a woman's viewpoint.

We are now engaged in this struggle and debate across the world, as exemplified by this conference. We are taking advantage of globalization and the information technology that defines and propels it to exchange ideas, share strategies, and provide solidarity and support as we build a movement for change across the

globe. We are coming together in significant numbers and from all social strata to object to the fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. The dimensions of our struggle are being defined as we strive for our rights in the family and society, working together to define what these rights are, how they relate to Islam epistemologically, how they resonate with social and political power in specific Muslim societies, and how strategies that seek to promote them will or should be developed. High on the list are the ways and means of interpreting religious texts: how should we approach the issue, what sort of expertise is needed, how can the issue be bridged to grassroots leaders, how can the intelligence received from the grassroots be brought to the interpretative process? We are also looking into ways of educating the Muslim political elite: how to identify responsive decision-makers, how to communicate reinterpreted text, how to develop criteria for judging the limits of political engagement, how to help executives, legislators, and judges sympathetic to women's human rights to implement change in the condition of women. We are also searching for appropriate patterns of mobilizing grassroots support, including ways of identifying and supporting women leaders at different levels, communicating methods of pressuring political decision-makers, and, most important of all, protecting women activists against moral and physical violence. The list, obviously not exhaustive, nevertheless signifies the dynamics of the relationship between women's human rights, politics, the Islamic texts, and the dimensions of our struggle. The family is the kernel of our life; unless we secure our rights in the family, we will remain a complement. As a complement, we will not—we cannot—have rights, as rights are due autonomous human beings. That is why this conference is so timely, and signifies so profoundly our march to achieve and secure our faith and our freedom.

APPENDIX J

International Legal Agreements Relating to Women's Political Participation

- i. “Women in Power and Decision-making,”**
Excerpt from the Fourth World Conference on Women Platform for Action (Platform for Action)
- ii. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**
- iii. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)**
- iv. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)**

i.

“Women in Power and Decision-making”

Excerpted from

The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women

Beijing, China - September 1995,
Action for Equality, Development and Peace

PLATFORM FOR ACTION
G. Women in Power and Decision-making

181. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his/her country. The empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women's social, economic and political status is essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable government and administration and sustainable development in all areas of life. The power relations that prevent women from leading fulfilling lives operate at many levels of society, from the most personal to the highly public. Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning. Equality in political decision-making performs a leverage function without which it is highly unlikely that a real integration of the equality dimension in government policy-making is feasible. In this respect, women's equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.
182. Despite the widespread movement towards democratization in most countries, women are largely underrepresented at most levels of government, especially in ministerial and other executive bodies, and have made little progress in attaining political power in legislative bodies or in achieving the target endorsed by the Economic and Social Council of having 30 per cent women in positions at decision-making levels by 1995. Globally, only 10 per cent of the members of legislative bodies and a lower percentage of ministerial positions are now held by women. Indeed, some countries,

including those that are undergoing fundamental political, economic and social changes, have seen a significant decrease in the number of women represented in legislative bodies. Although women make up at least half of the electorate in almost all countries and have attained the right to vote and hold office in almost all States Members of the United Nations, women continue to be seriously underrepresented as candidates for public office. The traditional working patterns of many political parties and government structures continue to be barriers to women's participation in public life. Women may be discouraged from seeking political office by discriminatory attitudes and practices, family and child-care responsibilities, and the high cost of seeking and holding public office. Women in politics and decision-making positions in Governments and legislative bodies contribute to redefining political priorities, placing new items on the political agenda that reflect and address women's gender-specific concerns, values and experiences, and providing new perspectives on mainstream political issues.

183. Women have demonstrated considerable leadership in community and informal organizations, as well as in public office. However, socialization and negative stereotyping of women and men, including stereotyping through the media, reinforces the tendency for political decision-making to remain the domain of men. Likewise, the under representation of women in decision-making positions in the areas of art, culture, sports, the media, education, religion and the law have prevented women from having a significant impact on many key institutions.
184. Owing to their limited access to the traditional avenues to power, such as the decision-making bodies of political parties, employer organizations and trade unions, women have gained access to power through alternative structures, particularly in the non-governmental organization sector. Through non-governmental organizations and grass-roots organizations, women have been able to articulate their interests and concerns and have placed women's issues on the national, regional and international agendas.
185. Inequality in the public arena can often start with discriminatory attitudes and practices and unequal power relations between women and men within the family, as defined in paragraph 29 above. The unequal division of labour and responsibilities within households based on unequal power relations also limits women's potential to find the time and develop the skills required for participation in decision-making in wider public forums. A more equal sharing of those responsibilities between women and men not only provides a better quality of life for women and their daughters but also enhances their opportunities to shape and design public policy, practice and expenditure so that their interests may be recognized and addressed. Non-formal networks and patterns of decision-making at the local community level that reflect a dominant male ethos restrict women's ability to participate equally in political, economic and social life.
186. The low proportion of women among economic and political decision makers at the local, national, regional and international levels reflects structural and attitudinal barriers that need to be addressed through positive measures. Governments, transnational and national corporations, the mass media, banks, academic and scientific institutions, and regional and

international organizations, including those in the United Nations system, do not make full use of women's talents as top-level managers, policy makers, diplomats and negotiators.

