



GENDER EQUALITY

within Political Parties and Women's Cross-party Cooperation

How to Build the Capacities
of Women Politicians and
Political Parties

Political Parties of
Finland for Democracy
Demo Finland

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Foreword

FINLAND RANKS AMONGST the top countries in international equality comparisons. We do especially well in women's participation in political decision-making. During the last few years I have had the opportunity to speak about Finnish experiences in a number of international contexts and I have done this with pleasure. Even though we still have work to do to improve equality in our home country, other countries can learn many things from us.

I remember especially well a training that Demo Finland and our Ministry of Foreign Affairs organised in Libya in 2012 for women candidates in the national elections. It was great to see how much we – politically active women – have in common, whether we work in Finland or in a country facing a far more challenging political situation. I felt that this was a concrete way to come to understand how Finland can contribute to the development of democracy in North Africa by sharing our knowledge. Sharing experiences and supporting political parties' women's wings and candidates is an effective form of foreign aid.

I encouraged the Libyan women to trust in their own capacity. When arguing with a political opponent, one can do well only if one knows what one wants and one is able to reason in a convincing way. I also advised them to be active in those sectors of politics that traditionally have been men's fields, such as economics and energy policies.

In addition, I emphasised that we, women politicians, have to support each other and build networks. National and international cooperation is needed to improve the situation of women.

The most concrete achievements of international cooperation are the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action. They stipulate that women must be allowed to take part in decision-making over matters that affect them and the societies to which they belong. These commitments have helped develop equality legislation in many countries.

Finland, too, offers splendid examples of practices that build on fruitful cooperation. Finnish women are used to collaborating across party lines in the parliament and at grassroots level in order to achieve the goals they consider important. For the last couple of decades this cooperation has been advanced by NYTKIS (The Coalition of Finnish Women's Associations), which consists of all the women's wings of the parties in the parliament, women's civil society organisations and representatives of academic women's studies.

We have also succeeded in raising the number of women MPs to over 40 per cent without any kind of legislation or voluntary electoral quota stipulating the number of women in parliament. This is a manifestation of a working democracy and it's also down to a unique Finnish innovation: 10 per cent of the state subsidy for political parties is allocated directly to their women's leagues.

Even though results have been achieved at the national and international levels, the fact remains that all around the world there are too few women decision-makers. Balanced societal development



is possible only if both women and men take part in that work. Leaving half of the human talent reserves unused is wasteful and slows down development. It is no coincidence that the Nordic countries, where women's political engagement is strongest, are according to many evaluations also the most prosperous in the world.

The Finns have thus splendid knowledge in strengthening women's political activity. Working for gender equality is – based on our experiences – a natural component of our foreign aid. However, success can only be achieved with a humble attitude. To put it as Demo Finland does: you cannot export democracy, but you can support building it.

Mari Kiviniemi

Deputy Secretary General of OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)

Prime Minister of Finland 2010–2011

Member of Parliament 1995–2014

Chairperson of the Centre Party of Finland 2010–2012

Introduction

COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT GIVE all their citizens the right and possibility to participate in political decision-making miss out on a great deal of talent. We at Political Parties of Finland for Democracy – Demo Finland believe that equal and meaningful participation of women in politics is crucial to building and sustaining democracy. Democracy cannot be truly inclusive if women and men are not equally represented in politics.

Women comprise over 50 per cent of the world's population, but they continue to be underrepresented in all political arenas. Democracy cannot truly deliver for all citizens if half of the population remains underrepresented. In a representative democratic system, political parties hold the power to enhance participation of marginalised groups, including women. Therefore, as the gatekeepers of women's participation in politics, political parties are crucial actors when it comes to equal political participation and a well-functioning democracy.

Demo Finland is a cooperative organisation of Finnish parliamentary parties. We enhance democracy by carrying out collaborative projects between Finnish political parties and political movements in new and developing democracies. We work to strengthen equality in participation, constructive cross-party cooperation, pluralistic political discussion and the ability of politicians to peacefully impact socio-political development. The main objective of our strategy is to focus on the equality and representativeness of political parties. Gender equality in politics is a crosscutting issue that is ever-present in all our work.

For ten years we have been supporting political parties to be more inclusive in various countries in Africa and Asia. In our programmes, we build the capacities of women politicians and political parties, enhance women's cross-party cooperation and aim to change the political culture to be more inclusive. In this toolkit we have gathered tools for enhancing gender equality within political parties and increasing women's cross-party cooperation. The toolkit gathers good practices of Demo Finland and highlights good methods used around the world to enhance gender equality in politics. It is aimed at facilitators but it has plenty of good reference material, tools and other information for anyone interested in strengthening women's political participation. We hope you will find this toolkit useful and inspiring.



Tiina Kukkamäe-Bah

Executive Director

Political Parties of Finland for Democracy – Demo Finland

Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CEDAW	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERNATIONAL IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MDGS	Millennium Development Goals
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NAP	National Action Plan
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NYTKIS	Coalition of Finnish Women's Associations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAN	National Action Party (Mexico)
PSOE	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Spain)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDWF	Social Democratic Party Women's Forum (Croatia)
TANE	Parliamentary Committee for Equality (Finland)
T-WCP	Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform
UNDATA	Database of the United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women (since 2010 UN Women)
WEF	World Economic Forum
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WSCF	Women Support Campaign Fund (Zambia)
WSP	Women's Shadow Parliament in Kenya

1. Objectives of the toolkit

THE ORGANISATION for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has identified capacity building of women politicians as one of the key means to increase the number of women in politics.¹ It has also found that possibilities for women to participate in politics are hindered by the lack of networks for women. Yet, no matter how competent, motivated and industrious women are, their influence in politics will not become immediately apparent unless the political parties that they represent become more democratic and make space for women from the grassroots to the very top. The role of political parties in enhancing women's participation in politics is crucial and should not be underestimated.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS TOOLKIT are to support capacity building in the following areas:

- **Strengthening political parties** in building their **capacity on all aspects of gender equality** and **intra-party democracy**.
- Developing an **Action Plan** with indicators to promote **gender equality within parties**.
- Supporting **political parties' women's organisations in building alliances** and adopting **best practices for cross-party collaboration**.
- Supporting **collaboration between political women's organisations** and **civil society organisations** in order to improve women's position in society, in general.

THIS TOOLKIT ALSO AIMS TO:

- **Empower individual women** who have aspirations to advance in **local, regional and national-level politics**.

Finnish **political women's organisations are especially good at collaborating** with each other and also outwards with civil society. NYTKIS – The Coalition of Finnish Women's Associations, formed in 1988, is an institutional invention mixing political and civil society organisations. Meanwhile the Network of Women Parliamentarians of the Parliament of Finland (Finnish women MPs' caucus) was established as early as 1991 (see chapter 8.2). It can be argued that the cross-party cooperation of these bodies is one of the reasons why **Finland has reached the level of over 40 per cent women MPs without any kind of quota system in the national elections** – an achievement that only two other countries, Cuba and Andorra, have matched.

Demo Finland has prepared this toolkit to support its work with political parties in Finland and in developing democracies and to facilitate sharing of experiences and mutual learning on gender equality and politics. Demo Finland's work is by parties for parties and politicians for politicians, and this toolkit is for planning activities that focus on supporting women's political participation, cross-party cooperation and gender-equal politics.

2. What is required for training women politicians and other political influencers?

WHY HAVE THESE particular women come for the training or seminar or conference? What kind of backgrounds do they have? What kind of awareness do they have of women's rights? What were their motivations to become politically active? Are they party activists with a history in politics or are they newcomers? If they are newcomers, what is their awareness of their own parties' policies and manifestos? What are their special hopes and expectations for this particular course? Are their husbands and other family members, their friends or party members supporting their political aspirations? What do the leaders of their parties think of their participation?



Young women politicians participating in a training in Nepal in 2013. Demo Finland emphasises the participation of women in democratic decision-making with the goal of getting more young women to actively take part in politics, and to help them find their way to leadership roles within party organisations.

It is likely that the participants of the training have **versatile backgrounds and values** and that their level of awareness on gender equality issues varies widely. Some may have encountered gender-based discrimination, while for others the whole concept may be unfamiliar. Many are likely to have been active in civil society organisations as these are a base for recruiting women to politics. Some may have university degrees; others have practical experiences from which to draw.

The organising stage should aim to **map out beforehand the profiles of participants** as well as possible. The participants should be given an opportunity to provide information on their expectations and needs, possibly through a questionnaire. The timetable should reflect women's child caring and other responsibilities. The training must take place with the consent of the party leaders, and, according to The National Democratic Institute (NDI) the women should not be left on their own after the training, as some men may feel threatened by women who return to their parties with renewed confidence and empowerment. For this reason it might be a good idea to organise mixed trainings too, focussing on mainstreaming of gender into political programmes, rather than empowering only women.²

An argument that may arise during the training – even though the aim is to increase the number of women in legislative bodies and local councils – is this: gender equality is a Western concept – it has no place in our culture. The facilitators should prepare to face this argument. They ought to understand that appealing to “authentic” cultural values or traditions like this is a way of opposing women's rights or legitimising rights violations (bearing in mind that a woman expressing these sentiments may not be fully aware of this agenda, herself). This cultural argument overlooks the powerful historical mobilisation by indigenous women's organisations and activists against gender inequality. It also fails to account for the numerous commitments governments have already made to advancing gender equality and women's rights in their legislation and constitutions, such as national development strategies, gender policies and action plans, and by signing and ratifying regional and international rights frameworks. These **commitments oblige governments to take action to combat gender discrimination and advance women's rights** and they are probably the best way to answer anyone coming up with this type of argument.³ It might be useful to explain that for example Finland had to change and write new legislation to be able to ratify CEDAW and that some of this legislation caused protests. But now, some decades later, no one even remembers the outcry. Another argument against training may come from the claim that there is no gender discrimination in the party and therefore there is no need for training. Here again, reference should be made to the existing policy statements by governments. For a more detailed analysis of political parties and gender equality, see chapter 7.

As politics is an area where personal strength and vision are assets, it is very likely that a few women in the group will have strong views and voices. It is the facilitator's task to **make sure that all participants get their voices heard**, so that some individuals do not dominate. One way to do this is to have “rounds” of opinions or sentiments.

Exercise 1 Chapter 2:

Rounds of opinions or sentiments

INVITE ALL PARTICIPANTS TO SHARE with the group how they feel about something or what their opinion is on some issue. Everyone will share their view on the same topic. Explain that each one will be given just one minute (two minutes if the schedule allows) to express their views. Take the time and 10 seconds before the time is up give a reminder that time is running out. When the time is up, you should say: “End of time”. Then give the opportunity to the next woman. No one can take more than her allocated time, and each one is given this time. If the participant wishes to remain silent, this is allowed, but her time will not be given to others; it will be spent on contemplation.

EXAMPLES OF TOPICS:

“I feel happy about...”

“I feel angered by...”

“If I were to be elected as an MP (a council member), I would first...”

“My expectations for this training are...”

THIS IS A METHOD USED IN FEMINISTIC GROUP THERAPY. The role of the facilitator is important – equal time is vital. At the end, join in by telling your sentiments on the topic discussed, and remember to time your own speech. Once the round has been completed, sum up in a few words. Do not make any judgements or evaluate in any way what has been said. Each participant must feel safe and content to relate her views. If many women have expressed dismay on a certain topic, you might say: “As we could hear, we women share the problem of... (e.g. not being able to attend meetings at night; combining work and family with politics; getting our voices heard in male-dominated meetings).

THE PURPOSE OF THIS EXERCISE is to give voice to those who tend to remain silent, to highlight the importance of equality in communication, and to create a trusting learning environment.

THE BASIS of Demo Finland’s work is **mutual learning**; that includes **participants learning from each other**. **Listening to each other is the core of mutual sharing**. Whether the personal stories of the attendants are heart-breaking or very ordinary, paying full attention to them is really important.

3. Theoretical background to gender equality in politics and women's political participation

3.1 History of women's participation in politics in a nutshell

Democracy, as we know it, was created in ancient Greece, and from the very start it served men better than women. The basis was the public/private dichotomy, which has excluded women from citizenship. When the modern democratic models of governing were first established in the Western world during the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century, they were still built by men, for men.⁴

In most Western countries women gained suffrage several decades later than men. A notable exception is Finland, where full political rights were given to men and women simultaneously in 1906, and France, where men have been able to vote continuously since 1848, but women only since 1945. Understandably it took time and effort for women to break into the existing male political spheres. Thanks to insightful and determined women, most democratic countries have long traditions of female legislators. The first female MPs at national level in Finland were elected in 1907; 19 of the 200 MPs of the new Parliament of the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland were women. Despite the successes of the first pioneers, globally it has taken a very **long time** for the **numbers of women MPs to rise**. The only region where the amount of women MPs has risen to around 40 per cent is the Nordic region. Women are still grossly underrepresented in politics worldwide: only 22.1 per cent of MPs (single or lower house and upper house or senate combined) are women (IPU, The Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015 statistics). Rwanda is the only country that has (in the lower house) more than 50 per cent women MPs (see chapter 7.1).⁵

3.2 Two arguments for women's political participation

Rights versus better politics

Researchers have identified two types of argument for the promotion of women's participation in politics. The intrinsic approach argues from a **human rights** perspective that women must have an equal share of politics and power. As women constitute half of the world's population, it is **fair** that they should also have half of the political power.



The Myanmar School of Politics students share a laugh during a debate in March 2015. In Myanmar Demo Finland's work focusses on strengthening the democratic role of political parties at the regional and state level and enhancing the practice of multi-party dialogue.

The **instrumentalist** argument is based on the essentialist thinking that women and men are innately different. It assumes that women in politics will bring a **special caring focus** and **female values** to politics and, in the long term, change the nature of politics.⁶

A fairly recent study “*Equality in Politics: A Survey of Women and Men in Parliaments*” by IPU⁷ confirms that the political priorities of men and women differ to some extent. Nearly 300 parliamentarians in 110 countries in every region of the world contributed to the study, and 40 per cent of the respondents to the survey were men. More than 90 per cent of all respondents agreed that women bring different views, talents and perspectives to politics. Women parliamentarians are at the forefront of efforts to combat gender-based violence and their role has been pivotal in ensuring that issues such as parental leave and childcare, pensions, gender equality laws and electoral reforms that enhance women’s access to parliaments appear on the legislative agenda.⁸

The human rights perspective:

Gender equality is at the very heart of human rights, and discrimination based on gender is prohibited under almost every human rights treaty. It is unfair and wrong that women and girls routinely have their rights violated and are condemned to lives of poverty because of gender discrimination and an unequal distribution of power and resources. It is our moral duty to erode these vast gender inequalities of opportunity and outcomes and uphold principles of human dignity, equality, justice and freedom. Protecting and promoting women’s human rights is the responsibility of all states.

The instrumentalist perspective:

Women have a greater responsibility than men for caring for children and other family members and so are more likely to invest resources in meeting household requirements than their own consumption. Investing in women is good value for money since it reaps rewards that extend beyond women – to their children, families, and entire societies.

GENDER ADVOCATES have made strategic use of these more instrumental arguments to mobilise support and resources for women's rights. According to some researchers, there are also risks in relying on these arguments. For example, drawing on arguments on economic growth rather than rights and justice may be effective at increasing women's labour force participation but does little to ensure these jobs are safe, fairly paid and non-exploitative. Nor will instrumental arguments effectively address the burden of women's unpaid care work, which may continue alongside paid employment.

When approaching women's empowerment from a human rights perspective (as Finland does in its development policy), instrumental arguments should be used with a caution.

While investing in women and girls is an important strategy for ending poverty and transforming societies, the most important reason for investing in eliminating gender inequality is to transform women's lives, safeguard their human rights, and create a fairer world.⁹

3.3 Reasons for the underrepresentation of women in politics

International IDEA (The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) identifies three types of obstacles blocking women from gaining political parity:¹⁰

- 1) **Political** obstacles;
- 2) **socio-economic** obstacles;
- 3) **ideological** and **psychological** hindrances.

1. The political obstacles are:

- the **masculine models** of politics: political institutions have been tailored for men's needs, aggressive competition is a universally approved element of politics, and many men take part in fraternal networks
- women's worldwide **lack of party support**
- **electoral systems** – the so-called proportional representation voting system makes it easier for women to get elected (and is probably one of the reasons why Scandinavian countries have such a high proportion of women MPs)

2. The socio-economic obstacles are:

- the **feminisation of poverty and unemployment** – the economic crises in countries with so-called developing democracies have intensified the risk of poverty for women
- the **dual burden**: in most countries women carry a disproportionate share of domestic work, and it is hard for them to get involved in politics when their major concern is survival of their families

3. The ideological and psychological hindrances include:

- **traditional roles**: gender ideology, cultural patterns, and predetermined roles assigned to women and men
- women's **lack of confidence** to stand for elections
- the **perception of politics as "dirty"** (it should be noted that this is not only a perception, as in many countries women who run for politics face intimidation, a culture of corruption, and violence)

- the role of the **mass media**: on top of not adequately informing the public about the rights and roles of women in society, or engaging in measures to promote women's positions, the media often depict women as beautiful objects, thus encouraging the long-standing stereotyping of women as sexual objects and second-class citizens

A MORE DETAILED ANALYSIS of the obstacles to women's advancement in politics can be read at International IDEA's web pages: http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/2.per cent20Obstacles_to_Womenper cent27s_participation_in_Parliament.pdf.

Exercise 1 Chapter 3.3: Why aren't there more women in politics in my country?

BEFORE going through with the participants the above-mentioned obstacles, ask them to form workgroups of 5–8 persons. Then give the statistics of the country where the training is taking place: the percentage of women MPs and the percentage of women councillors (if available), and women in political party leadership positions. After this, ask the teams to list on flipcharts the possible reasons behind the figures.

IN THE SECOND PART of the exercise, ask each team to name reasons that they identified (you could do this by taking one factor/team, and doing rounds till there are no more suggestions) and note them down.

IN THE THIRD PART, you can present the IDEA classification of three types of obstacles and hindrances and then together you can group the named phenomena under: 1) political obstacles, 2) socio-economic obstacles, and 3) ideological and psychological hindrances.

IF TIME ALLOWS, you can facilitate a discussion on the nature of the obstacles. Which ones will be easiest to conquer? Should we start by trying to tackle the easier ones?



Demo Finland and Tanzania Women Cross-party Platform (T-WCP) celebrating International Women's Day in Dodoma in 2014 during the constitution review process.

3.4 Factors behind women's advancement in politics

The International IDEA has identified the following actions that can increase women's participation in politics:¹¹

- introduction of **political, institutional** and **financial guarantees** that promote women's candidacies to ensure the **equal participation** of **female nominees** in electoral campaigns
- designing **legislative regulations** for implementing **effective quota mechanisms**
- the creation of **educational programmes** and **centres** designed to **prepare** women for **political careers**
- the development of and **support** for schools (or centres) for the **training** of women for participation in **electoral campaigns**

POLITICAL SCIENTISTS have been trying to identify the **general factors** that enable women to arrive at influential political positions. These are: high levels of economic development and women working outside the home, strong democratic institutions, earlier suffrage policies, all-female organisations, internal (but not external) conflict, literacy equality with men, dominance of leftist parties, protestant religion, proportional electoral systems, quota systems ("the fast track"), weak fraternal interest groups, and warm and affectionate child rearing. These phenomena have been identified as correlating positively with women's strong position in politics.

Amongst researchers, there is some dispute over the results and what kind of policies would work for the benefit of women. According to some, the demand for a "critical mass" of 30 per cent of women in decision-making positions (the aim of the quota system) is not strategically wise and can trigger a backlash: men may find the increasing number of women politicians a threat. As for quotas, it has been established that in conflict situations they may not work as planned, as strong male politicians tend to manipulate the selection of candidates to their pleasing (see chapter 7.2).¹²

4. Accessing country-level materials on gender equality

THE ROLE OF COUNTRY-SPECIFIC GENDER STATISTICS

A. International sources

A vital element of a successful training is the understanding of the country context in which the training is to take place. The everyday lives of women and men, boys and girls, can be put in context best with the help of statistics. UNDATA, the database of the United Nations, offers comprehensive statistics on the situations of women and men all around the world: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/Demographic/products/Worldswomen/WW2010pub.htm>.

The UNDP International Human Development Indicators give a good picture of development taking place, and one of the four indexes of the data is gender inequality: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries>.

Very extensive and illustrative data on gender is offered by the World Economic Forum, which publishes the annual Global Gender Gap Report, ranking the nations of the world by gender equality. The report focusses on gaps between men and women in each country, not the development level of the countries. It is notable and encouraging that Philippines has the fifth smallest gap in gender equality, measured in economic participation, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment of women and men. (Unsurprisingly, the Nordic countries, Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden, lead.) The report also includes data on individual countries. The 2013 report can be found here: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf.

The OECD guide on gender equality indicators helps to get a better understanding of the use of statistics by explaining what is worth measuring, why and how: <http://www.oecd.org/social/gender-development/44952761.pdf>.

Young Tunisian politicians visiting the Parliament of Finland in December 2014. Demo Finland along with its partners set up the Tunisian School of Politics in 2012, with the goal of supporting a new political generation to work meaningfully and peacefully to help stabilise Tunisian democracy.



B. National gender policies and human rights treaties

Nearly all United Nations member states have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the so-called **CEDAW** treaty on women's rights (see chapter 5.1). The convention **legally binds** all the governments that have ratified it. The CEDAW committee evaluates reports on implementation provided by governments on a regular basis, usually every fourth year.

Information on the work of the committee and the country processes, including the so-called shadow reports written by civil society organisations of the respective countries (often national women's councils), can be found at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/CEDAWIndex.aspx>.

International civil society is also committed to monitoring the fulfilment of human rights/women's rights globally. Human Rights Watch reports can be found at: <http://www.hrw.org/publications/reports>, and Amnesty International reports at: <http://amnesty.org/en>.

Most countries have written national **gender policies** and national **action plans** for gender equality (see chapter 5.6). These are also worth checking prior to trainings. For example, Nepal has a National Plan of Action for the "Year Against Gender Based Violence, 2010", and Morocco has written a gender policy 2012–2016, of which an English abstract can be found at: <http://www.slideshare.net/Gobernabilidad/2-presentation-marocco-eng>.

The development of women's rights in Finland¹³

1864	Legal sovereignty of unmarried women (at the age of 25)
1878	Levelling out women's and men's right to legacy and marriage ownership
1901	Full right to study at universities (with special permit since 1870)
1906	Full political rights (the right to vote and the right to be nominated as a candidate in national elections)
1917	The right to vote in municipal elections
1919	The right to work without one's husband's consent
1926	The right to be nominated as civil servants of the state with the same conditions as men
1929	The marriage bill: juridical equality of men and women, independent right to ownership (each spouse owns his/her assets) and equal parenthood
1937	The bill on maternal subsidy
1944	The bill on establishing maternal clinics and municipal nurses
1962	Approval of the principle of equal pay on both the public and private sector
1970	Renewed bill on employment relations, including a statute on discrimination
1970	The bill on terminating pregnancy
1972	The general availability of contraception was secured by a public health reform
1972	The Council for Gender Equality was established
1973	The bill on public day care of children

1975	The bill on paternity
1983	The bill on children's custody and right to see a parent
1985	The bill on home care allowance for children under three years
1985	The bill on surnames – married women are granted the right to decide independently on their surname, and the child can be named after either parent
1986	The bill on equality between women and men
1994	The criminalisation of rape within marriage (as one of the last EU countries)
1994	Renewed bill on civil servants – contains the principle of unbiased treatment of civil servants
1995	The so-called ordinary abuse in a private base (e.g. homes) becomes an offence that is prosecutable publicly – before this e.g. in a case of physical abuse it was up to the victim if a charge was brought
1997	The victim of a sexual crime or domestic abuse is granted the possibility to get legal assistance and a support person provided by the state
1998	Renewal of the legislation on sexual crimes: rape is divided into three categories by the severity of the felony: rape, aggravated rape and forcing someone into sexual intercourse. The most important reform was rendering nearly all sexual crimes under official prosecution. In addition, purchasing sexual services of someone under 18 years was criminalised
1998	The bill on restraining orders: the victim of physical abuse has the possibility to appeal for a restraining order
2005	The reform of the bill on equality between women and men

THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY

GENDER EQUALITY ISSUES are the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.

- A special Unit on Gender Equality within the ministry is responsible for the implementation of equality policies.
- The ministry has a Committee on Gender Equality.
- The Ombudsman for Equality is responsible for monitoring the observance of the Act on Equality between Women and Men. The ombudsman works as an independent authority within the ministry.
- The Council for Gender Equality is a parliamentary body wherein all the parties elected to parliament have their representatives and which also has members from civil society organisations. It aims to enhance equality between men and women.
- The Employment and Equality Committee of the Parliament deals with bills, legislative initiatives and governmental reports, giving its views before matters are dealt with in plenary sessions.

THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION, IPU, has good statistics on women's political involvement.

A review of women's advancement in politics (2013) can be found at:

<http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2013-e.pdf>.

5. International, regional and national commitments

MUCH OF THE WORK that is carried out in various parts of the world to improve gender equality is based on international conventions, agreements, declarations and resolutions that deal with human rights. For the most part these have been written at the United Nations, and most member states have signed and ratified these documents. Their aim is to guide national legislation to meet international standards.

5.1 Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women

The **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)** is an **international bill of rights for women** and it forms the legal basis for improving the position of women. The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention in December 1979, and since 1982 the CEDAW committee has met regularly to go through reports submitted usually every fourth year by the member states that are members to the treaty.

Often active **civil society** organisations in member states submit their own so-called **shadow reports** to the committee. In 2000, a new instrument called the Optional Protocol of CEDAW entered into force, enabling individual women or groups of women to submit claims of violations of their rights to the CEDAW committee. Of the 194 members of the UN, 187 countries have ratified CEDAW (2014). The United States, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Palau, and Tonga have not ratified it. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, CEDAW **defines what constitutes discrimination against women** and sets out an agenda for national action leading to greater equality. CEDAW is often referred to as the **Women's Convention** because, unlike conference declarations, it sets **legally binding principles** and standards for realising women's rights.¹⁴

Articles 2 to 4 of the CEDAW call on state parties to actively pursue the elimination of discrimination in women's political participation through legal and temporary special measures and affirmative action. An example of a special measure to speed up achievement of de facto equality is quotas for women's seats in the legislative, executive or the judiciary branches of government.

Article 7 of the CEDAW instructs state parties to "take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country..." It gives 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; and
- c. To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country."



In Nepal Demo Finland works with the Joint Youth and Student Platform (JYSP) that brings together the 20 most important Nepalese political youth and student organisations. Gender equality is a crosscutting theme.

ARTICLE 8 brings women's political rights to the international arena. It instructs state parties to: "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 14 focusses on the needs of rural women, with paragraph 2 stating: "State 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; (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."

CEDAW provides a **practical blueprint for each country to achieve equality for women and girls**. Providing opportunities for women and girls to learn, earn and participate in public decision-making helps reduce violence, alleviate poverty, build democracies and strengthen economies. In countries that have ratified CEDAW, women have partnered with their governments to shape policies that create greater safety and opportunities for women and their families. For example:

- Educational opportunities – Bangladesh used CEDAW to help attain gender parity in primary school enrolment, and it plans to eliminate all gender disparities in secondary education by 2015.
- Violence against women and girls – Mexico responded to a destabilising epidemic of violence against women by using CEDAW terms in a general law on Women's Access to a Life Free from Violence. By 2009, all 32 Mexican states had adopted the measure.

- Marriage and family relations – Kenya has used CEDAW to address differences in inheritance rights, eliminating discrimination against widows and daughters of the deceased.
- Political participation – Kuwait's parliament voted to extend voting rights to women in 2005 following a recommendation by the CEDAW committee to eliminate discriminatory provisions in its electoral law.¹⁵

MANY COUNTRIES have signed and ratified the convention with **declarations** and/or **reservations**. For instance, Algeria, Egypt, Bangladesh, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Morocco, Oman, Tunisia, and Turkey make reservations about articles that contradict their respective family laws or are seen to contradict certain elements of the Islamic sharia law. Some countries, including Finland, have made objections to the reservations of others. All the declarations, reservations and objections can be found at the UN Women website: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations-country.htm>.

The CEDAW reporting process:

All **state parties** to the convention **submit initial and periodic reports to the so-called CEDAW committee every four years** on their implementation of the treaty. The committee is composed of 23 independent experts and monitors the implementation of the convention, basing its work on reports received from state parties. It is helpful to understand the steps in the process:¹⁶

1. **Preparation of state party report/shadow report** All state parties to the convention submit initial and periodic reports on implementation.
2. **Pre-session (list of issues and questions)**
A pre-session working group, composed of between 5 and 10 committee members, reviews the report and prepares a list of critical issues and questions.
3. **Reply to the list of issues and questions**
This list is sent to the state party, with a request to respond within 6 weeks.
4. **Constructive dialogue** The CEDAW session begins reviewing the report and responses to the list of critical issues and questions, then the committee and state parties discuss in plenary.
5. **Concluding observations** These include concerns and recommendations from the CEDAW committee. The committee also produces general recommendations, by which it draws attention to a specific issue at the global level.

IT IS POSSIBLE to influence the CEDAW review process in three main ways:

1. By submitting reports or country-specific information to the pre-session working group.
2. By attending pre-session or session working groups and providing information in plenary.
3. By submitting alternative reports (so-called shadow reports) for the CEDAW session.

Exercise 1 Chapter 5.1:

CEDAW and my country

FIND OUT BEFOREHAND about the CEDAW status of the country where the training is taking place. Has the country signed the convention with declarations and/or reservations? When was the last reporting? Did civil society organisations leave a shadow report? If they did, were they able to do it freely and without pressure? What were the recommendations of the CEDAW committee?

THE TIMETABLE of the committee and country reports can be found at: <http://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/cedaw/pages/cedawindex.aspx>.

AFTER PRESENTING the convention to the participants, discuss with them their country's CEDAW status. Encourage them to share with the group all their knowledge on the issue. Hopefully they know a lot more than you do!

5.2 International Declaration of Human Rights

The International Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948.

ARTICLE 21 STATES:

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 of 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.

5.3 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was built on the Declaration of Human Rights. It was opened for signatures in 1966 and came into force in 1976.

ARTICLE 3 STATES:

- 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 25 STATES:

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

- To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
- 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;
- To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

5.4 UN Millennium Development Goals

The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty rates to improving maternal health and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – form **a blueprint agreed by all the world's countries and leading development institutions.**¹⁷ While many of the eight goals deal with factors affecting women, **Goal 3** addresses directly the needs of women



Youth politicians from different political parties plan joint activities in Nepal in 2014.

and girls: “**Promote gender equality and empower women.**” The target A is to: “Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education, no later than 2015.” One of the indicators with which the success of achieving this goal is being measured, is the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments.¹⁸

The so-called Millennium Project was commissioned by the United Nations Secretary-General in 2002 to develop a concrete action plan for the world to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and to reverse the grinding poverty, hunger and disease affecting millions of people. In 2005, the independent advisory body presented its final recommendations to the Secretary-General in a synthesis volume *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals*. Ten thematic Task Forces were established to carry out the project’s work and they presented their detailed recommendations in January 2005. The Task Forces comprised a total of more than 250 experts from around the world, including researchers and scientists, policymakers, representatives of NGOs, UN agencies, the World Bank, IMF and the private sector.¹⁹

A good source for Millennium Development Goals data by country can be found at:
<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Data.aspx>.

At the same time as this toolkit is being written there is an ongoing international debate about what goals will be set for the period starting after 2015. The process is called Post-2015 Development Agenda. Gender equality is very likely to have a prominent position in the future goals. The final formulation of the goals will not be known until the UN General Assembly in September 2015. Stakeholders have been lobbying for a strong stand-alone goal on gender equality.

5.5 Regional Commitments

In addition to CEDAW, there are also **regional agreements** that can be particularly useful because they are more **relevant to different national contexts** – and cannot be easily dismissed as “Western feminism or imperialism”.²⁰ Regional bodies as diverse as the Council of Europe, the League of the Arab States, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the African Union (AU) have written their own commitments. Other regions, e.g. Asia and The Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean, collaborate in their follow-up of the UN conventions.

Africa Women’s protocol

The African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, and its **Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa** is a **very strong human rights instrument**. The Protocol was adopted in the AU assembly in Maputo in 2003 and came into force in 2005. The Africa Women’s Protocol arose partly as a result of the failure of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights to address women’s rights. However, in order for this and other international legal agreements to be effective they **must be incorporated into national law** (known as domestication). Many civil society organisations in Africa have used the Protocol in their advocacy work.²¹

ARTICLE 9, “Right to Participation in the Political and Decision-making Process” deals with women’s political rights:

1. States Parties shall take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that:

- a. women participate without any discrimination in all elections;
- b. women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes;
- c. women are equal partners with men at all levels of development and implementation of State policies and development programs.

ARTICLE 10, “Right to Peace”, deals with women’s right to peaceful existence, and their right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE USE of the protocol.²² “We use the African Union Protocol on Women’s Rights to raise awareness with ordinary women and they identify more with it – it is home-grown and addresses issues that affect African women, such as the rights of widows, the right to peace....In campaigning for the

Zimbabwean Domestic Violence Act, we used the Protocol because the arguments about standards are more convincing with politicians because they apply to the African context. The government has adopted an anti-Western stance and is very hostile to the UK, EU and UN, so the African Protocol is much more useful now.” Netsai Mushonga, National Co-ordinator, Women’s Coalition

ANOTHER women’s rights document, the “Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa” was approved by the African Union in 2004 in Addis Ababa. Paragraph 2 states that the member states: “Ensure the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace process including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UN Resolution 1325 (2000) and to also appoint women as Special Envoys and Special Representatives of the African Union.” Paragraph 5 stipulates: “Expand and Promote the gender parity principle that we have adopted regarding the Commission of the African Union to all the other organs of the African Union, including its NEPAD program, to the Regional Economic Communities, and to the national and local levels in collaboration with political parties and the National parliaments in our countries.”

The Arab Charter on Human Rights

The League of Arab States and the Council of the League of Arab States wrote the **Arab Charter on Human Rights** in 1994 and in 2004/8. Article 2, paragraph 3 states: “Men and women are equal in respect of human dignity, rights and obligations within the framework of the positive discrimination established



Tunisian youth politicians getting to know the Network of Finnish Women Members of Parliament in 2014.

in favour of women by the Islamic Sharia, other divine laws and by applicable laws and legal instruments. Accordingly, each State party pledges to take all the requisite measures to guarantee equal opportunities and effective equality between men and women in the enjoyment of all the rights set out in this Charter.” The Charter does not mention in any specific way women’s political rights.

A good data source for different regional human rights commitments is kept at the **University of Minnesota Human Rights Library**: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/regional.htm>.

5.6 National Commitments

The scope of national **gender equality legislation** varies greatly between countries. For Finland, signing and ratifying CEDAW was of vital importance to bring its gender equality legislation up to date. On top of this, EU membership has meant harmonising gender equality legislation. There are legislative areas where Finland has been surprisingly slow compared to its neighbours. For example, Finland passed a law to make rape within marriage illegal as late as 1994. In Sweden this was made illegal as long ago as 1965, and as early as 1864 the country passed a law making it illegal for husbands to physically punish their wives. **In Africa, the AU’s commitments** (and the regional ones – such as the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in 2008) **have directed national policies**, in a similar way as the EU has impacted Finland.

On top of legislation, many countries have written national **gender action plans**. The mechanisms with which the legislation and action plans are being implemented vary from one country to another. Many countries have ministries of equality and anti-discrimination, in some cases ministries of women, or parts of ministries that focus on families and welfare. Monitoring is also important and more and more countries have established National Human Rights Commissions.

Exercise 1 Chapter 5.6:

The commitments of my country

LET THE PARTICIPANTS DISCUSS IN GROUPS of 5–8 the commitments:

- 1) Is there a gender action plan?
- 2) Who has the responsibility to implement it?
- 3) How is monitoring carried out?