187. The equitable distribution of power and decision-making at all levels is dependent on Governments and other actors undertaking statistical gender analysis and mainstreaming a gender perspective in policy development and the implementation of programmes. Equality in decision-making is essential to the empowerment of women. In some countries, affirmative action has led to 33.3 per cent or larger representation in local and national Governments.
188. National, regional and international statistical institutions still have insufficient knowledge of how to present the issues related to the equal treatment of women and men in the economic and social spheres. In particular, there is insufficient use of existing databases and methodologies in the important sphere of decision-making.
189. In addressing the inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels, Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively.

Strategic objective G.1.

Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making

Actions to be taken

190. By Governments:
 - a. Commit themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, as well as in public administrative entities, and in the judiciary, including, inter alia, setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions;
 - b. Take measures, including, where appropriate, in electoral systems that encourage political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same levels as men;
 - c. Protect and promote the equal rights of women and men to engage in political activities and to freedom of association, including membership in political parties and trade unions;
 - d. Review the differential impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women in elected bodies and consider, where appropriate, the adjustment or reform of those systems;

- e. Monitor and evaluate progress in the representation of women through the regular collection, analysis and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative data on women and men at all levels in various decision-making positions in the public and private sectors, and disseminate data on the number of women and men employed at various levels in Governments on a yearly basis; ensure that women and men have equal access to the full range of public appointments and set up mechanisms within governmental structures for monitoring progress in this field;
 - f. Support non-governmental organizations and research institutes that conduct studies on women's participation in and impact on decision-making and the decision-making environment;
 - g. Encourage greater involvement of indigenous women in decision-making at all levels;
 - h. Encourage and, where appropriate, ensure that government-funded organizations adopt non-discriminatory policies and practices in order to increase the number and raise the position of women in their organizations;
 - i. Recognize that shared work and parental responsibilities between women and men promote women's increased participation in public life, and take appropriate measures to achieve this, including measures to reconcile family and professional life;
 - j. Aim at gender balance in the lists of national candidates nominated for election or appointment to United Nations bodies, specialized agencies and other autonomous organizations of the United Nations system, particularly for posts at the senior level.
191. By political parties:
- a. Consider examining party structures and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women;
 - b. Consider developing initiatives that allow women to participate fully in all internal policy-making structures and appointive and electoral nominating processes;
 - c. Consider incorporating gender issues in their political agenda, taking measures to ensure that women can participate in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.
192. By Governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, research and academic institutions, subregional and regional bodies and non-governmental and international organizations:
- a. Take positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders, executives and managers in strategic decision-making positions;
 - b. Create or strengthen, as appropriate, mechanisms to monitor women's access to senior levels of decision-making;
 - c. Review the criteria for recruitment and appointment to advisory and decision-making bodies and promotion to senior positions to ensure that such criteria are relevant and do not discriminate against women;

- d. Encourage efforts by non-governmental organizations, trade unions and the private sector to achieve equality between women and men in their ranks, including equal participation in their decision-making bodies and in negotiations in all areas and at all levels;
- e. Develop communications strategies to promote public debate on the new roles of men and women in society, and in the family as defined in paragraph 29 above;
- f. Restructure recruitment and career-development programmes to ensure that all women, especially young women, have equal access to managerial, entrepreneurial, technical and leadership training, including on-the-job training;
- g. Develop career advancement programmes for women of all ages that include career planning, tracking, mentoring, coaching, training and retraining;
- h. Encourage and support the participation of women's non-governmental organizations in United Nations conferences and their preparatory processes;
- i. Aim at and support gender balance in the composition of delegations to the United Nations and other international forums.

193 By the United Nations:

- a. Implement existing and adopt new employment policies and measures in order to achieve overall gender equality, particularly at the Professional level and above, by the year 2000, with due regard to the importance of recruiting staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible, in conformity with Article 101, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations;
- b. Develop mechanisms to nominate women candidates for appointment to senior posts in the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies of the United Nations system;
- c. Continue to collect and disseminate quantitative and qualitative data on women and men in decision-making and analyse their differential impact on decision-making and monitor progress towards achieving the Secretary-General's target of having women hold 50 per cent of managerial and decision-making positions by the year 2000.

194. By women's organizations, non-governmental organizations, trade unions, social partners, producers, and industrial and professional organizations:

- a. Build and strengthen solidarity among women through information, education and sensitization activities;
- b. Advocate at all levels to enable women to influence political, economic and social decisions, processes and systems, and work towards seeking accountability from elected representatives on their commitment to gender concerns;
- c. Establish, consistent with data protection legislation, databases on women and their qualification for use in appointing women to senior decision-making and advisory positions, for dissemination to Governments, regional and international organizations and private enterprise, political parties and other relevant bodies.

Strategic objective G.2.

Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership

Actions to be taken

195. By Governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, sub-regional and regional bodies, non-governmental and international organizations and educational institutions:
- a. Provide leadership and self-esteem training to assist women and girls, particularly those with special needs, women with disabilities and women belonging to racial and ethnic minorities to strengthen their self-esteem and to encourage them to take decision-making positions;
 - b. Have transparent criteria for decision-making positions and ensure that the selecting bodies have a gender-balanced composition;
 - c. Create a system of mentoring for inexperienced women and, in particular, offer training, including training in leadership and decision-making, public speaking and self-assertion, as well as in political campaigning;
 - d. Provide gender-sensitive training for women and men to promote non-discriminatory working relationships and respect for diversity in work and management styles;
 - e. Develop mechanisms and training to encourage women to participate in the electoral process, political activities and other leadership areas.

ii.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 18 December 1979 (resolution 34/180) and entered into force on 3 September 1981; the text, annexed to the resolution, is as follows:

The States Parties to the present Convention

Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex,

Noting that the States Parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights have the obligation to ensure the equal rights of men and women to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights,

Considering the international conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Noting also the resolutions, declarations and recommendations adopted by the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Concerned, however, that despite these various instruments extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,

Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity,

Concerned that in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs,

Convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order based on equity and justice will contribute significantly towards the promotion of equality between men and women,

Emphasizing that the eradication of apartheid, all forms of racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation and domination and interference in the internal affairs of States is essential to the full enjoyment of the rights of men and women,

Affirming that the strengthening of international peace and security, the relaxation of international tension, mutual co-operation among all States irrespective of their social and economic systems, general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control, the affirmation of the principles of justice, equality and mutual benefit in relations among countries and the realization of the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination and foreign occupation to self-determination and independence, as well as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, will promote social progress and development and as a consequence will contribute to the attainment of full equality between men and women,

Convinced that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields,

Bearing in mind the great contribution of women to the welfare of the family and to the development of society, so far not fully recognized, the social significance of maternity and the role of both parents in the family and in the upbringing of children, and aware that the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination but that the upbringing of children requires a sharing of responsibility between men and women and society as a whole,

Aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women,

Determined to implement the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and, for that purpose, to adopt the measures required for the elimination of such discrimination in all its forms and manifestations,

Have agreed on the following:

PART I

Article 1

For the purposes of the present Convention, the term “discrimination against women” shall mean 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, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Article 2

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:

- a. To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;
- b. To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
- c. To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;
- d. To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;
- e. To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;
- f. To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;
- g. To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

Article 3

States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4

1. Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.
2. Adoption by States Parties of special measures, including those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory.

Article 5

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

- a. To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- b. To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

Article 6

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

PART II

Article 7

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- a. To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- b. To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- c. To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

Article 8

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.

Article 9

1. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.
2. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children.

PART III

Article 10

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

- a. The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;
- b. Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;
- c. The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
- d. The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;
- e. The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;
- f. The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;

- g. The same Opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;
- h. Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.

Article 11

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:
 - a. The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;
 - b. The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;
 - c. The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;
 - d. The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;
 - e. The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;
 - f. The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.
2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:
 - a. To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;
 - b. To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;
 - c. To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child-care facilities;
 - d. To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.
3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in the light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

Article 12

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.
2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.

Article 13

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- a. The right to family benefits;
- b. The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;
- c. The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas.
2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:
 - a. To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;
 - b. To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;
 - c. To benefit directly from social security programmes;
 - d. To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, inter alia, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;
 - e. To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment;
 - f. To participate in all community activities;

- g. To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;
- h. To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.

PART IV

Article 15

1. States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.
2. States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals.
3. States Parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void.
4. States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.

Article 16

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:
 - a. The same right to enter into marriage;
 - b. The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;
 - c. The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;
 - d. The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
 - e. The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;
 - f. The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
 - g. The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation;

- h. The same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.
2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

PART V

Article 17

1. For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be established a Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and, after ratification of or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention. The experts shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution and to the representation of the different forms of civilization as well as the principal legal systems.
2. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons nominated by States Parties. Each State Party may nominate one person from among its own nationals.
3. The initial election shall be held six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Convention. At least three months before the date of each election the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a letter to the States Parties inviting them to submit their nominations within two months. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated, indicating the States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties.
4. Elections of the members of the Committee shall be held at a meeting of States Parties convened by the Secretary-General at United Nations Headquarters. At that meeting, for which two thirds of the States Parties shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.
5. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. However, the terms of nine of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election the names of these nine members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.

6. The election of the five additional members of the Committee shall be held in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of this article, following the thirty-fifth ratification or accession. The terms of two of the additional members elected on this occasion shall expire at the end of two years, the names of these two members having been chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.
7. For the filling of casual vacancies, the State Party whose expert has ceased to function as a member of the Committee shall appoint another expert from among its nationals, subject to the approval of the Committee.
8. The members of the Committee shall, with the approval of the General Assembly, receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the Assembly may decide, having regard to the importance of the Committee's responsibilities.
9. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Convention.

Article 18

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for consideration by the Committee, a report on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and on the progress made in this respect:
 - a. Within one year after the entry into force for the State concerned;
 - b. Thereafter at least every four years and further whenever the Committee so requests.
2. Reports may indicate factors and difficulties affecting the degree of fulfilment of obligations under the present Convention.

Article 19

1. The Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure.
2. The Committee shall elect its officers for a term of two years.