LET EACH GROUP SHARE with the whole group the information that they have come up with.

After this, you may contribute and then lead a general discussion:

Are we happy with our National Action Plan for Gender Equality?

Is something missing from it?

Is the implementation adequate?

What about the monitoring?

If the group members are not happy with the commitments of their country, do they think that these could be improved if more women were elected to the Parliament?

THE MINNESOTA HUMAN RIGHTS LIBRARY offers a very comprehensive database on specific country conditions: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/>.

5.7 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

The **United Nations** has organised **four major conferences on women and women's rights**: **Mexico City** 1975, **Copenhagen** 1980, **Nairobi** 1985, and **Beijing** 1995. **The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action** is the global community's **most comprehensive policy document for the empowerment of women** and gender equality. The Declaration's statement "women's rights are human rights" has since gained wide publicity. The document sets forth governments' commitments to enhance women's rights. It is noteworthy that the Beijing Platform for Action recommends a so-called **dual track** strategy:

1. investing in **special programmes** to improve women's position; and
2. **mainstreaming gender into all other programmes.**

MEMBER STATES reaffirmed and strengthened the platform in 2000 during the global five-year review of progress, and pledged to accelerate its implementation during the 10-year review in 2005 and the 15-year review in 2010.²³

Kristen Timothy and Marsha Freeman write: "World conferences are organized to deal with issues 'whose time has come.' ... World conferences take place in a political context. They involve all the nations of the world, focus on globally important subjects such as human rights, environment, and social development, and generate enormous interest from civil society as well. As the goal is to arrive at a consensus on issues, proposals to address them, and, in some cases, commitments, the process is a classic political exercise in negotiating ideas and language that most of the participating states can accept if not wholeheartedly endorse. As the product of a political process, the **final conference document is a political one**, carrying the weight of a consensus achieved as a result of the events and processes leading up to it. It is essentially an **advisory statement**, indicating policies that governments should adopt to achieve the goals stated by the conference."²⁴

It is clear that at the time of the **Beijing** conference in 1995, **the time of women had come**. The Platform of Action is a strong document, even though – as indicated above – it does not set legally binding principles for member states, like CEDAW does. It is very likely that if the conference were to be held now, the outcome document would not be as strong because the role of various fundamentalist religious groups and institutions has hardened all around the world. This is why many civil society organisations have been cautious about organising another major conference on women's rights.

In **twelve critical areas of concern**, the Beijing Platform highlights women's rights under its **strategic objectives**, as well as in its concrete and detailed **recommendations for action**. One of its critical areas of concern is specifically the human rights of women, including via the full implementation of CEDAW. Together, CEDAW and the Beijing Platform aim to eliminate discrimination against women on the one hand and ensure the achievement of equality for women on the other.²⁵

One of the twelve critical areas of the Beijing Platform deals with **women and politics**. Chapter G is entitled: Women in Power and Decision-making. Paragraphs 183–197 of the document introduce various means of increasing women's participation in decision-making bodies:

G1: Take measures to **ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.**

GOVERNMENTS AGREE TO:

- Establish gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, the judiciary, and all governmental and public administration positions.
- Protect and promote the equal rights of women to engage in political activities and to freely associate.

- Recognize that shared work and parenting between women and men promote women's increased position in public life.
- Monitor and evaluate progress on the representation of women through regular collection and analysis of data.

POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD:

- Examine party structures and procedures to eliminate discrimination against women's participation.
- Develop initiatives to encourage women's participation and incorporate gender issues in their political agenda.

GOVERNMENTS, national bodies, the private sector, sub-regional and regional bodies, NGOs, and other organisations should:

- Take positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders, executives, and managers in strategic decision-making positions.
- Strengthen solidarity among women through information and education, and advocate at all levels to enable women to influence political, economic, and social decisions, processes, and systems.

G2: Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.

GOVERNMENTS AND ALL ORGANISATIONS SHOULD:

- Provide training to women and girls in leadership, self-esteem, public speaking, self-assertion, political campaigning, and the electoral process.
- Apply transparent criteria for decision-making positions.

THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (CSW), which meets on a yearly basis in New York, is to review and appraise the implementation of the Platform for Action in 2015, in a session known as **Beijing+20**. UN member states have been called on to perform comprehensive national reviews. These national consultations and reports should identify key gaps in implementation of the Platform for Action and their causes, and outline priorities to close these gaps, within specific timeframes.²⁶

The full text of the Beijing Platform of Action on Chapter IV, G: "Women in power and decision-making", paragraphs 181–195, can be found at: <http://www.un-documents.net/bpa-4-g.htm>.

5.8 UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and related resolutions

One of the 12 critical areas of concern of the Beijing Platform for Action is “Women and Armed Conflict”. In 2000, the UN Security Council accepted, unanimously, **Resolution 1325, “Women, Peace and Security”** (see chapter 6.1). The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), together with active women from conflict-afflicted countries, had been lobbying and strategizing hard for years to achieve this goal. For the first time ever women and their needs were directly brought to the agenda of the Security Council. This was probably also the first time when civil society acted so powerfully within the UN system. Also, since the adoption of the resolution, a very strong civil society movement has arisen all around the globe calling for a better implementation of the women, peace and security agenda. The 1325 Network Finland is part of this movement (see www.1325.fi).

Resolution 1325 is known for its four pillars: participation, protection, prevention (the “three Ps”), and relief and recovery. Perhaps most importantly, it calls for **increased participation of women** at all levels of decision-making, including in national, regional and international institutions; in mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict; in peace negotiations; in peace operations, as soldiers, police and civilians; and as Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General. It calls for the **protection** of women and girls from **sexual and gender-based violence**, including in emergency and humanitarian situations, such as in refugee camps. It also calls for improving intervention strategies in **prevention of violence** against women, including by prosecuting those responsible for violations of international law, strengthening women’s rights under national law, and supporting local women’s peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes. On top of these, the resolution calls for advancement of relief and recovery measures to **address international crises through a gendered lens** (gender mainstreaming), including by respecting the civilian and humanitarian nature of refugee camps, and taking into account the particular needs of women and girls in the design of refugee camps and settlements.²⁷

Since 2000, **six more resolutions on the women, peace and security agenda** have been adopted by the Security Council. It is noteworthy that even those **UN member nations** that have **not signed or ratified CEDAW** are **under obligation to implement these**. Yet, even though so many years have passed, and even though civil society organisations have done a lot of lobbying, the implementation of the resolutions has been slow. Many countries, including Finland, have written **National Action Plans** (NAP) to set national guidelines for the implementation. The Finnish NAP can be found in Finnish at: http://www.1325.fi/tiedostot/kansallinen_toimintaohjelma_2012.pdf and in English at: http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/finland_nap_2012.pdf – there is also a good overview and analysis of the Finnish NAP, carried out by Peacewomen.

Resolution 1325 and related resolutions can be found at the Peacewomen pages, as well as the NAPs of all those UN member countries that have written them, many of which are conflict ridden countries: <http://www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325>.

6. Fragile societies

6.1 Conflicts of the 21st century and women

There are tens of armed conflicts taking place around the world and most of them are being fought in Africa and Asia. Unlike the wars of the 20th century, most of these conflicts are **internal ones** (even if other nations interfere or have interfered e.g. by supporting one group or another); ethnicity, religion, control over resources and the legacy of imperialism play a part. In these wars, **civilians** – especially women and children – **suffer probably more than ever before**. Internal conflicts differ in nature from external ones also in the aftermath, as the tasks of rehabilitation, reconstruction and state building are even more difficult in situations where the belligerent parties have been members of the same nation.

CONSIDER THESE STATISTICS:²⁸

- 250,000–500,000 Rwandan women were raped during the 1994 genocide.
- More than 95 per cent of peacekeepers are men.
- Despite women's contributions to peacebuilding and conflict prevention at many levels, only 2.5 per cent of signatories, 3.2 per cent of mediators, 5.5 per cent of witnesses and 7.6 per cent of negotiators are women (UNIFEM 2010).

IT WAS DURING THE WARS in the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia that wider attention was brought to **rape as a form of warfare**, and people began to realise that **conflicts have different ramifications for women and men**. Women and girls are, to a greater extent than men and boys, victims of sexual violence, including forced prostitution and sexual slavery. (A shocking realisation came to members of the UN when it was found out that peacekeepers, the very people who are supposed to protect women and girls, have been found to commit these crimes.) However, it is crucial to be aware that boys are also victims of sexual violence in conflict. For example, in Afghanistan the practice of Baccha Baazi (dancing boys) remains a widespread phenomenon. It is a form of sexual slavery and child prostitution: boys are sold to wealthy or powerful men, including military and political leaders for entertainment and sexual activities.²⁹ Women and children typically comprise the majority of displaced persons in refugee camps and conflict zones, and in times of conflict women are also more likely to be heads of households. Traditionally, women have also been excluded from peace negotiations and marginalised in peacebuilding.

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) unanimously adopted **Resolution 1325, “Women, Peace and Security”** on violence against women in conflicts (the need to prevent such violence and protect women and girls), on gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations (including employing many more female peacekeepers), and the right of women to participate in conflict resolution and peacebuilding (see chapter 5.8). This was the culmination of decades of hard work by women's civil

society organisations, and in the following years six more resolutions on the same agenda have been adopted. More information on these can be found e.g. at: www.1325.fi and www.peacewomen.org.

FOR CONSIDERATION AND DISCUSSION ON HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT THE FOLLOWING ATTITUDES ARE PRESENT IN OUR SOCIETY:

Masculinity and violence³⁰

- Most men are socialised to be “masculine”. Most cultures connect masculinity to concepts of courage, competition, assertiveness, and ambition that are expressed through physical aggression and violence and repression of other emotions.
- Young boys are encouraged to repress empathy, to be tough, fearless, not to cry and to value winning or dominating over others.
- Males are permitted and encouraged to act aggressively in order to prove their manhood. Many boys learn that war is respectable and that heroes are warriors, soldiers and conquerors.
- In an attempt to act masculine and play the role society has defined for men, many men make “detached decisions” without concern for the human suffering they will bring to others.
- There is a strong correlation between military experience and political leadership. People tend to elect leaders that they believe will be able to make the decision to go to war.
- Female leaders are questioned whether they “have what it takes” to use violence. Female leaders often have a “tough lady” image or, in other words, they are “masculine” women.
- Male leaders who favour negotiation or diplomacy rather than war are called “wimps” or “girls”, challenging their manhood. Men may be socially sanctioned and criticised for working for peace.
- The language of war is masculine. The enemy is often referred to in feminine terms.
- The language of war has also seeped into administrative and political language. Words like “strategy”, “deadline”, and “marching order” all originate from the running of military institutions. Even the so-called logical framework approach used widely in planning and measuring of development projects, originates from the military.

DESPITE the adoption of resolutions covering women, peace and security and despite the fact that women had been playing crucial roles in bringing about peace even before 2000 (e.g. Northern Ireland, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea), **the international community has had great difficulty in mainstreaming gender equality into conflict prevention, peace mediation, peacebuilding and state building.** The following chapter contains a short analysis of reasons behind this failure. It has been adopted from the NOREF report, “Gender, fragility and the politics of state building”.³¹



Parliamentary candidates participating in training in Libya in 2012.

6.2 State building and women's rights

Political settlements and women's rights

At the heart of state building lies the political settlement: an agreement on “the rules of the game”, power distribution and the political processes through which state and society are connected. The **inclusion of women's interest in political settlements** is crucial if state building is to deliver for women. However, key processes such as negotiating peace agreements and drafting constitutions are mostly controlled by **male elites** who **resist women's demands** for inclusion. Even in contexts in which women have played a significant role in bringing about political change, they have been marginalised from subsequent discussions over the nature of the state.

Despite exclusion from the negotiating table, **women frequently influence** formal political settlements **from the outside**, for example by campaigning for the inclusion of women's rights during peace negotiations and constitution drafting processes. They also use gender equality commitments (see chapter 5) to press for broadening political settlements over time. For example, in Nepal women used constitutional commitments to equality in order to campaign for changes to discriminatory citizenship and property laws.

The political settlement is not simply determined by formal frameworks: in fragile states informal “rules of the game” play a crucial role and women typically have very little influence over these rules. Therefore, even where women's interests are included in the formal political settlement, this may not be matched by a real shift in power relations. This, naturally, does not mean that women's rights should be ignored in the constitutional process – it just means that the work for equality must go on.

Women's political participation

Democratisation can provide an **opportunity to dramatically increase women's formal political participation** (e.g. in East Timor, Rwanda and South Africa). However, building democracy is not automatically positive for women. The international community strongly promotes the adoption of **parliamentary quotas** for women as part of democratisation. Consequently, many fragile states have comparatively high levels of female representation in parliament. In countries such as Rwanda, quotas are part of broader efforts to empower women and they have contributed to a more gender-responsive state. Yet there are contexts (such as Pakistan, Afghanistan or Uganda), where quotas have not translated into substantive political influence for women. Evidence suggests that women elected through quota systems do not often champion gender issues. This can be because political parties deliberately select socially conservative female candidates and because new female parliamentarians are unwilling to challenge party leaders. However, in many fragile contexts quotas have only recently been adopted and it will take time for their effects to be felt. Despite these challenges, quotas are undeniably important for increasing the political voice of women and changing perceptions about their public role.

In many fragile contexts a long history of exclusion means that women trying to enter politics are often disadvantaged by their lack of political skills, experience and formal education. In addition, women can face significant **social stigma** for taking on a public role. **Political violence** is common in fragile contexts, and women candidates are often targets. For example, members of customary institutions harass female candidates in Sierra Leone, while in Afghanistan women face threats from male candidate and insurgents. Where customary leaders mobilise votes, their objection to women's political participation is a serious obstacle. It should be added that political violence is not only a problem in fragile contexts. Sexual violence against female candidates is common, for instance in Kenya.

Political parties are the **key gatekeepers to women's political participation** (see chapter 7.2). In fragile contexts political parties are typically **highly personalised** around **male leaders** and do business through informal networks that women cannot access. This is in part because of the deep connection between formal politics and informal, undemocratic institutions in these contexts, as well as the central role of **violence** and **militarism** in political life. As a result, women are rarely given leadership roles in such parties and are frequently side-lined/confined to a women's wing that has no influence over the policy agenda of the party. Therefore, once women have been elected to office, it is important to equip them well, to support coalition building among them and to promote their inclusion in the executive bodies of their party.

Influence via civil society

Women can often take on civil society leadership roles without facing the obstructions found within formal politics. This is partly because civil society is a newer space with fewer links to traditional power relations. **Civil society activism** can provide an important **route for women to build a political profile** and enter formal politics without having to work their way up through political parties.

A major challenge for international actors is that mainstream **women's CSOs** in fragile states are often **elite-dominated** and unrepresentative. In many cases, better-rooted local-level women's organisations



Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform members sharing their experiences on women's cross-party cooperation in Ghana in 2012.

also exist but tend to be less visible. It is worth going the extra mile to look for less visible actors to avoid strengthening elite women's voices at the expense of other women's perspectives. Furthermore, because civil society can provide an alternative route for women to enter formal politics, more emphasis is required on developing **leadership skills** and **political capacities** among **young non-elite women activists**. On top of encouraging women members of civil society to join politics, it is also important to support the cooperation of women politicians and women's CSOs. For example, Demo Finland's partner in Tanzania – Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform, which comprises all the political women's organisations of Tanzania's parliamentary parties – has effectively partnered with the wider women's movement in the constitution review process. They were selected to lead the Women and Constitution CSO network and were able to act as one voice in advocating for a more gender equal constitution for women's political participation.

Informal power and customary institutions

Formal **political institutions** in fragile states tend to be **dominated by informal power relations**. This disadvantages women in multiple ways. For example, women in political institutions are frequently excluded from male patronage networks that control decision-making. Moreover, women making claims on formal institutions are particularly disadvantaged when formal rules do not apply and patronage relations or informal payments are required to receive services. Established institutions such as **ombudsmen**, **human rights commissions** and **anti-corruption commissions** can help women raise their concerns.

Customary institutions tend to be very powerful in fragile contexts and have particularly extensive **control over women's lives**. These institutions often play a central role in maintaining societal gender norms and have authority over issues of importance to women, such as personal status laws and access to community resources. Some customary authorities view women's empowerment as a direct

threat to their power base, though some do deliver outcomes that benefit women, such as rapid and accessible dispute resolution. **Traditional leaders** play a key role in advocating and driving social mobilisation initiatives that address various crosscutting issues affecting community members. For example, in **Zambia**, traditional leaders play a critical key role in social development issues, e.g. in the fight against HIV and AIDS, land ownership, gender-based violence, early marriages and promoting gender equality. Because of the influence the traditional leaders have in many communities, they are able to reach thousands of people in their communities through community meetings and dialogue, they advise government on traditional affairs and influence policy making that affects the lives of millions of people, mostly in rural populations. Demo Finland's partner, Zambia National Women's Lobby, gathered tips for this toolkit based on how their programmes are working effectively with traditional leaders to enhance women's political participation:

- Recognise the cultural beliefs and norms of traditional leaders' particular regions and promote an atmosphere of mutual learning.
- Identify socio-cultural issues that influence a broader understanding of the local and regional gender laws and instruments that relate to women's political rights and their intersection with customary laws and practices.
- Aim at developing understanding among traditional leaders of the importance of women's participation in governance and decision-making processes.
- Encourage traditional leaders to document best practices that promote gender equality and women's rights.
- Use female traditional leaders as access points especially at community level.

A window of opportunity

State building can provide an **opportunity to address deep-rooted gender inequalities in fragile states** – Rwanda is a good example of this (see chapter 7.1). However, change is often fiercely opposed by political and traditional elites, whose interests it can threaten. Evidence suggests that international actors are not taking full advantage of opportunities to promote women's participation in political decision-making at the stage of state building. **Gender** has to be understood as a **political issue**. This involves asking how gender inequalities relate to the political settlement, how arguments about “tradition” represent particular power interests, and how gender inequalities relate to such aspects as violence, poverty and corruption. **Focussing** on how to **strengthen the socio-economic position of women** is therefore vital.

Support for women's voices is critical if women are to influence the state-building agenda. The support should foster **broad coalitions across civil society, politics and public institutions**. It should also support these coalitions to develop their own policy agenda, to become effective political actors and engage with political change processes. This requires providing sustained support and capacity development to a wide range of civil society partners, including grassroots women's organisations.³²

If you are facilitating or participating in a workshop on women's peacebuilding, a good source for workgroup sessions and exercises is “Women in Peacebuilding – Resource and Training Manual” by Lisa Schirch: <https://www.emu.edu/cjp/publications/faculty-staff/lisa-schirch/women-in-peacebuilding-pt1.pdf>.

7. Development of gender equality within political parties

7.1 From all-male structures towards shared power

Gaining equality in the Nordic countries: one hundred years

It has happened over and over again that men and women have united in a political campaign to change legislation or bring down an oppressive system, working equally to achieve a mutual goal. But when the goal has been reached, women have usually been pushed aside, back home or to inferior roles of making coffee or taking minutes of meetings. In Finland, men and women united within different parties and civil society organisations in the franchise campaign in the beginning of 1900s, and Finnish women gained full political rights in 1906. In the 1907 elections, 19 women MPs were elected, and they were the first female parliamentarians ever at the national level in the world. Yet it took nearly one hundred years for Finland to have the first female speaker, the first female president and the first female prime minister and more than 100 years to have the first female finance minister (see Jutta Urpilainen's personal story in chapter 9).

Political parties as we know them did not begin to develop until the late 1600s. At that time they were designed and run by men. After women gained suffrage, it was difficult for them to enter this male sector of life: it takes time to change attitudes and get rid of inbuilt structures. For many men it was a shock – in some countries it still is – that women wanted to enter politics in the first place. Women have been and still are being belittled, ignored, harassed and discriminated against within their own political parties all around the world. Often this ignoring, belittling or undervaluing is done unconsciously by men, but at other times it is a male strategy to hold on to power. But as long as men are in the power positions, they have a say over women's advancement. For this reason, parties are often seen as **gatekeepers to women's political success**.

Sweden, ranked by many as the most equal society in the world, has not had a female prime minister yet. The number of Swedish women MPs rose slowly but steadily from 1921, the year of full suffrage, till the 1988 elections, when 38 per cent of the MPs were women. This was a result of women's campaigns that had over the years targeted party leaders asking them to nominate women. However, in the 1991 elections the number of women MPs dropped to 34 per cent. After this many women began to meet across party lines and **a cross-party network** "Support Stockings" was formed. On top of this, women from academia, media and the business world **threatened to form a women's party** that – according to one poll – might have reached 35 per cent support. This is when men in the political parties woke up, and most of the parties adapted a **zip system** for the electoral lists: every second name on the party list is the name of a woman. As a result of this, in the 2010 elections 45 per cent of the elected MPs were women.³³

In **Iceland** – the country that has ranked year after year as the most equal country in the world by the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report – the strategy of establishing a women's party was taken into use. **The Women's Alliance** was founded at a time when only 6 per cent of MPs were women. The Women's Alliance first took part in parliamentary elections in 1983, gaining MPs but also forcing, by its existence, other parties to nominate women. By the time the Women's Alliance decided to merge with two other parties in 2000, as many as 35 per cent of MPs were women.³⁴

The five countries that comprise the Nordic region are now first in the world for promoting women's political participation. Yet one hundred years is too long a time to wait for others. This is why varying **quota systems** have been introduced. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) statistics, **Rwanda** is now (2015) the country with the **highest number**, nearly 64 per cent, of **women MPs**. This is thanks to a quota system. But it is noteworthy that in the latest elections **women** took the 24 seats reserved by the chamber for women, and, on top of this, **one** of the **two seats reserved for youth** and **26** of the **53 openly contested seats**.³⁵ The Rwandan example gives faith in the quota system: it can change attitudes – and thus people's behaviour – when used in an appropriate context.

A woman politician giving a speech during Demo Finland's training in Nepal, 2013.



Exercise 1 Chapter 7.1:

Gender equality and politics in my country

THIS EXERCISE is similar to exercise 3.3, but the method of analysing the situation is different.

PRESENT to the participants the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Report comparison on political empowerment of women (http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf), concentrating on the results of the country where the training is taking place.

IN WORKGROUPS OF 5-8 (each group is provided with a flip chart) the index will be discussed: Why does my country fare as it does? What are the reasons behind our ranking? What are the causes of the situation? Here, a so-called problem tree analysis might be helpful. For detailed instructions on how to draw a problem tree, see: <http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/6461.pdf>.

PUT VERY BRIEFLY: The trunk of the tree is the identified problem (here, women's lack of political influence), the roots are the various causes of the problem, and the leaves are the outcomes of the situation. Each work team will draw a problem tree based on the discussion and after these are completed, everyone will discuss them.

LEAVES: *The various outcomes of the situation will be drawn here.*

THE PROBLEM: *Women's lack of political influence.*

ROOTS: *The various causes of the situation will be drawn here.*

ALTERNATIVELY, if you e.g. have less time, the leaves of the tree may represent the solutions to the problems. After identifying the solutions, you can name concrete actions by which these solutions can be reached.

7.2 Tools to analyse and improve gender equality within political parties

According to a study of political parties in Latin American countries carried out by the International IDEA and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the **bottleneck** blocking the election of more women to public office seems to lie within **political parties themselves**, where models of participation are predominantly male and disinclined to promote women's leadership.³⁶

The Women's Shadow Parliament in Kenya, founded in 2003 (more about the organisational model in chapter 8.2), made similar conclusions. The WSP carried out an audit of the political manifestos of the Kenyan parties in order to evaluate how well they have mainstreamed gender into their policies and how they plan to increase the number of women politicians. The researchers found out that many parties had very lofty ideals for promoting women and equality issues but did not, in practice, follow these ideals. As reasons for this lack of action WSP identified, amongst other things, men's dominance over the influential decision-making structures in most political parties and generally male-oriented norms and structures. They noticed that of the over 50 political parties in Kenya, only those few that were founded by women prioritised gender equality issues.³⁷

Researcher Teresa Sacchet states: "A good indication of a party's commitment to gender issues is given by the number of women within its leadership structures, the initiatives it undertakes to increase the presence of women in different spheres of political decision-making, and how seriously it undertakes the task of promoting gender equality through its political activities."³⁸

How can this commitment be measured? And how can it be reinforced? Here are two suggestions for a procedure:

Exercise 1 contains a few thoughts that the facilitator can present to the participants to ponder and discuss, in case there is not enough time for a more thorough analysis of party policies.

Exercise 1 Chapter 7.2: Personal reflection on equality in party politics

DOES THE PARTY that I represent pave way for women's participation in any way?

Does the party manifesto mention the needs of women and girls?

Have the proposed policies been gender mainstreamed, that is, has there been an analysis of how the suggested policies affect the situation of women and girls, men and boys?

Does my party have gender quotas? Are they voluntary or are they written in the party bylaws?

Have we ever had a female chairperson or secretary-general?

How many women (%) were standing as candidates in the last election?

How many women and how many men from my party have served as MPs over the last ten years?

IT SEEMS UNLIKELY that any party will prioritise gender equality issues once it gets elected to office unless the structures and practices of the party itself are such that women can advance to positions of power. Thus, **the prerequisites for good national equality policies are well functioning and democratic party policies for gender equality.**

Exercise 2 Chapter 7.2: An assessment of party history and practices

ASK THE PARTICIPANTS to form working groups (formed based on membership of the same political party). Then ask them to carry out an in-depth assessment of the policies and history of their party, answering the questions of the Action Plan below, or, if time is a problem, just some of the questions.

NOTE 1: It is best to keep the teams small in order not to build separating lines between parties, as this might create an atmosphere of confrontation.

NOTE 2: If you decide to use this exercise, then prior to the training you should ask the participants to bring their party manifestos and bylaws with them.

7.3 An Action Plan for achieving gender equality within a political party

Women members of party N establish a gender equality working group inside the party. Men should be more than welcome to take part. In case there is no space for a formal working group, this can be done unofficially. The team will go through the following **indicators measuring the state of equality between women and men** within the party:

THE PARTY MANIFESTO:

1. How are women's needs taken into account in the policies that party N promises to carry out once it gets elected to office? Does gender equality get a mention?
2. Has the manifesto been gender mainstreamed, that is: what are the ramifications of the suggested policies for women and girls, men and boys?

THE PARTY HISTORY IN NUMBERS:

1. Since party N was established, how many female MPs has it had versus male MPs?
2. What about the local level: what has been the proportion of women councillors?

3. How many women were standing as candidates in the last local elections? What about the parliamentary elections?
4. If party N has served in office, have there been female ministers? How many versus men? For how many years, altogether, have women served as ministers? And men?
5. How many women have served as chairpersons in party N? How many years of female leadership versus male leadership?
6. How many female secretary-generals have there been? How many years have they served versus male secretary-generals?
7. Have women been holding senior legislative and managerial positions? Has a woman representing the party been the head of state and for how long?

THE PARTY BYLAWS:

1. Are there quotas for women written in the party bylaws? If so, are there quotas for candidate nominations? Do they also apply to the committees inside party N? What about the chairperson positions of the committees – do a certain percentage of these go to women?
2. Is the selection process for nomination of candidates written in the party bylaws? If not, who decides nominations? If the proportional representation system with party candidate lists is in use, who decides about the order of names on the lists? If the single-winner voting system is in use, who decides who gets nominated for the winnable constituencies?
3. If there is a women's wing in party N, does this body have, according to the bylaws, a representative in the party board? Does the women's wing have financial resources and its own budget?
4. Is the task of writing the party manifesto and electoral promises stipulated in the party bylaws? If an elected working group writes these, how many female members did it have the last time the manifesto was written?
5. What about financial support to candidates – is this written in the bylaws? Is the system of financial support transparent? Do women get an equal share?

THE PRACTICES OF PARTY N:

1. Who raises money for the party and how?
2. At what times of the day are the party meetings held? Is it possible for mothers of small children to attend? Does the party pay for child care? Is it acceptable to bring children to a less formal meeting? Do meetings often last longer than scheduled, till late at night?
3. Who gets media coverage time? Who decides about this?
4. Who makes coffee or tea for meetings? Who takes responsibility for volunteer work between the elections and during the electoral campaigns?
5. Is the membership data of party N disaggregated by sex? What is the ratio of female to male party members?
6. Has the party written a gender equality policy? If it has, but it is not followed in practice, what explanation is given? Are there any sanctions?
7. If someone gets sexually harassed at a party function, what are the proceedings?

AFTER THE ASSESSMENT has been carried out, then comes the difficult task of making the party leaders understand the weight of the results. This is where peer pressure is a good tool, according to the Swedish and Icelandic model (see 7.1). As these examples indicate, results can best be achieved if women's groups of all parties of the country in question take part (for practical tips, see chapter 8). The cooperation has to be planned carefully, in order to avoid hostile confrontation with men.

Yet, if the results have been devastatingly poor from the point of view of women, acknowledging them in front of women from other parties may be too difficult. If the above-mentioned assessment has been carried out during the training, the facilitator should approach the task of analysing the results with tact. Parties must not be put in pecking order and **naming and shaming will not help to promote cooperation among women**.

The following chapters – 7.4, 7.5, 7.6 and 7.7 – include measures through which women can push for gender equality within their parties.

7.4 Strengthening women's access to political decision-making and influential policy-setting bodies

Taking measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making is one of the strategic objectives of the Beijing Platform for Action. The Beijing Platform places particular emphasis on the **measures** that should be taken by **political parties**, calling for an examination of their structures and procedures in order to eliminate barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against women's participation.

In 1995, when the Beijing Platform of Action was approved, around 11 per cent of the world's MPs were women. By the end of 2013 that number had risen to 21.8 per cent. While progress has been slow in many regions, some countries have taken leaps forward. Clearly the situation of women in politics can be changed if there is enough political will.

Comparing the development of various countries and regions, researchers and advocates have identified the following measures that have increased women's participation: **quotas for women**, **capacity building and training** of women, establishing **women's wings** within parties (see chapter 7.5), **collaborating over party lines**, allocating **special funding** for women's political work, **sanctions** when parties do not follow the steps they have officially committed to or **incentives** to encourage them to increase women's participation.

Exercise 1 Chapter 7.4: Which measures would work best?

PRESENT TO THE PARTICIPANTS the measures to increase women's participation discussed in chapter 7.4. After that the participants will separate into smaller groups, go through the measures, or a number of them, and try to evaluate if the suggested steps would work in their own country/political party. The results of the assessment will then be presented to the whole group.

QUOTAS FOR WOMEN:

There are two main types of electoral quotas, depending on where they are located in the recruitment process: **candidate quotas** and **reserved seats**. The Swedish zip system or zebra list (see 7.1), with every second name on electoral lists being the name of a woman, can be seen as a form of electoral quota for women. Norway was the first country to start using a **voluntary quota system** for women. Two small leftist parties of the country invented it. Argentina, Bolivia, Germany, and recently also Tunisia, have adopted similar systems. If the leading party in a country employs a quota, such as the ANC in South Africa, this may have a significant impact on women's overall representation. A “**double quota**” not only calls for a certain amount of women on an electoral list, but also prevents women candidates from being placed at the bottom of the list with little chance of election – a habit regularly practiced by parties.³⁹

Voluntary quotas can also be effectively used for membership and chairpersonships within the party. For example, if a party has two vice chairs, at least one of the three leading figures should always be a woman. Quotas should also apply to the party board and committees: a certain percentage of their members ought to be women and, furthermore, women should lead a certain percentage of them. It is advisable to **stipulate** the **quota regulations in the party bylaws**, rather than have them as recommendations.

In many countries **parties are obliged by law to set quotas for women**. In some countries quotas for women are written into the **constitution** (for example in Burkina Faso, Nepal, the Philippines and Uganda), but usually they are written in the **electoral codes** (for example many parts of Latin America, also Belgium, Serbia and Sudan).

QUOTAS can also be used in constitutional processes. For example, in Tanzania, Demo Finland's partner, the Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform worked jointly with all women members of the Constituent Assembly and pressed for the adoption of a system in which if the chairperson of the assembly is a man, then the vice-chairperson must be a woman.

THE IPU STATES in its 2013 overview of the situation of women in national parliaments around the world: “Quotas must be ambitious, detailed and include implementation mechanisms in order to have some impact. List placement mechanisms that put women in winnable positions are key. Here again, enforcement and penalties for non-compliance, such as the disqualification of lists, financial penalties, or loss of public funding, make all the difference.” In Albania, in reaction to the failure of parties to comply with a 30 per cent gender quota, Article 175 of the Electoral Code provides that if an MP from a non-compliant party resigns, then a candidate of the underrepresented sex must replace her or him. After the elections, three additional women entered parliament on that basis.⁴⁰

FINLAND HAS A RATHER UNIQUE SYSTEM OF QUOTAS: there are no legal quotas for the elections, but in the municipalities, all committees that are elected after the elections, based on the political mandate of different parties, have to have at least 40 per cent representation of one sex. People in these committees are often involved in politics but not all of them are council members. It is likely that this system has contributed to the increase in the number of women politicians both at the regional and national level. Voters have seen women serve in the political committees and have learned to trust them. As a result, they are not afraid to give their vote to a woman candidate

Specific training of women for capacity building

As mentioned earlier (chapter 5.7), the Beijing Platform for Action recommends governments “provide training to women and girls in leadership, self-esteem, public speaking, self-assertion, political campaigning, and the electoral process.”

Political parties’ women’s wings, where they exist, often aim to train their members. On top of this, women’s civil society organisations, democracy support organisations (for example Demo Finland’s work in many countries, an example of which is also this toolkit), and international sister parties invest in special training for women politicians. Norris and Krook distinguish three types of capacity development:

- 1) equal opportunity initiatives,
- 2) initiatives to combat stereotypes and raise awareness, and
- 3) political party initiatives.⁴¹ For more details, see: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/78432>.

Young women politicians holding their diplomas after finishing a training course organised by Demo Finland in Nepal in 2013.



Allocated funding for women's political participation

Many countries allocate tax money to political parties in order to cut down corruptive means of raising funds. Some countries have decided to target a part of these funds towards women's political work. Globally, 16 countries have provisions tying the level of direct public funding to gender equality amongst candidates: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, Croatia, Ethiopia, France, Georgia, Haiti, Italy, Kenya, South Korea, Mali, Niger, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Romania and Serbia.⁴²

IN FINLAND, all parties that have members in parliament get **financial subsidy from the state** in relation to their number of MPs. **10 per cent** of this money has to be allocated to the **women's wing** of the party. With this support, women's wings are able to maintain central offices (regional offices in bigger parties), produce material for elections, and possibly also give financial election support to women candidates. The **women's wings have autonomy over these resources**, but the authorities audit the use of the money as with all party funding. According to the International IDEA, Finland is the only country that allocates a part of the party subsidy directly to women's wings.

SOME COUNTRIES, including Panama, Costa Rica and Brazil, earmark a part of public funding for activities related to gender equality. In Brazil this amounts to 5 per cent per party.⁴³

Sanctions and incentives

Some countries reduce the funding that the state provides to political parties if they do not meet certain criteria designed to ensure gender equality among candidates. Some other countries provide additional state funding to political parties that meet such criteria. Sanctions can be as effective as financial incentives. The Brazilian parties that fail to comply with the 5 per cent funding stipulation have to increase their spending on women's empowerment by 2.5 per cent the following year. In France 50 per cent of candidates on election lists must be women, or political parties face financial sanctions.⁴⁴

An interesting incentive is complimentary media time granted to political parties promoting women candidates. The method has been used for example in East Timor, where parties that place women high in party lists have received additional media time.⁴⁵

7.5 Women's wings

The following has been adapted from the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) fact sheet on women's wings and the UNDP's handbook, "Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties".⁴⁶

An effective mechanism for increasing women's political participation within parties is to form a women's wing. Also known as a women's group or women's branch, a women's wing is a structure within a party or affiliated with it that **brings together women members of the party** and provides a **space to identify political issues** and party policies that are most **salient to women voters**.