Article 20

1. The Committee shall normally meet for a period of not more than two weeks annually in order to consider the reports submitted in accordance with article 18 of the present Convention.
2. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee.

Article 21

1. The Committee shall, through the Economic and Social Council, report annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its activities and may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of reports and information received from the States Parties. Such suggestions and general recommendations shall be included in the report of the Committee together with comments, if any, from States Parties.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit the reports of the Committee to the Commission on the Status of Women for its information.

Article 22

The specialized agencies shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their activities. The Committee may invite the specialized agencies to submit reports on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities.

PART VI

Article 23

Nothing in the present Convention shall affect any provisions that are more conducive to the achievement of equality between men and women which may be contained:

- a. In the legislation of a State Party; or
- b. In any other international convention, treaty or agreement in force for that State.

Article 24

States Parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures at the national level aimed at achieving the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Convention.

Article 25

1. The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention.
3. The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
4. The present Convention shall be open to accession by all States. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 26

1. A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such a request.

Article 27

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.
2. For each State ratifying the present Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 28

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession.
2. A reservation incompatible with the object and purpose of the present Convention shall not be permitted.
3. Reservations may be withdrawn at any time by notification to this effect addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then inform all States thereof. Such notification shall take effect on the date on which it is received.

Article 29

1. Any dispute between two or more States Parties concerning the interpretation or application of the present Convention which is not settled by negotiation shall, at the request of one of them, be submitted to arbitration. If within six months from the date of the request for arbitration the parties are unable to agree on the organization of the arbitration, any one of those parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice by request in conformity with the Statute of the Court.
2. Each State Party may at the time of signature or ratification of the present Convention or accession thereto declare that it does not consider itself bound by paragraph 1 of this article. The other States Parties shall not be bound by that paragraph with respect to any State Party which has made such a reservation.
3. Any State Party which has made a reservation in accordance with paragraph 2 of this article may at any time withdraw that reservation by notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 30

The present Convention, the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed the present Convention.

iii.

**International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
(ICCPR)**

Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by
General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966
Entry into force 23 March 1976, in accordance with Article 49.

PREAMBLE

The States Parties to the present Covenant,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and cultural rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

PART I

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.
3. The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

PART II

Article 2

1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
2. Where not already provided for by existing legislative or other measures, each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take the necessary steps, in accordance with its constitutional processes and with the provisions of the present Covenant, to adopt such laws or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in the present Covenant.
3. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes:
 - a. To ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;
 - b. To ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by the legal system of the State, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy;
 - c. To ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

Article 3

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.

Article 4

1. In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties to the present Covenant may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin.
2. No derogation from articles 6, 7, 8 (paragraphs I and 2), 11, 15, 16 and 18 may be made under this provision.
3. Any State Party to the present Covenant availing itself of the right of derogation shall immediately inform the other States Parties to the present Covenant, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of the provisions from which it has derogated and of the reasons by which it was actuated. A further communication shall be made, through the same intermediary, on the date on which it terminates such derogation.

Article 5

1. Nothing in the present Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the present Covenant.
2. There shall be no restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any State Party to the present Covenant pursuant to law, conventions, regulations or custom on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent.

PART III

Article 6

1. Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.
2. In countries which have not abolished the death penalty, sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime and not contrary to the provisions of the present Covenant and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This penalty can only be carried out pursuant to a final judgement rendered by a competent court.

3. When deprivation of life constitutes the crime of genocide, it is understood that nothing in this article shall authorize any State Party to the present Covenant to derogate in any way from any obligation assumed under the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.
4. Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.
5. Sentence of death shall not be imposed for crimes committed by persons below eighteen years of age and shall not be carried out on pregnant women.
6. Nothing in this article shall be invoked to delay or to prevent the abolition of capital punishment by any State Party to the present Covenant.

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation.

Article 8

1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited.
2. No one shall be held in servitude.
3.
 - a. No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour;
 - b. Paragraph 3 (a) shall not be held to preclude, in countries where imprisonment with hard labour may be imposed as a punishment for a crime, the performance of hard labour in pursuance of a sentence to such punishment by a competent court;
 - c. For the purpose of this paragraph the term “forced or compulsory labour” shall not include:
 - d. Any work or service, not referred to in subparagraph (b), normally required of a person who is under detention in consequence of a lawful order of a court, or of a person during conditional release from such detention;
 - e. Any service of a military character and, in countries where conscientious objection is recognized, any national service required by law of conscientious objectors;
 - f. Any service exacted in cases of emergency or calamity threatening the life or well-being of the community;
 - g. Any work or service which forms part of normal civil obligations.

Article 9

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.
2. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.
3. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial, at any other stage of the judicial proceedings, and, should occasion arise, for execution of the judgement.
4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings before a court, in order that court may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his detention and order his release if the detention is not lawful.
5. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

Article 10

1. All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.
2.
 - a. Accused persons shall, save in exceptional circumstances, be segregated from convicted persons and shall be subject to separate treatment appropriate to their status as unconvicted persons;
 - b. Accused juvenile persons shall be separated from adults and brought as speedily as possible for adjudication.
3. The penitentiary system shall comprise treatment of prisoners the essential aim of which shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation. Juvenile offenders shall be segregated from adults and be accorded treatment appropriate to their age and legal status.