WOMEN'S WINGS CAN:

- Advocate within their party issues of particular concern to women constituents and women party members, and influence the party platform and policies, because of their relative independence from the central party leadership.
- Promote women's leadership throughout the party, at both local and national levels.
- Lobby and oversee internal party reform for gender equality, including the implementation of voluntary quotas for women's political participation, as seen in both South Africa and Ireland.
- Mobilise women voters and support for the party and its candidates during elections.

How to form a women's wing

To a political party with little or no women's involvement, women seeking to form a women's wing may face resistance or apathy from the party leadership. In order to gain credibility as a source of policy decisions and viable candidacy, a women's wing must first demonstrate a **critical mass of interested women**. Additionally, it is important to obtain the **support** for an official women's wing **from party leadership**. For instance, by including party officials in the planning of the women's wing, interested members can counter any fears that the wing will threaten the party's stability or existing leadership. Furthermore, if the formation of a women's wing is included in the agendas of official party meetings, it will attract much needed attention and gain credibility as an auxiliary group.

A women's wing should be structured in such a way that it is able to **reach women voters** to determine what issues women constituents are concerned with, and **influence the party platform** and policies. It is important to be strategic and to maintain good relations with the party leadership. An assessment by the NDI on Latin American parties found that many women's wings had lost party support due to "bad reputation", that is, feminist rhetoric, and a lack of regular turnover of leadership. The latter can be overcome by stipulating rotation rules for the chairpersonship.⁴⁷

When forming a women's wing, consider the following:

1. What is the women's wing's relationship to the political party?

In many political parties in which women's wings and other auxiliary groups are at the forefront of the party's decision-making process, representatives of the women's wing hold leadership positions in the party's executive committee, and send their own representatives to national conventions. Many experts also suggest that women's wings maintain a certain degree of autonomy. This distance from the party's central leadership will allow members of the women's wing to feel comfortable in raising issues that may initially be controversial or make male leadership feel uncomfortable. This level of autonomy can be represented in the wing's bylaws, which outline how the board is structured, its representation on party decision-making bodies, and the wing's membership qualifications. Furthermore, how the wing is funded and how resources are allocated is indicative of its relationship with the party. Ideally, the wing should receive some money from the main party while also raising its own money. The wing should also be allowed to maintain a separate budget that can be spent towards the group's priorities.

- In South Africa, the Women's League of the African National Congress is an autonomous group with its own leadership and decision-making processes, its own policies and programmes of action. At the same time the Women's League is integrated into all ANC leadership structures. It is because of this structure that the ANC's Women's League believes it is capable of carrying out its two primary goals:
 1. to galvanise women behind the ANC's vision for South Africa, and
 2. to work towards the full emancipation of women.

2. What does the women's wing look like at the national and local levels?

The women's wing needs to carefully consider how it will be structured at both the national and local levels. Often, women are most engaged with the party at the local levels, and therefore effective local branches are vital to a wing's success; it is at the local level where female party members begin their political careers and women voters can support and join the party. It is also imperative for the **local branches to have a strong relationship with the central women's wing** so that women members' local concerns can be collected and conveyed effectively for influencing the national party's platform.

Newly formed women's wings may not have the resources or support to create a strong central wing and local branches in the beginning, but can **gradually work towards building a strong and wide-reaching wing**. A women's wing can start by working through the party's local branches to reach out to women voters, gather information on the issues women are concerned about, and recruit new members. As a new wing, it may be hard to expect party branches to work directly with the women's wing, and therefore appointing a women's officer in each of the party branches can ensure that the wing has representation at the local levels.

- In Croatia, the Social Democratic Party Women's Forum (SDWF) placed branches of the women's wing in every party branch, and grew to consist of almost 100 SDWF branches by 1999. Because the women's wing was a present and active force at every level of the political party, women's general representation in the party grew significantly as well, and women came to make up 52 per cent of the party's executive committee.

3. What does membership of the women's wing look like?

The **size and productivity** of a wing's membership determines how **effective** it will be. Unfortunately, many women's wings become token measures, as membership of these wings consists solely of female relatives of the male party leaders. To avoid falling into the trap of tokenism, membership recruitment campaigns should try to reach women by using many types of media and outreach, such as radio, television, social media, mail, canvassing and phone calls. All recruiting activities should be designed so that they are accessible to women and mindful of any constraints on their time or access to information.

Consider the following types of membership policies:

- Croatia's SDWF opens up membership to non-party members; this way, women can contribute to the party's platform without having the pressure of joining the party.
- The women's section of Ireland's Labour Party requires that all women party members join the

women's wing, which allows the wing to speak from a stronger position as a unified voice. On the downside, mandatory membership might result in members who are not necessarily interested in supporting women's leadership and issues in the party.

Activities of the women's wings

MOBILISE WOMEN VOTERS IN SUPPORT OF THE PARTY'S MISSION AND GOALS

Reaching out to women voters on behalf of the party is one of the key roles a women's wing has and it helps to establish the wing as a legitimate asset to the party. By drawing attention to key party policies that can sway women and capture their vote, the women's wing can also build influence in the party.

OFFER TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES TO MEMBERS

Women's wings can also attract and retain members by offering capacity-building trainings for women. These trainings will not only generate external interest and publicity for women's wings, but will also strengthen women's self-confidence in being politically active. Furthermore, by building the skills of wings' members, the party leadership will come to value and support the women's wing, because the overall capacity of the party will improve along with its female members. One important training task of the women's wing is supporting newly elected women parliamentarians and councillors. Another, neglected area, is organising peer support for women who tire of politics, due to the "dirty game" nature of it.

PUT PRESSURE ON THE PARTY TO CARRY OUT INTERNAL EQUALITY EVALUATIONS AND PUT INTO EFFECT POLICIES ENHANCING GENDER EQUALITY

There are several examples of how a strong women's wing has been an **effective mechanism** for **pressuring a party to enact reforms** and increase the participation of women in high-level party affairs, enact internal quotas, and evaluate party policies from a gender perspective. However, care needs to be taken to ensure that gender issues do not become a "silo" in the women's wing and the wing does not get marginalised in the party. One way to prevent this would be to ensure that the secretary or chairperson of the women's wing has a seat and vote on the governing board of the party.

- In Cambodia, the women's wing of the Sam Rainsy Party has advocated for the promotion of women within the party, lobbied for the introduction of internal quotas and governing boards, provided training for women candidates, and conducted civic education and voter outreach.
- In Mexico, the National Action Party (PAN) transformed its women's wing from a social organisation into an effective base for promoting women's leadership positions. For example, during elections, PAN's National Secretariat for the Political Promotion of Women lobbies local and national party leaders to include more women as electoral candidates. The party also ensures that draft policy documents of the party are sent to the women's branch so that they can be reviewed from a gender perspective before being finalised.
- In Morocco, major political parties have founded women's sections or similar internal structures that address women's issues and the needs of women party members. For example, the Party of

Progress and Socialism created an equality council to ensure women's representation in the party's decision-making processes.

- In 1993, key women leaders of Australia's Labour Party recognised that the number of women representatives in parliament had decreased since the mid-1980s. The Women's Committee responded by organising "Half by 2000" conferences around the country, where they demanded that half of Labour representation in parliament be women. These conferences pushed the party to reform their quota stipulation and by imposing a sanction on branches that failed to meet the quota, local party branches were made more accountable for promoting women leaders.

BUILD TIES WITH CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Another tactic that the women's wing can use to garner support both externally from voters and concerned citizens and internally from party leaders is to build ties with civil society organisations (CSOs). On the one hand, the women's wing can better discern what issues are relevant to women voters by **networking and engaging with women in CSOs**. On the other hand, by nurturing relationships with civil society groups, women's wings also become a valuable asset to the political party, as a tool for recruiting party members, reaching voters, and building advocates for the party's platform.

- In the United Kingdom, the Women's Organisation of the Labour Party states that a main priority of the wing's local branches is to build links between the party, women in the community and women's organisations by holding consultation meetings, joint events, and targeted recruitment and campaigning for women.
- In Croatia, because the Social Democratic Party Women's Forum (SDWF) opened its membership to non-party members, the wing was able to build strong relationships with women's CSOs and labour unions on behalf of the Social Democratic Party.

In 2013, Finnish MP Tarja Filatov attended a seminar in Morocco that brought together local-level women politicians, civil servants and civil society activists to discuss women's leadership.



IDENTIFY THE NEEDS OF WOMEN CONSTITUENTS AND COMMUNICATE THESE TO THE PARTY'S DECISION-MAKING BODIES TO INFORM THE PARTY'S PLATFORM AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICIES

Women's wings can have regular meetings, hold forums, distribute questionnaires, and/or host national conferences to discuss the needs of women and formulate policy suggestions that are important to women party members and voters.

Exercise 1 Chapter 7.5: How to make a women's wing work better

WHAT TO DO if the training is conducted in a country where political parties have established women's wings: Ask the participants to work in small groups of two or three based on party membership, so that women of the same party work together (it is best to keep the teams small in order not to build separating lines between parties). Ask the teams to go through the mentioned examples and reflect on their experiences of their own party's wing:

- What is working well in our wing?
- Is there something we could be doing better?
- Do the women who belong to the wing at the local level have a meaningful role, and does the communication between the head office and the local level function well?
- If there are problems (of getting our voice heard, of involving more women, of establishing good relations with the leadership of the party, collecting money for the wing, or of having women nominated as candidates), what might be the reasons for these?
- How could we solve these problems?

IF THE WOMEN WANT TO, they may share with the whole group some of their thoughts and solutions after this reflection. Tact must be used because it may be difficult (possibly unwise) to acknowledge to others the internal problems of one's own group. If the atmosphere is open and trusting, this might be possible.

Exercise 2 Chapter 7.5: How to start a women's wing?

IF THE TRAINING is conducted in a country where parties do not have women's wings, it will be useful to discuss the steps necessary to establish one. The structure of the workgroup is likely to influence the nature of the discussion: if teams are formed of women belonging to different parties then the discussion may remain on a more general level. But if the women come from the same party, then teams should not be too big.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER:

- How do we get women interested in starting a women's wing?
- How do we convince the party leadership of the necessity of forming the wing?
- What will we identify as the main objectives for the work of the wing? It may be useful to distinguish between short and long-term goals.
- What about membership – only for women who belong to the party or open to all?
- Would it be a good idea to write in the bylaws rotation rules for the chairpersonship (for example one person can only serve 2–3 terms at a time)?
- How do we organise the relationship between the central office and the grassroots level?
- How do we ensure that the women's wing has independent financing?

7.6 Good practice examples

Much of the discrimination that women face is based on prejudices, and these are often unconscious. People – including women themselves – may not be aware of their discriminating attitudes. So how can such attitudes be changed? The answer is with education and training, but the fastest route might be with a change of practice. Proof of this is an experiment that was carried out in India. The same political speech was given in various villages by men politicians and by women politicians. Afterwards, the local people were asked if the speech was a good one or not. Their answers were: good – if a man politician gave the speech, bad – if a woman politician gave it. This held true for all villages that had a male mayor, but where there was a female mayor the village rated the talk given by a woman as good.⁴⁸ The existence of female mayors in some Indian villages can be attributed to a project started by the Indian government, in cooperation with UN Women. It is an excellent example of a good practice.

Exercise 1 Chapter 7.6:

Which good practices would work for us?

PRESENT TO THE PARTICIPANTS the good practice examples (or some of them) highlighted here. You may also invite the participants to brainstorm new ideas. It would be especially good to get new ideas for mentoring and supporting women who are getting tired of politics.

AFTER THAT, ask the participants to separate into smaller groups (when forming the groups, give consideration to the mix of parties represented – will it be a good mix or not?) and go through the ideas, or a number of them, and try to:

- Evaluate if the suggested steps would work in their own country/political party.
- What would be strategically the best way to establish good practices that seem achievable?

Funding

As seen in chapter 7.4, there are good inventions for financially promoting women's participation in politics. The assessment carried out by the NDI found that some Latin American countries ring-fence, in their electoral legislation or recommendations, a part of the public party subsidy for gender equality. However, the same assessment revealed that parties in these countries don't follow the legislation.

- The Finnish invention of the state allocating a certain percentage of the party **subsidy to women's wings** is a very good practice (see box in chapter 7.4). This has been going on for decades. It is likely to be one of the reasons why Finland has over 40 per cent women MPs without a quota system for elections.
- Registration fees for running can be very high and they form an obstacle for aspiring women politicians. Togo's law specifies a reduction in nomination fees for women candidates, thereby facilitating the registration of women as election candidates and reducing the total cost of the campaign for the whole party.⁴⁹
- Haiti's new law stipulates that 50 per cent of public funds received by parties must be used for the political education of party members and to support women's electoral contests. (The provision has not yet been put into practice.)⁵⁰

- In Ghana, a group of political parties expressed commitment to develop a Women's Fund to support women aspirants in elections. A 2011 multiparty meeting resulted in a statement in which several parties proposed to allocate 10 per cent of their public funding directly to women political aspirants.⁵¹
- In 2012, Zambia National Women's Lobby launched the Women Support Campaign Fund (WSCF). The WSCF mobilises resources to finance women's campaigns and capacity-building programmes during elections. Providing finances to all candidates equally is one way to level the playing field, cut down on corruption and increase oversight in the electoral process. The Women Support Campaign Fund is important to women, who are otherwise excluded from mainstream political party resources, especially when they fail to generate their own resources. The Fund benefits all women candidates from all political parties who stand in an election.

Media

It is difficult for women to get media coverage during elections. Furthermore, women are often presented differently from men; e.g. the focus may be on what they look like, not what they have to say.

- In Brazil, the public party financing law establishes that publically subsidised party advertising must promote women's political participation. The amount of **media time devoted to women** cannot be less than 10 per cent.⁵²

Training

Most women's wings give training to their members on women's rights, equality issues, campaigning, giving public speeches and so on. What is often lacking is raising men's awareness of equality issues.

- The Citizens' Action Party in Costa Rica gives **training for men and women in political parties**, designed to highlight the different impacts that social, economic, political and cultural issues have on men and women.⁵³

Quotas for elections

Because parties still believe that men are most likely to win elections, they tend to relegate women to the lower positions on party lists, that is, below the top one-third. There are a few cases in which they place women in the top positions on the list, including the first slot. This is despite empirical evidence from several countries that women candidates enjoy high rates of electoral success and the fact that voters are willing to vote for women.

A notable exception is Sweden, where most parties follow a voluntary zip system.

- The Swedish **zip system**, where every second candidate on the list is a woman (see 7.1 and 7.4), is in practice a voluntary quota system. As a result of this, 45 per cent of Swedish MPs are women.
- The Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua uses a similar system. The party has established a 30 per cent quota for women (and 15 per cent for youth) in candidate lists. Male candidates may be nominated for the first two positions, while the third one must be a woman, and so on, successively.⁵⁴

Quotas for party committees

Women have been getting politically active for decades all around the world. As a result of this, many parties have equal numbers of male and female members. Yet party executive boards and committees still tend to consist of men.

- Of the eight Finnish political parties that have MPs in the parliament, five have **stipulations** in their **party bylaws about gender**: at least 40 per cent of members of the executive board and/or other committees have to be of one gender. Other parties have **recommendations** about this.

Parity in leadership positions

The vast majority of political parties have (and have had) men as their chairpersons. This, inevitably, means that men will lead governments. It is very difficult for women to break these glass ceilings, and only a handful of countries have women prime ministers or presidents. Even Sweden, which is often seen as the most equal country in the world, has never had a female prime minister.

- The Swedish Green Party always has **two leaders**, who are called spokespersons of the party. One of them is a **woman**, the other a **man**.
- The European Greens also have two leaders called co-chairs: one is a woman and the other is a man.

Parity in ministerial positions

Women's participation in politics follows a pyramidal pattern: there are many women at the base but very few at the top. As power increases, the number of women decreases.⁵⁵

- When Finnish Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen formed his second cabinet in 2007, 12 of his 22 cabinet ministers were female. After this, it has been difficult to go back to male-dominated cabinets. Parity of ministerial positions now seems to be the norm in Finland.
- When Spanish Prime Minister José Zapatero formed his second cabinet in 2008, nine of his 17 cabinet ministers were female. Preventing violence against women was high on Zapatero's agenda.

Parity of talk

Men still dominate the political arena. Often for instance in party meetings women find it difficult to get their voices heard.

- It can be agreed before a meeting starts that **the chairperson gives speaking turns successively** to women and men attendees.
- When the Green Party of Finland held its annual party meeting in 2005, the Federation of Young European Greens counted and summed up the time that men and women, respectively, used when it was their turn to talk. A vast majority of the meeting attendants were women – yet men talked for much longer. Making visible these kinds of subtle ways of using power will help change things.

Gender equality committees within parties

A good way to bring gender equality issues to the party agenda is to establish a **gender equality working group** or committee within the party and make sure that **some of the members are men**.

- The Federation of Young European Greens has a gender working group with two coordinators (always of a different gender). The group organises activities and seminars related to gender equality.

Gender focal persons

Gender focal persons can be used in a variety of contexts. For example, governmental ministries often appoint focal persons to report on gender equality issues.

- The Federation of Young European Greens names for its events two gender equality focal persons to whom one can report bullying, harassment or other unwanted behaviour. This has proved to be a good practice especially in seminars, study trips and similar occasions, where the participants have to spend a longer time in close contact. Focal persons treat the issues confidentially and act according to the wishes of the person who has experienced harassment or other unwanted behaviour.

Peer support and mentoring

Mentoring women to enter politics is a practice that is spreading around the world. Programmes where **older women**, who have been in politics for longer, **share their experiences with newly elected women** or younger women who are still aspiring to get elected, are especially beneficial. What is lacking is peer support for women who have come to politics, often with idealistic views, but have got frustrated and tired with the “dirty game” nature of politics and want to quit.

- The gender working group of the Federation of Young European Greens organises a women’s dinner in connection with bigger political meetings. The dinner offers women a possibility to meet, talk, and network, much like men do. It helps to build up a new network of young female politicians.

AS EXAMPLES of good practices for peer support were difficult to find, the following are suggestions:

- The international site for women in politics, I Know Politics, www.iknowpolitics.org, hosted by IDEA, NDI, UNDP and UN Women, offers opportunities for virtual discussions on challenges that women encounter. It might be a good idea to ask the facilitators of the site to open up a discussion on what to do when you have had enough of politics but the job is still not done.
- Plenty of civil society organisations run peer support groups for women who have been abused by their partners or are traumatised in some other way, because sharing experiences with people who have had similar problems often helps. In politics, the “abuser” may not always be a man – some power hungry women are fully capable of playing dirty games. How about you start a protected group for women “battered in politics”, where you can share your experiences and possibly have a good laugh? Care has to be taken when inviting people to the group – trust is paramount.

MASTER SUPPRESSION TECHNIQUES:⁵⁶

BERIT ÅS, a Norwegian professor of psychology who also worked as an MP, has identified various techniques with which people (often men) work against others (often women).

MAKING INVISIBLE – silencing or otherwise marginalising people in opposition by ignoring them.

Another speaker takes something you have said as if it was their idea, or starts speaking despite it being your turn. Or, when it is your turn to speak, the other attendees start to talk to each other, browse through their papers, etc.

RIDICULING – in a manipulative way portraying the arguments of opponents, or the opponents themselves, in a ridiculing fashion:

When making an accusation of wrongdoing against someone, you are told that you look cute when you're angry.

WITHHOLDING INFORMATION – excluding a person from the decision-making process, or knowingly not forwarding information so that person is less able to make an informed choice:

Your colleagues have a meeting that concerns you and you're not invited, or decisions are made

not in a conference where everyone is present, but at a dinner party later in the evening where only some people are present.

DOUBLE BIND – punishing or otherwise belittling the actions of a person, regardless of how they act:

When you do your work tasks thoroughly, you receive complaints for being too slow. When you do them efficiently, you're critiqued for being sloppy.

BLAMING/PUTTING TO SHAME – embarrassing someone, or insinuating that she is herself to blame for her predicament:

You inform your manager that you are being slandered, but you are told it's your fault since you dress provocatively.

OBJECTIFYING – discussing the appearance of one or several persons in a situation where it is irrelevant.

FORCE/THREAT OF FORCE – threatening verbally or using one's physical strength towards one or several persons:

"One more word from you and I'll smash your face in!"

Exercise 2 Chapter 7.6: "How would my country be different if...?"

ASK THE PARTICIPANTS to imagine that half of the MPs and regional/local councillors of the country in question are women. Then ask them to write on a piece of paper what would be different. Would the nature of politics change? In what way? Which matters would gain attention? Would the policies change? How?

AT THE END, everyone will tell their views to the group, and the ideas and suggestions will be discussed, linking the above-mentioned good practices to the discussion, if possible.



Zambian local councillors and male politicians from the Green Party sharing experiences in Finland in June 2014.

7.7 Tools for working on gender equality with men within the political parties

Getting men interested and active in questions relating to gender equality is likely to be a very difficult task. If it were easy, men and women together would have found better answers to problems such as women being disproportionately poorer, child marriages, unequal pay, unequal inheritance laws, gender-based violence and so on. In right-wing parties gender equality tends not to be high on the agenda; in left-wing parties the assumption is that more serious problems, such as poverty and unemployment, have to be solved first. In such situations, it is important to point out that poverty and employment issues are gender equality issues too. It is vital to understand that without the involvement of active men in political parties gender equality will never be reached. Men need to be sensitised so that they can start to understand the nature of the discrimination women face and its effects on the whole of society. And, as women are not a heterogeneous group, women, too, would benefit from trying to see the world from the perspective of others: ethnic origin, age, sexual orientation, class, education, and religion are among the things that may separate, rather than unite us.

“Selling” gender equality to male party leaders

When trying to empower women to enter politics and increase their numbers in political bodies of different levels, it is important to get the approval of male leaders, whether they represent political parties, religious groups or civil society. When women have attended training to become more competent in politics, it is important that when they return to their parties, they are granted opportunities to put their new skills to use. Again cooperation with men in leading positions is needed. Research carried out by NDI revealed that while not outwardly opposing the importance of women’s political participation, many leaders were not fully convinced of the benefits or simply do not welcome the potential challenges posed by an influx of trained and empowered women. If women are trained in skills essential to the party it may be easier for the men to see the value of it.⁵⁷

When working with men, presenting that women’s equality is a human right might not be as persuasive as suggesting that **an equal society is more secure and economically prosperous** than one that discriminates against women. Thus, the instrumentalist argument (see chapter 3.2) may at times be strategically wise. Another argument that should appeal to male political leaders is **voter behaviour**: usually more than half of the electorate consist of women, and research indicates that candidate lists that have women’s names on them appeal to female voters. This would of course benefit the party that nominates women. According to the NDI, a party can also benefit from nominating women in the following ways:

- Taking the lead on women’s empowerment can generate new support bases and attract new members to the party.
- Increasing the proportion of women candidates for elected positions can increase the flow of public funding to the party. Reforms to improve the situation of women within the party can possibly attract the attention of sister parties and the international community to implement new initiatives, such as training and mentoring programmes.
- Women candidates are more likely than men to come from civil society and have stronger relationships with NGOs. These linkages may be beneficial for women candidates, but may also reflect positively on the party for which the woman is campaigning, in terms of establishing relations with grassroots society and constituencies.⁵⁸

MEN FOR EQUALITY IN SPAIN:

In the 2004 elections of Spain, as the socialist party PSOE looked to gain political power, the party’s male leadership was receptive to arguments by women party activists who suggested that branding PSOE as the women-friendly party could help their success in the elections. The PSOE proactively ran women candidates and campaigned for a legal quota and gender equality policies. As a result of this, numerous women were voted into parliament and nominated to the Zapatero government.⁵⁹

MEN ARE OFTEN less likely to understand the value of women-only programmes. They may contend that men also need training and that it would be more useful to focus on building the capacity of all members rather than a segment. Men may also assume or generalise that all topics are appropriate for mixed workshops and that men and women, with few exceptions, basically operate under the same rules in politics.

While women-only programmes can help women acquire the tools necessary to participate successfully in the political process, this type of training will not change the political environment. A mixed-gender approach to training can be useful for women to hear and understand the perspectives of their male colleagues on certain issues and vice versa. It can also promote cooperation among women and men, e.g. alliances, solution development and problem solving. Mixed-gender training settings can help educate men as well as women on issues that affect women, and create a training environment that reflects a mixed-gender reality. **Working with men** also provides opportunities for women to **promote change from within the system** and to gradually alter traditional attitudes concerning the role of women in public and political life. Women who are effectively integrated into training programmes with men raise their profile and build relationships that can help them gain recognition and possibly leadership roles, in the future. Furthermore, it can be important to engage men to raise their awareness of gender equality and the importance of women's political participation and to develop allies and supporters among them. In addition to political party leadership, this may include husbands and other male family members.

Exercise 1 Chapter 7.7: I am capable – and men need to acknowledge it

ASK THE PARTICIPANTS to form groups of three (preferably partnering with women they did not know before). Then give each one a role to play: one will be a woman politician who has decided to run for the chairpersonship of her party, another will be her husband and the third will be the (male) secretary-general of the party.

NOW, THE FEMALE POLITICIAN must try to convince the two men why her candidacy is a good idea. She can start by explaining that lots of party members and ordinary constituents have approached her urging her to run. The other participants of the group will try to act as they think men in such a situation would. Afterwards, the main points of the discussion will be reported to the whole group and a discussion will follow: what is the best strategy to reach mutual understanding?

IT CAN BE DIFFICULT to persuade men to attend mixed training sessions that focus on so-called “women’s issues”. Yet, these are precisely the kinds of issues in which male colleagues need to be involved. When designing mixed-gender sessions, the focus could be on topics of interest to both men and women, such as campaigning. Then, it has to be ensured that gender is considered when discussing the topic. In these settings, workshop organisers must not only integrate women in terms of ensuring their presence, but must also make a concerted effort to ensure their active participation. Mixed training sessions also require the integration of gender in the training content. For example, in a workshop on voter outreach, facilitators should help participants consider where, when and how women voters can be reached, and by whom.⁶⁰

Mainstreaming gender

The guidebook “Gender-Sensitive Parliaments”⁶¹ by IPU lists steps that should be taken when looking at an issue, such as suggested legislation from a gender perspective (the so-called Cambodian checklist). This is what is in many contexts called mainstreaming gender:

- **STEP 1:** Determine the purpose, scope and operation of the proposed law; identify the groups most likely to be affected by the proposed bill and any likely implications.
- **STEP 2:** Measure the impact of the proposed law: if available, use sex-disaggregated data, but where not available, consider what else could be used.
- **STEP 3:** Ask specific questions regarding the legal drafting: make sure that clear, plain and gender-neutral language is used.
- **STEP 4:** Ask questions about administration, costs, regulations and public education: consider whether women will be involved in these processes.
- **STEP 5:** Double check it all – make sure the “gender question” has been raised at every stage of the analysis.

Exercise 2 Chapter 7.7: Mainstreaming gender into proposed policies

THIS EXERCISE can be carried out in teams of 5–8 or by the whole group. First, give a few examples of imaginary changes that are taking place. (It is easier to practice with fairly simple changes of policies, rather than complicated legislation.) For example:

- Due to tightened funding, the village school will be closed down and the children will have to travel to the neighbouring village to attend school. Their trip will take 1–2 hours longer each day.
- The government needs more revenues and is therefore putting a new tax on energy. The prices of electricity, oil and petrol will rise by 10 per cent.

ASK THE PARTICIPANTS to list all the possible consequences of these changes from the point of view of women and men, girls and boys.

Men as allies

Men, just like women, are a heterogeneous group. There are men who are more sensitive towards women's issues and who are able to perceive the discriminating structures of society. It is wise to cooperate with these kinds of men – after they have been identified. Furthermore, it may be strategically wise to nominate gender-sensitive men for certain key positions, for at least three reasons:

- There are many men who tend to listen to other men more than to women (these men may not be aware, themselves, of their bias). Therefore, a suggestion to enhance gender equality may be ignored if made by a woman, but if a man makes the same proposal then it may gain support.
- An enlightened man may, in a key position, achieve much more for women's causes than a woman who is not gender sensitive (not nearly all women are).
- If just women look after gender issues and try to improve the position of women then gender questions will be side-lined.

IN 1999 when Paavo Lipponen was Prime Minister of Finland, he formed his second cabinet and named Ms Tarja Halonen as the Minister for Foreign Affairs – the first woman ever to hold this position in Finland. Ms Halonen was later elected to be the presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party, and in 2000 she became the first female president of the country, collecting votes of women across party lines. Had she not been the Minister of Foreign Affairs, it is very unlikely that she would have become the president.

THE CEDAW COMMITTEE has a male Finnish member, Professor Niklas Bruun. When he was elected for his first term in the committee, many women in women's organisations thought that it would be better to send a woman from Finland. When Professor Bruun was being elected for his second term, his female colleagues in the committee explained in a seminar organised by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, that Professor Bruun was doing great work and it was really important to also have men in the committee, as male presence adds to the credibility of the committee in the eyes of many governments.

8. Cross-party cooperation and its modalities

8.1 Cross-party cooperation within parliaments

As women are (often grossly) underrepresented in all but two parliaments in the world (Rwanda – 53.8 per cent women in the lower house, and Andorra – 50 per cent women, statistics: 2013), women have to look for strategic means to get their issues on the agenda. The most successful strategy seems to be seeking alliances across party lines. There are various ways of doing this. Much of the following has been adopted from https://www.ndi.org/files/One_Size_Does_Not_Fit_All_eng_0.pdf.

Women's caucuses

Many parliaments have so-called women's caucuses: networks of women from different political parties. In order to enhance gender equality, these **caucuses aim** to:

- Identify best solutions to problems relating to gender equality.
- Gender mainstream legislation under preparation.
- Collaborate with civil society and academics.

The **membership structures** of the women's caucuses vary from one parliament to another:

- All women chosen to the parliament will automatically become members.
- Membership is voluntary.
- Male MPs who are interested in matters to do with gender equality are invited to participate (for example, in Ecuador and Uganda).
- Members of civil society are invited to participate (for example, Afghanistan and Indonesia).
- There have been cases where a voluntary cross-party group on gender equality has developed into a parliamentary commission on gender equality.

THE NETWORK OF WOMEN DEPUTIES of the Parliament of Finland was established in 1991, when a record number of women were elected to the parliament (77 out of 200 MPs). All women MPs automatically belonged to the caucus, which aims at mainstreaming gender into proposed legislation. It also cooperates with legislators from other countries and organises seminars on gender equality, often in collaboration with civil society organisations. The network's activities are managed by an executive committee, which is selected annually by the General Assembly. The president and vice president hold their positions for one year, and their selection rotates among the parties. The gender equality legislation on public day care for children, a law on special loans for women entrepreneurs and funding of immigrant women's organisations are examples of legislation where the caucus has been active. Equal pay and ending violence against women have also been on the agenda.

IN RWANDA, the cross-party caucus of women MPs has been working with such controversial issues as land rights and food security. They have also been partnering with civil society.

A WOMEN'S parliamentary caucus can **add value** to women MPs' work by:

- Facilitating frank and direct communication among women legislators and transcending partisan interests, especially on draft legislation on women's issues and social policy.
- Creating a forum for addressing the discrimination that most women legislators face because of their gender.
- Making women more visible as a group, both within the parliament and in the public eye. This can be an excellent way to facilitate assistance and training for any women legislators who may have less experience on gender issues. Activities could include workshops about useful tools for legislative work and round-table discussions or mentoring programmes: all would give opportunity to ensure the continuation of the work of outgoing women legislators.
- Offering greater autonomy and freedom, as flexible forums allow the members to develop less constrained work and more informal dialogue dynamics than those established by internal parliamentary rules.
- Facilitating the establishment of broad networks, which can include civil society organisations.
- Promoting the development of a joint agenda on issues around which consensus can be built, so that legislators can support them in their own commissions and parliamentary groups.

IN BRAZIL, the women's caucus often votes as a block and has, by doing so, promoted legislation on gender quotas for candidacies in all offices that are subject to proportional representation. The caucus united in order to pass a law on violence against women. It also played a decisive role in ensuring that the Brazilian constitution included women's rights.

IN THE 1980s, women MPs of different Finnish parties had differing views on public day care of children, which was not institutionalised at that stage. For many women it was hard to combine work and family because of a lack of good day care. MPs of left-wing parties wanted legislation on day care. MPs of the centre and right-wing parties wanted mothers who looked after their children to be compensated for that work. A compromise was reached: the so-called home care subsidy for children under three, and the so-called subjective right for day care, stipulating that municipalities have to provide day care for children under the age of three if the parents so wish. Later it was extended to cover all children below school age.

IN THE 1990s Finland was hit by economic depression and to save money the government proposed to cut down on public day care. Women MPs from right and left united to fight for the day care system and managed to save it.

Exercise 1 Chapter 8.1:

Starting a women's caucus

FIND OUT prior to training if the parliament of the country where the training is taking place has women's caucuses at the parliamentary or local level. If not, it is time to start one.

FIRST, explain what women's caucuses are about, comparing for example different membership structures, and presenting the examples of Brazil, Finland and Rwanda. Explain the principle of “the lowest common denominator”, which in this context means those issues that everyone in the group can identify as hindrances to the fulfilment of gender equality and/or policies behind which they can unite.

ASK PARTICIPANTS to get into groups of 5–8, mixing women from various parties as much as possible. Then ask them to note down their answers to the following questions:

1. What are “the lowest common denominator” issues for us? For example, how about those gender inequality problems on which we all agree and can find a consensus in trying to change? (Note: these are often questions to do with gender-based violence, equal pay or women's advancement in politics.)
2. Do we believe that by uniting our forces – as women politicians have done in many other countries – we have better chances of changing structures that discriminate against women and girls?
3. Are we prepared to establish a women's caucus?
4. If we are, how do we stipulate the membership structure? Do we include gender-aware men or not? Do we make space for women's civil society organisations?
5. In many caucuses the chairpersonship rotates on a yearly basis. Is this a good idea or not?

NOTE: the participants can also brainstorm more ideas/questions to be dealt with.

The NDI has listed **best practice recommendations** for the work of women legislators' caucuses:

IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH ORDER ON ISSUES AND PRIORITIES:

- Foster personal relationships with women leaders in informal and social venues (conferences, workshops etc.).
- Reactivate the agenda established by the signing or ratifying of international conventions and commitments. Women legislators can identify discrepancies between legal commitments and the implementation of such laws and policies.
- Base debate on research and concrete data.
- Establish internal mechanisms and procedures to streamline decision-making, consensus building, and communication among members.
- Define the range of action for the body in question, agreeing to put on the table such issues that are strongly tied to ideological or partisan positions.

IN ORDER TO DEVELOP VIABLE, ATTRACTIVE PROPOSALS AND ADVOCACY:

- Define strategic moments for clarifying and building consensus on a shared vision of conceptual issues related to the gender equality agenda.
- Establish communication with government institutions, academics and civil society organisations as well as experts in various fields to develop stronger proposals.
- Define strategies for contacting, convincing and/or gaining the commitment of caucus members' party leaders and other influential party members.
- Include in discussions and decision-making groups men who recognise the importance of women's political participation.
- Systematically map stakeholders and identify windows of opportunity.
- Develop and implement communication strategies for placing gender issues on the public agenda and making the cross-party groups' work more visible.
- Generate support and public pressure on issues of interest to the group, involving women who have a strong public profile at the national level.
- Establish contact with legislators from other countries and international organisations in order to gain international support for proposals.
- Identify from other countries legislators who, because they are members of ideologically-related parties, can generate an impact at the international level to encourage their parties to support these positions.

IN ORDER TO CREATE A SOCIAL SUPPORT BASE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND APPROVAL OF PROPOSALS:

- Disseminate information about advocacy efforts and extend support networks outside parliament.
- Develop mechanisms for frequent contact with grassroots movements and organisations interested in gender issues. Gender caucuses also often offer an entry point to civil society groups seeking to increase their influence in parliament.