Article 11

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the ground of inability to fulfil a contractual obligation.

Article 12

1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.
2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.

3. The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant.
4. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country.

Article 13

An alien lawfully in the territory of a State Party to the present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and be represented for the purpose before, the competent authority or a person or persons especially designated by the competent authority.

Article 14

1. All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law. The press and the public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morals, public order (ordre public) or national security in a democratic society, or when the interest of the private lives of the parties so requires, or to the extent strictly necessary in the opinion of the court in special circumstances where publicity would prejudice the interests of justice; but any judgement rendered in a criminal case or in a suit at law shall be made public except where the interest of juvenile persons otherwise requires or the proceedings concern matrimonial disputes or the guardianship of children.
2. Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law.
3. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:
 - a. To be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him;
 - b. To have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence and to communicate with counsel of his own choosing;
 - c. To be tried without undue delay;
 - d. To be tried in his presence, and to defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing; to be informed, if he does not have legal assistance, of this right; and to have legal assistance assigned to him, in any case where the interests of justice so require, and without payment by him in any such case if he does not have sufficient means to pay for it;

- e. To examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him;
 - f. To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court;
 - g. Not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt.
4. In the case of juvenile persons, the procedure shall be such as will take account of their age and the desirability of promoting their rehabilitation.
5. Everyone convicted of a crime shall have the right to his conviction and sentence being reviewed by a higher tribunal according to law.
6. When a person has by a final decision been convicted of a criminal offence and when subsequently his conviction has been reversed or he has been pardoned on the ground that a new or newly discovered fact shows conclusively that there has been a miscarriage of justice, the person who has suffered punishment as a result of such conviction shall be compensated according to law, unless it is proved that the non-disclosure of the unknown fact in time is wholly or partly attributable to him.
7. No one shall be liable to be tried or punished again for an offence for which he has already been finally convicted or acquitted in accordance with the law and penal procedure of each country.

Article 15

1. No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time when the criminal offence was committed. If, subsequent to the commission of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of the lighter penalty, the offender shall benefit thereby.
2. Nothing in this article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission which, at the time when it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by the community of nations.

Article 16

Everyone shall have the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 17

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 18

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching.
2. No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice.
3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.
4. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

Article 19

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.
2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.
3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:
 - a. For respect of the rights or reputations of others;
 - b. For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

Article 20

1. Any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law.
2. Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.

Article 21

The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 22

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.
2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the armed forces and of the police in their exercise of this right.
3. Nothing in this article shall authorize States Parties to the International Labour Organisation Convention of 1948 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize to take legislative measures which would prejudice, or to apply the law in such a manner as to prejudice, the guarantees provided for in that Convention.

Article 23

1. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.
2. The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized.
3. No marriage shall be entered into without the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
4. States Parties to the present Covenant shall take appropriate steps to ensure equality of rights and responsibilities of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. In the case of dissolution, provision shall be made for the necessary protection of any children.

Article 24

1. Every child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State.
2. Every child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have a name.
3. Every child has the right to acquire a nationality.

Article 25

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

- a. To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
- b. To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
- c. To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

Article 26

All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 27

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

PART IV

Article 28

1. There shall be established a Human Rights Committee (hereafter referred to in the present Covenant as the Committee). It shall consist of eighteen members and shall carry out the functions hereinafter provided.
2. The Committee shall be composed of nationals of the States Parties to the present Covenant who shall be persons of high moral character and recognized competence in the field of human rights, consideration being given to the usefulness of the participation of some persons having legal experience.
3. The members of the Committee shall be elected and shall serve in their personal capacity.

Article 29

1. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons possessing the qualifications prescribed in article 28 and nominated for the purpose by the States Parties to the present Covenant.
2. Each State Party to the present Covenant may nominate not more than two persons. These persons shall be nationals of the nominating State.
3. A person shall be eligible for renomination.

Article 30

1. The initial election shall be held no later than six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Covenant.
2. At least four months before the date of each election to the Committee, other than an election to fill a vacancy declared in accordance with article 34, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a written invitation to the States Parties to the present Covenant to submit their nominations for membership of the Committee within three months.
3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated, with an indication of the States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties to the present Covenant no later than one month before the date of each election.
4. Elections of the members of the Committee shall be held at a meeting of the States Parties to the present Covenant convened by the Secretary General of the United Nations at the Headquarters of the United Nations. At that meeting, for which two thirds of the States Parties to the present Covenant shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.

Article 31

1. The Committee may not include more than one national of the same State.
2. In the election of the Committee, consideration shall be given to equitable geographical distribution of membership and to the representation of the different forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems.

Article 32

1. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. They shall be eligible for re-election if renominated. However, the terms of nine of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election, the names of these nine members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the meeting referred to in article 30, paragraph 4.
2. Elections at the expiry of office shall be held in accordance with the preceding articles of this part of the present Covenant.

Article 33

1. If, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, a member of the Committee has ceased to carry out his functions for any cause other than absence of a temporary character, the Chairman of the Committee shall notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then declare the seat of that member to be vacant.
2. In the event of the death or the resignation of a member of the Committee, the Chairman shall immediately notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall declare the seat vacant from the date of death or the date on which the resignation takes effect.

Article 34

1. When a vacancy is declared in accordance with article 33 and if the term of office of the member to be replaced does not expire within six months of the declaration of the vacancy, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify each of the States Parties to the present Covenant, which may within two months submit nominations in accordance with article 29 for the purpose of filling the vacancy.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of the persons thus nominated and shall submit it to the States Parties to the present Covenant. The election to fill the vacancy shall then take place in accordance with the relevant provisions of this part of the present Covenant.
3. A member of the Committee elected to fill a vacancy declared in accordance with article 33 shall hold office for the remainder of the term of the member who vacated the seat on the Committee under the provisions of that article.

Article 35

The members of the Committee shall, with the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations, receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the General Assembly may decide, having regard to the importance of the Committee's responsibilities.

Article 36

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Covenant.

Article 37

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall convene the initial meeting of the Committee at the Headquarters of the United Nations.
2. After its initial meeting, the Committee shall meet at such times as shall be provided in its rules of procedure.
3. The Committee shall normally meet at the Headquarters of the United Nations or at the United Nations Office at Geneva.

Article 38

Every member of the Committee shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open committee that he will perform his functions impartially and conscientiously.

Article 39

1. The Committee shall elect its officers for a term of two years. They may be re-elected.
2. The Committee shall establish its own rules of procedure, but these rules shall provide, *inter alia*, that:
 - a. Twelve members shall constitute a quorum;
 - b. Decisions of the Committee shall be made by a majority vote of the members present.

Article 40

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to submit reports on the measures they have adopted which give effect to the rights recognized herein and on the progress made in the enjoyment of those rights:
 - a. Within one year of the entry into force of the present Covenant for the States Parties concerned;
 - b. Thereafter whenever the Committee so requests.
2. All reports shall be submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit them to the Committee for consideration. Reports shall indicate the factors and difficulties, if any, affecting the implementation of the present Covenant.
3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations may, after consultation with the Committee, transmit to the specialized agencies concerned copies of such parts of the reports as may fall within their field of competence.
4. The Committee shall study the reports submitted by the States Parties to the present Covenant. It shall transmit its reports, and such general comments as it may consider appropriate, to the States Parties. The Committee may also transmit to the Economic and Social Council these comments along with the copies of the reports it has received from States Parties to the present Covenant.
5. The States Parties to the present Covenant may submit to the Committee observations on any comments that may be made in accordance with paragraph 4 of this article.

Article 41

1. A State Party to the present Covenant may at any time declare under this article that it recognizes the competence of the Committee to receive and consider communications to the effect that a State Party claims that another State Party is not fulfilling its obligations under the present Covenant. Communications under this article may be received and considered only

if submitted by a State Party which has made a declaration recognizing in regard to itself the competence of the Committee. No communication shall be received by the Committee if it concerns a State Party which has not made such a declaration. Communications received under this article shall be dealt with in accordance with the following procedure:

- a. If a State Party to the present Covenant considers that another State Party is not giving effect to the provisions of the present Covenant, it may, by written communication, bring the matter to the attention of that State Party. Within three months after the receipt of the communication the receiving State shall afford the State which sent the communication an explanation, or any other statement in writing clarifying the matter which should include, to the extent possible and pertinent, reference to domestic procedures and remedies taken, pending, or available in the matter;
- b. If the matter is not adjusted to the satisfaction of both States Parties concerned within six months after the receipt by the receiving State of the initial communication, either State shall have the right to refer the matter to the Committee, by notice given to the Committee and to the other State;
- c. The Committee shall deal with a matter referred to it only after it has ascertained that all available domestic remedies have been invoked and exhausted in the matter, in conformity with the generally recognized principles of international law. This shall not be the rule where the application of the remedies is unreasonably prolonged;
- d. The Committee shall hold closed meetings when examining communications under this article;
- e. Subject to the provisions of subparagraph (c), the Committee shall make available its good offices to the States Parties concerned with a view to a friendly solution of the matter on the basis of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the present Covenant;
- f. In any matter referred to it, the Committee may call upon the States Parties concerned, referred to in subparagraph (b), to supply any relevant information;
- g. The States Parties concerned, referred to in subparagraph (b), shall have the right to be represented when the matter is being considered in the Committee and to make submissions orally and/or in writing;
- h. The Committee shall, within twelve months after the date of receipt of notice under subparagraph (b), submit a report:
- i. If a solution within the terms of subparagraph (e) is reached, the Committee shall confine its report to a brief statement of the facts and of the solution reached;
- j. If a solution within the terms of subparagraph (e) is not reached, the Committee shall confine its report to a brief statement of the facts; the written submissions and record of the oral submissions made by the States Parties concerned shall be attached to the report. In every matter, the report shall be communicated to the States Parties concerned.

2. The provisions of this article shall come into force when ten States Parties to the present Covenant have made declarations under paragraph I of this article. Such declarations shall be deposited by the States Parties with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the other States Parties. A declaration may be withdrawn at any time by notification to the Secretary-General. Such a withdrawal shall not prejudice the consideration of any matter which is the subject of a communication already transmitted under this article; no further communication by any State Party shall be received after the notification of withdrawal of the declaration has been received by the Secretary-General, unless the State Party concerned has made a new declaration.