- Develop awareness-raising and education programmes as well as mechanisms for accountability before the public and the media to influence and change public opinion about the role of women in politics.
- Establish alliances with women's movements to mobilise public opinion.
- Periodically send information to media directors, political editors, journalists and columnists, so that the caucus' proposals are included in the media.
- Develop rankings, specific measurements or monitoring initiatives that show the public the positions of different parties and political sectors on proposals made by the women's caucus.

IN ORDER TO MAINSTREAM GENDER IN ALL LEGISLATIVE WORK AND MORE BROADLY, IN GOVERNMENT POLICY AND OPERATIONS:

- Coordinate the support of parliamentary commissions, for example by holding hearings with them and including gender in the discussions. The budget commission is especially important.
- Use the international normative and legal framework to promote the creation of national structures to help obtain commitments on gender equality.
- Establish alliances with ombudspersons. If they do not exist, push to establish them. Ombudsperson offices can offer legislative advice because many have units specialising in women's rights. In most countries, these offices present annual or thematic reports, which provide input for development of legislation.
- Coordinate with universities and human rights groups. Although these organisations have not always mainstreamed gender into their work, in the area of human rights they can help to position women's issues not as secondary matters but as crucial structural issues for society.

Exercise 2 Chapter 8.1: Reinforcing the work of a women's caucus

THIS EXERCISE is for women taking part in a women's caucus.

FIRST PRESENT to the group the above-mentioned best practice recommendations from IDEA. Then, ask the participants to form teams of 5–8 to discuss these recommendations, evaluating what is working well with their caucus and what needs to be reinforced.

THE CONCLUSIONS of the teams will then be presented to the whole group. The next step is a discussion on the feasible strategies of improving the work of the caucus.



Zambian and Finnish parliamentarians sharing their experiences on women's cross-party cooperation at parliamentary level in Zambia 2014.

THE WEBSITE, I Know Politics, has carried out a virtual discussion on the merits and drawbacks of women's caucuses, the summary of which can be read here: http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/ikp-agora_discussion_summary_caucuses_final.pdf; and more about women's caucuses here: https://www.ndi.org/files/One_Size_Does_Not_Fit_All_eng_0.pdf.

IPU has also written a handbook on women's caucuses: <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/caucus-e.pdf>.

THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT BUILDING has a special space for women, the so-called Grey Room, where women MPs can rest. As Finland has long traditions of women in politics, the Grey Room has been there for women's use since the parliament building was completed in 1931.

Informal collaboration within parliaments

In parliaments where the number of women MPs is low, where party discipline is strong (as tends to be the case in majority vote systems), or where many women MPs do not want to engage in cross-party work, a more informal way of collaborating over party lines may be more useful than a formal women's caucus. There are many examples of successful collaboration across party lines:

- In Great Britain, women MPs have informally worked together across party lines on issues such as unequal pay and violence against women.
- Female MPs of the Duma of the Russian Federation were able to set aside ideological and party differences in order to promote legislation benefiting children and families. They proposed measures that increased benefits to citizens with children, extended pregnancy benefits and parental leave, reduced taxes for families with many children, created penalties for domestic violence and promoted equal rights for men and women.
- In Kuwait, only five years after the women's suffrage movement achieved full political rights for women, newly elected female legislators joined together to introduce amendments to the labour law that would give working mothers mandatory nursing breaks, and provide onsite childcare for companies with more than 200 employees.
- In Sri Lanka, women politicians from all parties came together, despite extreme political tensions, to endorse a platform for improving women's political participation.
- In Macedonia, a core group of women from the major political parties received training before the 2006 elections. In the beginning, participants from rival parties resisted working together but developed relationships during the training. Despite the highly partisan nature of politics in the country, workshop participants who were elected to the parliament were able to put aside their differences to promote legislation that established a quota for women's participation in elections.⁶²

The Swedish model: mainstreaming gender into legislation

In Sweden, legislators have rejected the idea of creating structures that specialise in issues relating to women and equality, because they are afraid that gender commissions or caucuses act as “ghettoes” that marginalise women's interests. Instead, the parliament has chosen to mainstream gender into all parliamentary commissions. However, the practice is not formally established in the rules of the Swedish parliament. This model poses risks, as it depends greatly on the presence of women and men with a high level of gender awareness and the necessary skills for including gender perspectives and analyses in legislative proposals. It is likely that this model will only work in a country that has long egalitarian traditions.⁶³

Despite Sweden's long egalitarian tradition, it is possible that it has not worked so well. In 1995, the Speaker, Birgitta Dahl established the Speaker's Network for Gender Equality among MPs. She invited seven female MPs, one from each of the parties in parliament, to a meeting to discuss how the united forces could contribute to making the best use of the increased number of women in the parliament. Conversations held in this group have, for instance, resulted in the establishment of a network on gender equality among members of parliament. The purpose of this network was to shed light on the conditions and assumptions governing parliamentary and political work in a broad perspective. Arranging breakfast meetings and wide-ranging seminars on gender equality, but also democracy in a wider sense, was another task. Today, the Speaker's Network has been renamed the Speaker's Reference Group on Gender Equality issues.

8.2 Wider forms of cross-party collaboration

NYTKIS – THE COALITION OF FINNISH WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

Finnish women's organisations have found a unique way of collaborating. NYTKIS, the Coalition of Finnish Women's Associations, counts among its members **political** women's organisations, and **academic** and **civil society** organisations, and is therefore a strong lobbying body. All the women's wings of political parties belong to NYTKIS, as well as The National Council of Women, The Feminist Association Union and The Association for Women's Studies in Finland. This joint coalition was founded in 1988 and it has played an important role in lobbying for key legislation and mainstreaming gender by examining proposed legislation and municipal policies from a gender perspective. The executive board consists of secretary-generals of the member organisations, and the chairpersonship rotates annually amongst member organisations. The chairperson is often an MP.

NYTKIS is a member of TANE, the Parliamentary Committee for Equality. NYTKIS also works internationally and is a member of the European Women's Lobby. It sends representatives to international women's conferences, including all the major ones of the United Nations. In addition to the national NYTKIS, there are also regional NYTKIS committees that bring together the women councillors of bigger Finnish cities.

THANKS to its wide membership structure, NYTKIS has succeeded in:

- Giving voice to the political grassroots level, that is, women working as councillors or members of various committees in the municipalities.
- Combining the everyday political pursuits with academic analyses and/or views.
- Giving voice to the women working at grassroots level within civil society.

THE WORK OF NYTKIS is based on the principle of **consensus**. As members represent differing political ideologies, it is important to identify the issues that all members see as vital for advancing equality between women and men. In Finland, these issues have included, for instance, establishing day care legislation for children, women's advancement in politics, gender-based violence, and equal pay. International visitors often find it difficult to conceive that parties from left to right can find a common agenda. This is possible partly due to the fact that women within the parties may be closer to each other than the parties themselves. Finnish people are also well-known for their pragmatic attitudes. Rather than spending time on disagreeing over ideological views, the women in the NYTKIS board have looked for what unites them.

STRATEGIES that NYTKIS uses include:

- After the executive board has, via discussions, identified a problem connected with gender equality, representatives of each party take the issue to their own parties and start lobbying to convince the party leadership of the need to bring in new legislation or amend existing legislation.
- Cooperation with the caucus of women MPs.

- Direct contacts with various ministries.
- Watchdog role: monitoring gender equality policies carried out by governmental institutions, distributing press releases and writing statements.
- Collaborating with civil society organisations.
- Organising election panels and other events where female candidates of all parties take part.
- Giving out election materials that emphasise the importance of voting for a woman.

NYTKIS RECEIVES most of its funding from the Finnish government. This is according to the principals of the Beijing Platform of Action, which calls for national funding for the empowerment of women. Yet it also poses a problem: with economic independency the watchdog role would be easier to maintain. (It takes courage to criticise those who feed you.)

THE TANZANIA WOMEN CROSS-PARTY PLATFORM

The Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform (T-WCP) was officially registered in 2010 by the women's wings of the Tanzanian political parties. All Tanzanian parties (six in 2014) that are represented in the parliament participate in the platform, which works at the **parliamentary** and **local levels**. The T-WCP aims to mainstream gender equality into Tanzanian politics and achieve equal participation of women and men at all levels in politics, including in decision-making bodies, ministerial positions, etc. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), which Tanzania is a member of, has set 2015 as a benchmark for the goal of reaching 50 per cent representation of women in national parliaments. As we write (in 2014) the goal seems nearer than ever before, because equal representation has been included in the draft for the Tanzanian Constitution, thanks to the work of the T-WCP. This would be achieved by electing a male and a female parliamentarian from each constituency. If approved, women



parliamentarians in the future would have a stronger mandate, based on a truly democratic process, rather than unelected special seats allocated to women.

It has traditionally been very difficult for Tanzanian women to advance within the patriarchal party structures, but through the work of the T-WCP **women have learned to collaborate across party lines** in order to **strategically lobby for women's advancement**. The platform also builds capacities of women politicians/politicians-to-be at the local level.

From the very beginning, Demo Finland has been a partner organisation of the T-WCP, but the platform has other partners, too, including UN Women. In Tanzania, the platform also collaborates with civil society organisations that aim to improve women's position nationally and at the grassroots level. Now the T-WCP has established its role as the voice of female politicians in Tanzania and this model of women's organising around politics has also attracted wider attention in Africa.⁶⁴

The T-WCP and Demo Finland have produced a video on the work of the platform (28 minutes): <https://mail.google.com/mail/#inbox/145d142cbbb227cc?projector=1>.

WOMEN'S SHADOW PARLIAMENT – KENYA

Another example of women's cross-party collaboration is the Women's shadow parliament in Kenya, WSP. Women from various political parties established it in 2003, after the 2002 national elections, during which women had been crudely discriminated against in the candidate selection processes of their own parties. The female candidates felt that there was a continuously hostile environment towards women's participation in politics and that the political parties were treating the female candidates poorly.

The values and principles of WSP, as expressed by the organisation are:

- Independence: operates freely in its own best judgment without control by authorities.
- Diversity: operates without party, regional or any forms of barriers.
- Feminine approach to politics: brings women's style of leadership to politics (nurturing, peace-making, consultation and dialogue, flexibility, honesty, accessibility).
- Giving voice to women political leaders: the WSP provides the platform for women leaders to voice their issues of development.
- Participation: promoting participation of citizens around issues that affect their lives.
- Equitable distribution of national resources and development.

THE WSP UPHOLDS the following as its key strategies:

1. Research, analysis and dissemination: availing facts and strategic information on legislatures and legislative processes will empower WSP members to speak from informed perspectives. Research constitutes a fundamental component of its programmes.
2. Audit of public leaders and leadership structures.
3. Advocacy: targeting the legislature and legislative processes to embrace equal representation and involvement of women in parliamentary processes.
4. Training: training WSP members on issue-based approaches to politics to create a critical mass of leaders who will steer the country towards issue-based politics.
5. Mentoring and support for aspiring female parliamentary candidates.⁶⁵

Exercise 1 Chapter 8.2:

Cross-party collaboration tailor-made

EXPLAIN to the participants the Finnish, Tanzanian and Kenyan structures for women's cross-party collaboration.

ASK THE PARTICIPANTS to separate into teams of 5–8, mixing parties as much as possible. Then request them to design a collaboration structure that would best suit their purposes, preferably combining the national and local levels. A few questions to think over:

1. If an independent organisation seems viable, will it be possible to include civil society actors and members of the research community?
2. Will all parties be members, or only those that have MPs?
3. How do we come to an agreement on the bylaws? In NYTKIS all member organisations have equal weight (for example in discussions, in length of chairpersonship terms) regardless of their size. Is this a good principle to follow?
4. How do we finance the work of the organisation?
5. What are the issues that we can work on and how do we do this?
6. How do we involve the men in the parties?

9. Inspirational stories of eight Finnish women politicians



LI ANDERSSON

*Councillor of City of Turku 2012–present, Member of Parliament of Finland 2015–present,
Chairperson of the Left Youth of Finland 2011–present*

STEPPING INSIDE THE ROOM, I feel a bit unconfident. The walls are dark, with dark portraits of elderly, prestigious and neatly suited men hanging on them. Big chairs form a circle, and in front of them are computers and microphones that one should use in the meeting. The atmosphere is very official and I notice I'm getting nervous. I don't know how I'll manage in the situation where everyone else represents a different party and everyone else has more experience than me.

The amount of votes that I had in the latest elections was a surprise to me. I was 25 years old, standing as a candidate in municipal elections for the second time, and got more votes than the seasoned veteran politicians of the municipality. This indicates that it's possible to be a credible politician and to give people faith in the changes that politics can make and in the rise of new generations. An election victory doesn't necessarily require lots of money or already existing networks and you don't need to be a man to achieve it. This proved to me, my party colleagues and everyone else that it's possible to get wide-scale trust by hard work, a courageous attitude and a will to change things.

The big amount of votes also means big responsibility. I was elected chairperson of the council group of my party and I am to represent my party in important meetings with representatives of other parties. Prominent tasks come with a big workload and a possibility to influence crucial matters, but also with a risk of failing or making mistakes. Carrying responsibility gives you a lot, but sometimes it makes you think whether you can and whether you have the courage.

When the meeting starts I decide to act as I always have. I decide not to care about not speaking the same way as the others or about them disagreeing with me. I have a lot to say and when it's finally my turn, the nervousness disappears. I speak several times in the meeting, I make propositions for changes and I debate, in my own style.

I have big shoes to fill and I take that responsibility with respect, but without deferring to it.



ANNA-MAJA HENRIKSSON

*Member of Parliament of Finland 2007–present, Minister of Justice 2011–2014,
SFP – The Swedish People's Party*

How I became Minister of Justice

Life is full of surprises. This is something I learned early on. I also learned that rather than plan carefully, it is better to let things take their course. You can always learn new things. All you have to do is be courageous and challenge yourself. Perhaps the most important lesson along my way from being a bank lawyer to becoming a minister is this: when one door closes, another one often opens.

During my school years I was interested in history and wanted to know how society functions. After matriculating, at the age of 18, I started studying law at the University of Helsinki. I dreamed of be-

coming a judge! I graduated at the age of 23. My mother died while I was studying, and my father had passed away when I was a baby. This meant that I had to learn quickly to stand on my own two feet. I was offered a job as a bank lawyer in Jakobstad, so I returned back to my home town.

There I got married and had children. Around this time I was asked if I would like to be the chairperson of the municipal committee for legal advice. A lawyer was needed, and I accepted. This was the beginning of the 1990s.

In 1996, when our children were four and one and half years old, I decided to enter the municipal elections. My curiosity about how my home town was being run and who made the decisions had grown since I had become a parent. I also wanted to be involved in raising the standards of our local schools, day care facilities and health centres. I was elected, and I have been on that road ever since. At that time, though, I had no idea that I'd once be the chairperson of our municipal council, an MP, and a minister.

My exciting trip into politics had started. I had the benefit of having a supportive husband at home and an employer who saw the value of my political engagements. I sat in various committees, and soon also in the municipal board. In the next elections I received the most votes and became the chairperson of the municipal council – the first ever and so far also the only female chairperson in Jakobstad.

I had been asked to run in the 2001 national elections, but due to my family situation I chose to wait till the 2007 elections. By then our daughters were 11 and 14 years old. I felt that it was time to try and see how far my wings would carry me, and I also got a lot of support from my family. My engagement and interest in my home town had over the years turned to a burning interest to act at the national level. Politics is about building society and choosing directions. For me, it has always been important to support values such as fairness and equality. Children's right to education, the elderly's right to a dignified old age, vulnerable people's right to receive support and every person's right to an equal value are some issues that have engaged me through the years. So too women and girls' right to life without violence, equal pay and the same possibilities as men enjoy. At the same time I have emphasised that without a lively business sector we cannot create welfare. Welfare has to be created before it is given, and therefore we need to work for a society that enables companies to grow and develop.

The national elections in 2007 were extremely exciting. I had a fantastic support group, and when the votes had been counted late at night, it was clear that I had been chosen as a Member of Parliament with 4600 votes. Thus I became the first female MP from Jakobstad and the first MP in 100 years to be elected to represent SFP – The Swedish People's Party from my home town.

During my first term, I was vice chairperson for the Legal Affairs Committee and member of the Employment and Equality Committee. Through my years in politics I have worked hard for a bilingual Finland. One of my most rewarding activities was working with President Martti Ahtisaari on an Action Plan for a Finland with two national languages. Later, this report was crucial when the government approved the Strategy for National Languages, a process that was led by the Prime Minister with me serving as the vice chairperson.

In the 2011 national elections, I received 8392 votes. When it was clear that SFP would have two ministerial positions, the party asked me if I would be willing to take on the responsibility of Minister

of Justice. Seldom have I slept as poorly as I did that night. But I decided to say yes, to once again challenge myself and, at the same time, to administer, in the best possible way, the trust that the constituents had shown when voting for me.

Not once have I regretted my choices. I worked almost 20 years in the bank sector, I have had the pleasure to act as the board and council chairperson in my home town, and I have had the enjoyable responsibility of being an MP and a minister. I also feel extremely humble about the trust that has been shown in me. I want to keep working for the good of my homeland, for a secure everyday life, and for a better world. There is still much to do.



PIRKKO MATTILA

Member of Parliament of Finland 2011–present, chairperson of the Administrative Committee, The Finns

I BECAME AN MP at a rather slow pace. I had been asked to run for the Finns in the 2004 elections and I consented and joined the party. I started as a councillor in my home municipality in 2005. I was a candidate in the national elections of 2007. My results were moderate and did not carry me all the way to the parliament.

In the 2008 municipal elections my results were better than before and I was re-elected. I was elected to be the co-chairperson of the council, and I also became a member of the regional council. My appetite grew. The Finns had become my political home, where I was able to influence policies. With the EU elections of 2009 my experience of campaigning and political decision-making developed.

Then in 2011, it was time for the tremendous victory of the Finns, and I became an MP. I chose to be a member of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee. My second committee was the Administrative

Committee, and later, with support from my parliamentary group, I rose to be the chairperson of this committee. I accepted the role aware of the fact that for a first-term MP it means a lot of work. However, at the same time I was grateful for the opportunity.