Article 42

1.
 - a. If a matter referred to the Committee in accordance with article 41 is not resolved to the satisfaction of the States Parties concerned, the Committee may, with the prior consent of the States Parties concerned, appoint an ad hoc Conciliation Commission (hereinafter referred to as the Commission). The good offices of the Commission shall be made available to the States Parties concerned with a view to an amicable solution of the matter on the basis of respect for the present Covenant;
 - b. The Commission shall consist of five persons acceptable to the States Parties concerned. If the States Parties concerned fail to reach agreement within three months on all or part of the composition of the Commission, the members of the Commission concerning whom no agreement has been reached shall be elected by secret ballot by a two-thirds majority vote of the Committee from among its members.
2. The members of the Commission shall serve in their personal capacity. They shall not be nationals of the States Parties concerned, or of a State not Party to the present Covenant, or of a State Party which has not made a declaration under article 41.
3. The Commission shall elect its own Chairman and adopt its own rules of procedure.
4. The meetings of the Commission shall normally be held at the Headquarters of the United Nations or at the United Nations Office at Geneva. However, they may be held at such other convenient places as the Commission may determine in consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the States Parties concerned.
5. The secretariat provided in accordance with article 36 shall also service the commissions appointed under this article.
6. The information received and collated by the Committee shall be made available to the Commission and the Commission may call upon the States Parties concerned to supply any other relevant information. 7. When the Commission has fully considered the matter, but in any event not later than twelve months after having been seized of the matter, it shall submit to the

Chairman of the Committee a report for communication to the States Parties concerned:

- a. If the Commission is unable to complete its consideration of the matter within twelve months, it shall confine its report to a brief statement of the status of its consideration of the matter;
- b. If an amicable solution to the matter on the basis of respect for human rights as recognized in the present Covenant is reached, the Commission shall confine its report to a brief statement of the facts and of the solution reached;
- c. If a solution within the terms of subparagraph (b) is not reached, the Commission's report shall embody its findings on all questions of fact relevant to the issues between the States Parties concerned, and its views on the possibilities of an amicable solution of the matter. This report shall also contain the written submissions and a record of the oral submissions made by the States Parties concerned;
- d. If the Commission's report is submitted under subparagraph (c), the States Parties concerned shall, within three months of the receipt of the report, notify the Chairman of the Committee whether or not they accept the contents of the report of the Commission.

8. The provisions of this article are without prejudice to the responsibilities of the Committee under article 41.
9. The States Parties concerned shall share equally all the expenses of the members of the Commission in accordance with estimates to be provided by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
10. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall be empowered to pay the expenses of the members of the Commission, if necessary, before reimbursement by the States Parties concerned, in accordance with paragraph 9 of this article.

Article 43

The members of the Committee, and of the ad hoc conciliation commissions which may be appointed under article 42, shall be entitled to the facilities, privileges and immunities of experts on mission for the United Nations as laid down in the relevant sections of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

Article 44

The provisions for the implementation of the present Covenant shall apply without prejudice to the procedures prescribed in the field of human rights by or under the constituent instruments and the conventions of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies and shall not prevent the States Parties to the present Covenant from having recourse to other procedures for settling a dispute in accordance with general or special international agreements in force between them.

Article 45

The Committee shall submit to the General Assembly of the United Nations, through the Economic and Social Council, an annual report on its activities.

PART V

Article 46

Nothing in the present Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the constitutions of the specialized agencies which define the respective responsibilities of the various organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in regard to the matters dealt with in the present Covenant.

Article 47

Nothing in the present Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the inherent right of all peoples to enjoy and utilize fully and freely their natural wealth and resources.

PART VI

Article 48

1. The present Covenant is open for signature by any State Member of the United Nations or member of any of its specialized agencies, by any State Party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and by any other State which has been invited by the General Assembly of the United Nations to become a Party to the present Covenant.
2. The present Covenant is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
3. The present Covenant shall be open to accession by any State referred to in paragraph 1 of this article.
4. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
5. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States which have signed this Covenant or acceded to it of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 49

1. The present Covenant shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

2. For each State ratifying the present Covenant or acceding to it after the deposit of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession, the present Covenant shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

Article 50

The provisions of the present Covenant shall extend to all parts of federal States without any limitations or exceptions.

Article 51

1. Any State Party to the present Covenant may propose an amendment and file it with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall thereupon communicate any proposed amendments to the States Parties to the present Covenant with a request that they notify him whether they favour a conference of States Parties for the purpose of considering and voting upon the proposals. In the event that at least one third of the States Parties favours such a conference, the Secretary-General shall convene the conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Any amendment adopted by a majority of the States Parties present and voting at the conference shall be submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations for approval.
2. Amendments shall come into force when they have been approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and accepted by a two-thirds majority of the States Parties to the present Covenant in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. 3. When amendments come into force, they shall be binding on those States Parties which have accepted them, other States Parties still being bound by the provisions of the present Covenant and any earlier amendment which they have accepted.

Article 52

Irrespective of the notifications made under article 48, paragraph 5, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States referred to in paragraph I of the same article of the following particulars:

- a. Signatures, ratifications and accessions under article 48;
- b. The date of the entry into force of the present Covenant under article 49 and the date of the entry into force of any amendments under article 51.

Article 53

1. The present Covenant, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit certified copies of the present Covenant to all States referred to in article 48.

iv.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

Adopted and Proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948.

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly *proclaims*

This Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

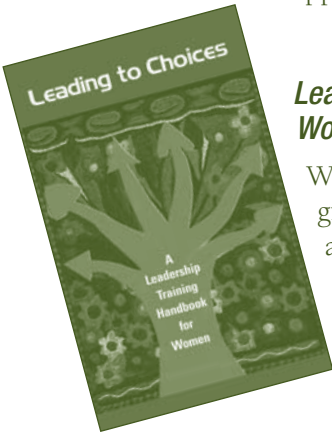
Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

APPENDIX K

Women’s Learning Partnership Publications and Learning Tools

WLP Leadership and Training Curriculum

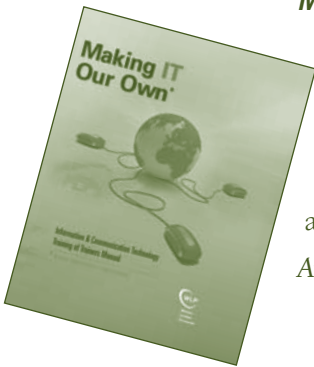
Women’s Learning Partnership produces culture-specific training curriculum for women in the Global South, particularly in Muslim-majority societies. WLP’s handbooks, guides, videos, and CDs are available in 20 languages and are being used in over 30 countries. These learning materials are produced in collaboration with our partners to be relevant, idiomatically accessible, and culturally appropriate.



Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women (2001)

WLP’s signature training manual is designed to train diverse groups of women in the practice of inclusive, participatory, and horizontal leadership.

Available in English, Maghreby-Arabic, Shamy-Arabic, Assamese, Bahasa Indonesia, French, Hausa, Kyrgyz, Malay, Meiteilon, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Shona, Spanish, Swahili, Turkish, Urdu, and Uzbek.



Making IT Our Own: Information & Communication Technology Training of Trainers Manual (2008)

This innovative technology trainer’s manual is designed for use in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) training workshops and training-of-trainers Institutes. It develops technology skills for gender justice and human rights advocacy.

Available in Arabic and English.

Leading to Choices: A Multimedia Curriculum for Leadership Learning (2003)

WLP’s multimedia curriculum is tailored for human rights and democracy activists, educators, women leaders, and facilitators who seek to develop their own leadership skills, as well as women’s capacity for achieving their social, economic, and legal rights. It consists of three video cassettes with accompanying guides. Interactive, scenario-based activities and illustrative examples demonstrate how to create participatory and democratic learning environments, implement successful advocacy campaigns, and develop compelling messages for target audiences.

Available in Arabic, English, French, and Persian.

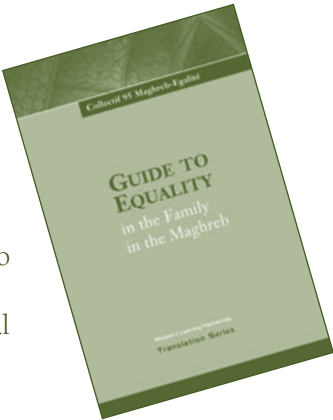


WLP Translation Series

The WLP Translation Series makes widely available important feminist works produced in the Global South.

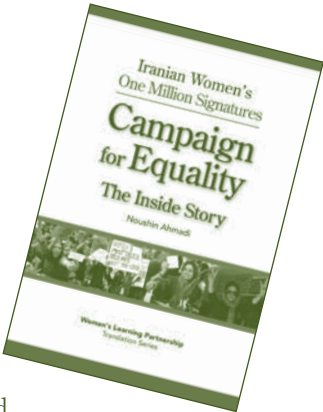
Guide to Equality in the Family in the Maghreb, by Collectif 95 Maghreb-Egalité

Family Law in Muslim-majority societies governs every aspect of a woman’s life—from minimum age and conditions of marriage to divorce, child custody, and the right to work, travel, or decide on a place of residence. The reform of Family Law is therefore crucial to women’s ability to participate on equal terms in both family life and public life. In each thematic module, the *Guide* presents the current state of the law, then proposes religious, human rights, sociological, and domestic legal arguments for reform, well supported by relevant data. Translated by WLP for use by English and Persian-speaking researchers and activists, *Guide to Equality in the Family in the Maghreb* is an innovative advocacy tool for reform of the family law in Muslim-majority societies.



Iranian Women’s One Million Signatures Campaign for Equality: The Inside Story, by Noushin Ahmadi Khorasani

This volume details the history, strategies, and values that brought together a diverse group of Iranian women, men, and rights activists for the well-known women’s equality campaign. It is a valuable case study of a new model for grassroots movements in the 21st century, applicable not only in societies ruled by autocratic governments or influenced by radical fundamentalism, but also in more open and tolerant societies that have yet to achieve full equality for women.





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