I have learned a lot and have also been fortunate to have a rising political career. My political awakening is probably due to the environment of my childhood home where politics was discussed regularly. In those days the Finns did not exist. The politics of my childhood home was not the politics of the Finnish Rural Party – the predecessor of the Finns – but it was near enough. Growing up I learnt tolerance towards other parties. After starting a family and once my children had grown a bit older, came the time to start expressing my views on political matters. I started by writing letters to newspaper editors about what I thought was wrong with society. Regional politics have always been near to my heart, and I have also studied geography.

An understanding of how our decision-making system functions has been the basis of my thinking: we have the people who have been elected via a democratic process, and we have the civil servants running the country; via elections one can influence, and I can be a means for influencing, if the voters so will. There are some signals that our Nordic welfare society is in danger of deteriorating if we do not hold on to it and nurture the values of it. I want to leave the same societal safety nets for my children as have been supporting me in life. As the daughter of a deaf single mother I understand the value of this.





SIRPA PIETIKÄINEN

*Member of Parliament of Finland 1983–2003, Minister for the Environment 1991–1995,
Member of the European Parliament 2008–present, National Coalition Party*

With women, for women

Women make up half of the world's population. But this ratio doesn't translate into the number of women involved in political decision-making. We women are underrepresented, and this is mostly due to established gender roles and men's networks that work to preserve the nomination and election of men.

In my opinion, the world can't afford leaving half of its brain capacity unused. Having more women in decision-making is not only a matter of equality but also of quality – the more diverse the decision-makers, the more diverse and better the decisions. In order to get more power, women need to build up and strengthen their own networks and bring forth talented and successful women. Solidarity and cooperation among women is key. However, these are too often neglected – I see many women opposing gender quotas with the argument that women can advance by themselves with no external help.

Equality doesn't come about on its own. It requires active measures and unification of female power. I will give you an example of a project I was happy to be involved in one year ago. The project was about counteracting violence against women, an issue of importance for the European Parliament. Violence is something faced by every third woman on earth.

So we thought we'd do something about it. And when talking proved insufficient, we decided to play. On the premises of the European Parliament, eight female colleagues and I performed an internationally famous play, "Vagina Monologues". Many other colleagues – mostly men – questioned the appropriateness of staging such a play on parliament premises. Maybe this objection gave us even more incentive to perform the play.

Eventually we performed in front of an audience of 500 EU parliamentarians and officials, raising voices on behalf of the 1 billion women that face or have faced violence. This became one of my best experiences of cooperation between women, for women.



LEENA RAUHALÄ

Member of Parliament of Finland 1999–2015, Christian Democrats

IT WAS ONLY AFTER A LONG TIME of professional employment and civil activity that I got involved in politics. I started getting interested in various societal questions when I studied and worked at the University of Tampere. I was then part of a research team in social psychiatry. I majored in psychiatric medical care and gained experience as a teacher of psychiatric medicine. I also got new perspectives during my postgraduate studies in pedagogics and social medicine, and later as a lecturer of social medicine. The questions that arose seemed to require political answers. Also later, during my political career, I have had great interest in things to do with education and related legislation.

At that time I was also active in many different associations, especially in the field of social work. Via peer support, volunteering at a hotline and other voluntary work I got to see the personal troubles of people and I also got involved. This grassroots experience of witnessing various difficult situations and looking for answers to solve them led me to see how the legislation should be developed to better serve the people facing the problems. These experiences enabled me to see especially the poorest people's need for defenders of their rights, and I also saw the need to change the system itself and the politics behind it.

I have learned to make more mature choices, not only because of work and education, but also because of my personal experiences in life. My family was quite large with five children: I learned how to be responsible for taking care of my closest family in times of illness. For example, when my own mother was ill for a long time I took care of her on informal care support. This gave me a great deal of respect for family values and a desire to enhance the wellbeing of Finnish families and our elderly.

In Finland the population structure is changing rapidly. This poses a big challenge for our welfare state and services. The question is: how can we give good care to the growing number of elderly? We have ongoing reform of health care and the way we organise social welfare, and with this reform we

try to address these challenges. Part of the solution is that we give more responsibility to families, while the overall responsibility remains on the state and municipalities. In Finland, women especially have been taking care of their relatives. Politicians should know this reality so they can make more informed decisions.

When I finally got involved in politics, I chose the Christian Democratic Party based on my own values and because they promoted protection of life. I have been active in advancing related things, like support for mothers who have gone through abortion, outreach youth work and helping substance abusers.

The Christian Democrats started up fifty-six years ago as a cooperative body of Christians who wanted to influence society but did not want to form a political party. This was highlighted by the name, which back then was the Finnish Christian Coalition. The motives and values were, as stated in one of the first proclamations: "Democracy, Christian ethics, the good of the nation, families becoming harmonious, cherishing the elderly, raising the new generation righteously." This statement still applies today, even though the coalition has transformed into a party like the others.

Women were a part of the party organisation from the beginning. They had the will to bring their knowledge of everyday life into politics. The wellbeing of families and the position of stay-at-home mothers were important issues for them. Women, after getting wider support for their cause, were also introducing the so-called care subsidy, which was stipulated in the end of the 70s. Political decisions that aim at supporting families and the ability to raise children are especially important for me too, as family values are important to me. It is also a great motivation for me to be able to influence these kinds of decisions.

The women's organisation of the Christian Democrats was set up in 1973, and it has ever since been active inside the party and also on cross-political, local and international levels. At the local level, the party has always had a good representation of women. At the international level the organisation has had representatives in the EU and UN conferences, as well as cooperation with other Nordic and Baltic countries.

In the cross-party context, the most important forum nowadays is NYTKIS. Political women's organisations in Finland have cooperated well. Together they have inspired policies that are important to all women and been able to have a real influence. I'm pleased that I have had the opportunity to get to know many of these organisations and being involved in their work, for example in Christian Democratic Women, NYTKIS, Romano Missio (which also helps Roma women in Finland), Tampere YWCA, and the Network of Women Parliamentarians of the Parliament of Finland. I consider this kind of cooperation important because it is a motivational factor for individual women. Women are more easily involved in politics and stay motivated if there is collaboration. It is not only about better influence of women on political matters but also about peer support and encouragement.

As for the party and the women's organisation, the number of activities has risen and they have become more modern during the years, but the values have not changed. That is also true for myself: I still have the same motivation as when I first began in politics.



ANNIKA SAARIKKO

Member of Parliament of Finland 2011–present, Vice Chairperson of the Finnish Centre Party

I AM EXTREMELY LUCKY. I have the opportunity to be a political actor in a country where all the doors to power are open for women. But many generations before me have been have been treading the same path. The situation we have today hasn't been easy to achieve and it should not be taken for granted. One can't change biology – the fact that it's the woman who gives birth. Traditions are not easily changed either – that taking care of the family is supposed to be a woman's responsibility. Attitudes are also hard to change – women are still perceived to handle social and health policy better than industrial or economic policy.

I got into politics during my studies. Student politics, along with municipal politics is probably the most common way to start a political career in Finland. I was attracted by the enthusiasm of youth, eager debates, like-minded people, clear ideologies and dreams of a better world. Still, I never thought I'd make my career in politics. I studied media research and education and I hoped to get employed in that field, but I didn't – at least not for the moment. However, I don't think I'll be in politics for the rest of my life so it's good to have another profession, too.

Before my current job, I had the opportunity to work as a special assistant for several ministers. For eight years the prime minister was from the Centre Party – my party. That meant I had a good view of decision-making and the work of government. I was an assistant to a male minister with more than 40 years of experience in politics, then to a minister who was new to government. The difference was huge! Two of the ministers I've assisted were women; one of them the minister of social affairs and health. Through her work, she got me interested in social politics and that's what I focus on in my parliamentary work today.

Before I became an MP, the most interesting work I'd had was working as the special assistant to the Prime Minister, with responsibility for communications. It really made me understand how big a role

appearance (unfortunately) can have in the work of a female politician. I remember having to comment on the assessment of a business director about the beautiful body of the Prime Minister or on a photo in a tabloid depicting the Minister's behind. This rarely happens to male politicians.

So it was through student activity and working in the background of politics that I ended up becoming an MP. I was elected in 2011. Getting elected to the parliament required vast campaigning and help from many supporters. I organised more than a hundred events in my electoral district. Advertising took a lot of money that I fortunately got from my supporters and companies. Otherwise it's hard for a young woman to have a convincing campaign – you need men and more experienced women alike to support you in fund-raising and campaigning. The campaign was heavy but at the same time extremely interesting. It was important to meet people in different parts of my electoral district and listen to the worries that people have.

In addition to being an MP I'm also the vice-chairperson of my party. I'm probably one of the youngest among the chairpersons in the hundred years of my party. When I was appointed in 2010, I was 26. However, it's not a matter of astonishment to me. In my experience, my party has always had a respectful stance on young people, and we've got ourselves heard. A genuine will for change was perhaps the background to my appointment. It just took courage and a lot of encouraging people for me to participate in the competition. I'm now in my second term as vice-chairperson.

Politics has given me a lot. The most important and most surprising thing that I've got thanks to my work is my partner. I met him through a mutual friend who is also in politics. My partner is from a different party than me, yet I feel there are lots of things connecting us. I appreciate that our parties have allowed us to love each other. It's also important that my partner allows me concentrate on what I do, work for my ideology and carry the responsibilities that come with this work.

I have experienced much in politics. I've also worked a lot – without counting the hours, and met a lot of people – without counting the kilometres. I always try to familiarise myself with all the new issues that we deal with in the parliament, and also listen to those with more experience. It's important to have a good understanding on the matters.

What about being a woman in politics? I don't think we should get things easier just because we're women, but we should have the same chances and opportunities as everyone else – as I personally have had. However, I wouldn't have succeeded without other women. More experienced and senior female politicians – especially – have supported me. I also needed support from my family. My mother taught me to be a brave girl who believes in her potential.

I find it important that for over 20 years now, we've had a women's network in the parliament. The chairperson changes every year and in 2013 it was my turn. I have recommended the founding of a similar network to many international guests we've hosted in the parliament. Our network consists of all the women in the parliament, and in its working committee there is one woman from each parliamentary party. Many things connect us over the party boundaries, and therefore it's important to work together.



AMU URHONEN

Active in local and student politics, the Green Party

I BECAME ACTIVE in voluntary work for NGOs and later joined the Green Party because I felt distressed. I was under 20 years old then, and I couldn't bear seeing how wrong many things were in the world. I had to at least try to do something about it. Another source of inspiration was an article that I read, emphasising the importance of participation of disabled people in society. The slogan "Nothing about us without us" made me realise how seldom it actually applies. This state of affairs was wrong.

I don't approve of ignoring a group of people when making decisions that concern them, no matter who the group is: women, homosexuals, children, people recovering from mental disorder, or people with disabilities. The worst part is that many decision-makers don't seem to be interested in the opinions of so-called ordinary citizens. In municipal politics, I was once even told that it's better to keep disabled people in institutions, or they will start demanding accessible homes and transport services.

Simply the fact that I discuss society and take part in politics means I am questioning the traditional power structures. I make decisions instead of only being an object of decision-making. Not everyone likes it, and there are some who say that disabled people should be satisfied and grateful for what they are given, meaning that one should be glad even about the opportunity of getting to the toilet once a day. Anyone can understand that that sort of life isn't independent and equal. Questioning patriarchy isn't necessarily only confrontational. It's mostly about trying to find a forum for discussion or just making simple suggestions. Sometimes it's only about the decision-makers not having thought about a matter from a different angle.

An example of this can be found in my home town, where there is a new initiative to map where domestic violence occurs. On our visit to a maternity clinic, my husband and I filled in a questionnaire about domestic violence. Afterwards, we discussed the questionnaire with the nurse. Fortunately do-

mestic violence is not a problem for our family but I realised then and there that a victim of domestic violence would have difficulty telling the nurse about it with their partner present. I made an initiative to change the practice, and nowadays parents discuss with the nurse each in turn. It has become easier to talk about domestic violence, which means it's also possible to interfere, if necessary.

Changes are slow, and this sometimes feels frustrating. It's difficult to put a finger on your own accomplishments because, after all, politics is teamwork. And that's how it should be, because the more there are people participating in bringing about change, the better it will be. Without an inspiring group this work would be much duller.

In spite of having spent more or less my whole adult life involved in politics, I still feel distressed. But, unlike many others, I haven't become a cynic. I'm more idealistic now than when I started. I have seen that the world changes by making changes happen.



*Member of Parliament of Finland 2003–present, Minister of Finance 2011–2014,
Chairperson of the Finnish Social Democratic Party 2008–2014*

Setting the Bar High for Yourself

As a democratic welfare state, Finland might appear, at first glance, to be a country without any obstacles for women. It is true that in the field of politics many things have been accomplished already, such as the election of our first female president (Tarja Halonen, 2000–2012). Still, truly breaking glass ceilings has only started within the past couple of decades.

I have been active in national-level politics for 10 years now. During this time, I have witnessed myself being the first woman in several political roles in Finland. However, the positions of the Minister of Finance and the Leader of the Finnish Social Democratic Party were not offered to me on a silver platter. Instead, I have had a firm belief in my own vision and this belief has been the source of my willingness to challenge much more experienced male politicians. The most important thing is to have the fortitude to rise to the challenge when life presents it to you.

I hope that my story can empower other women to push forward in areas that traditionally have been occupied by men, such as the world of finance and economics. There are already many positive examples of women in leading positions in different spheres of life, proving that such positions do not belong only to men. I dare say, nonetheless, that the bar is set quite high for women who wish to enter the front row.

I also want to encourage women to set the bar higher for themselves, since this is the only way to attain political power, and this is the power that we need in order to make a difference, to have a say and make our voices heard. It hasn't been an entirely easy journey for me either, but it is difficult to imagine a job more rewarding than striving to make the state more supportive, the future more sustainable and society fairer and more equal.

10. OTHER MATERIALS

Demo Finland has produced a video on women's campaigning for national elections in Finland:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q_kAEqLZVh0

The Tanzania Women Cross-party Platform and Demo Finland have produced a video on the work of the platform: <https://mail.google.com/mail/#inbox/145d142cbbb227cc?projector=1>

Guidance on canvassing:
<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2006/10/07/254733/-Beginner-s-Guide-to-Canvassing-Streetwalking#>

Thorough guidance on participatory training methods:
https://icvanetwork.org/system/files/versions/ro_28_toolkit.pdf

Pippa Norris & Lena Krook (The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)):
Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six Step Action Plan: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/78432>

iKNOWpolitics, the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics is an interactive network of women in politics who share experiences, resources, advice and collaborate on issues of interest:
<http://iknowpolitics.org/en>

11. NOTES

- ¹ Pippa Norris and Mona Lena Krook 2011: Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six-Step Action Plan
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- ³ <http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Section-5-Strategy-and-Planning.pdf>
- ⁴ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/enabling-environment2005/docs/EGM-WPD-EE-2005-EP.12%20%20draft%20F.pdf>
- ⁵ <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>
- ⁶ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/enabling-environment2005/docs/EGM-WPD-EE-2005EP.12%20%20draft%20F.pdf>
- ⁷ Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2009
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- ⁹ <http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Section-5-Strategy-and-Planning.pdf>
- ¹⁰ http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/2.%20Obstacles_to_Women%27s_participation_in_Parliament.pdf
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- ¹² <http://www.unl.edu/rhames/courses/ppoint/polpar.pdf>; <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/enabling-environment2005/docs/EGM-WPD-EE-2005-EP.12%20%20draft%20F.pdf>
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- ¹⁵ <http://www.cedaw2011.org/index.php/cedaw-works>
- ¹⁶ <http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Section-8-International-Processes-and-Institutions.pdf>
- ¹⁷ <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>
- ¹⁸ <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/mdg-momentum>
- ¹⁹ <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/>
- ²⁰ <http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Section-8-International-Processes-and-Institutions.pdf>
- ²¹ http://www.achpr.org/files/instruments/women-protocol/achpr_instr_proto_women_eng.pdf
- ²² <http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Section-8-International-Processes-and-Institutions.pdf>
- ²³ <http://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/guiding-documents>
- ²⁴ <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/iwraw/Freeman-Timothy.html#table>

- ²⁵ http://www.unifem.org/cedaw30/about_cedaw/cedaw_beijing_platform_for_action.html
- ²⁶ http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/~/_media/DFA04926C77F400E93A01048437FF503.ashx
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- ²⁸ http://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/02_2013/wps_toolkit.pdf
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- ³⁷ http://www.afriqap.org/IMG/pdf/rapid_gender_assessment_and_audit_of_political_parties_in_kenya.pdf
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- ⁴⁴ <http://www.idea.int/political-finance/question.cfm?id=280>
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- ⁴⁷ <https://www.ndi.org/files/Gender%20and%20Political%20Parties%20Far%20from%20Parity.pdf>
- ⁴⁸ Banerjee & Duflo 2011: Poor Economics - A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty
- ⁴⁹ <http://www.idea.int/publications/funding-of-political-parties-and-election-campaigns/loader.cfm?csModule=security/getfile&pageID=64347>

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- ⁵⁹ <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/gender/gender%20and%20governance/EmpoweringWomenFor%20StrongerPoliticalParties.pdf>
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- ⁶⁵ <http://www.womensshadowparliament.org/>

Women continue to be underrepresented in all political arenas. Democracy cannot truly deliver for all citizens if half of the population don't have access to the tables of power. In a representative democratic system, political parties have the power to enhance the participation of marginalised groups, including women. They are crucial actors when it comes to equal political participation and a well-functioning democracy. Women's participation in politics is also hindered by the lack of networks for women.

“Gender Equality within Political Parties and Women's Cross-party Cooperation – How to Build the Capacities of Women Politicians and Political Parties” gathers good practices that are used all around the world to enhance gender equality in politics. The focus is on gender equality within political parties and women's cross-party cooperation. It includes plenty of concrete exercises, examples and tools.

This publication is aimed at facilitators organising trainings on gender equality and women's cross-party cooperation for political parties and politicians, but it also has plenty of good reference material and additional information for everyone interested in strengthening women's political participation.

Supporting democracy – by parties for parties

WWW.DEMOFINLAND.ORG