



PACIFIC WOMEN
SHAPING PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT



Women In Leadership Synthesis Report

Informing the Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development Roadmap 2017–2022

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Acronyms

ALI	Australian Labor International
ANU	Australian National University
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CDI	Centre for Democratic Institutions
CEDAW	UN Convention against the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CLGF	Commonwealth Local Government Forum
CPA	Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)
DLP	Developmental Leadership Program (University of Birmingham)
EVAW	Elimination of Violence against Women
FBO	Faith-based Organisation
FCDP	Fiji Community Development Program
FLOW	Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women
FWRM	Fiji Women's Rights Movement
GIRLS	Grow Inspire Lead and Succeed
HIV and AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome and human immunodeficiency virus
IWDA	International Women's Development Agency
LGBTQI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, and Intersex
MAMPU	Empowering Indonesian Women for Poverty Reduction
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
ODE	Office of Development Effectiveness (DFAT)
ODI	Overseas Development Institute (UK)
<i>Pacific Women</i>	Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PIFS	Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat
PLP	Pacific Leadership Program
PWPPP	Pacific Women's Parliamentary Partnerships Project
PYWLA	Pacific Young Women's Leadership Alliance
RRRT	Regional Rights and Resources Team
SIS	Small Islands States
SPC	Pacific Community
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
SSGM	State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project (ANU)
TSM	Temporary special measures
TTFT	Tugeda Tude Fo Tumoro
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

1 Introduction and Background

The Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development program (*Pacific Women*) aims to improve opportunities for the political, economic and social advancement of Pacific women in the 14 Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) member countries. The 10-year program is funded under the Australian Government's aid program by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

The program supports a range of activities in partnership with national governments, Pacific NGOs, regional organisations, the United Nations (UN), international non-government organisations, multilateral development banks, the private sector and research organisations. Expected program outcomes include:

- Women and women's interests are increasingly and effectively represented and visible through leadership at all levels of decision-making.
- Women have expanded economic opportunities to earn an income and accumulate economic assets.
- Violence against women is reduced and survivors of violence have access to support services and to justice.
- Women in the Pacific will have a stronger sense of their own agency, supported by a changing legal and social environment and through increased access to the services they need.

This report on women in leadership aims to: guide future investments; prioritise approaches and activities; and provide a transparent and strategic framework for *Pacific Women* funding decisions. Key issues and recommendations from this report will be reflected in a single Roadmap Synthesis report – recognising the intersection between women's economic empowerment, ending violence against women, and women in leadership.

Specifically focused on women in leadership, this report has been informed by review of key research and available documentation and broad-based consultations. It outlines global best practice and guidance of relevance to the Pacific region; identifies key issues, barriers and gaps in the Pacific; summarises a range of relevant initiatives, lessons and approaches to improving women in leadership and decision-making in the Pacific; and outlines options for priority areas of investment.

Defining women and leadership

Previous efforts to support Pacific women in politics have tended to prioritise women's participation in formal political mechanisms – most notably, national legislatures and to a lesser extent, political parties and local governments. *Pacific Women* encompasses a broader examination of opportunities to support women's leadership in formal institutions and spaces, as well as women's broader inclusion in decision-making processes.¹

Considerable research has been undertaken to explore issues around leadership development in the Pacific. The Pacific Leadership Program (DFAT), State, Society and Governance Program (SSGM, ANU), and the Development Leadership Program (DLP, University of Birmingham) have specially examined issues around women and leadership.² The DLP identifies that: 'leadership needs to be understood politically, that is as a political process' (Lyne de Ver, 2009:3-4).³ This acceptance of the

1 The more complex question of how to develop leadership for women's issues, by working with multiple stakeholders in support of multiple issues, is not covered by this report.

2 For the most seminal of these publications see: Kenway, Bradley and Lokot, 2013, AusAID's Support to Women's Leadership: An Evaluability Assessment, Annex 1: Literature Review; Lyne de Ver, 2009, Conceptions of Leadership; McLeod, 2007, Literature Review of Leadership Models in the Pacific. SSGM-ANU.

3 In Barbera and Haley's 2014 analysis of developmental leadership in the Pacific, they recognised the broad definition of politics in a developmental sense that Leftwich, 2006c:10 defined as: 'consisting of all the activities of cooperation, conflict and negotiation involved in decisions about the use, production and distribution of resources, whether these activities are formal or informal, public or private, or a mixture of all'.

impact of politics is critical to an understanding of the opportunities and limitations of interventions in support of women's leadership. Politics is at the heart of leadership, especially where leadership is viewed through a lens of local relationships of 'power, authority and legitimacy, shaped by history, institutions, goals and political culture' (ibid). Examining leadership and decision-making processes through a political lens improves practitioners' understanding of gender relations and the dynamics of power (Barbara & Hayley, 2014:6). It encourages a more explicit assessment of the pathways to power and change that leaders take, by understanding that any leader's decision-making abilities – whether male or female – are shaped through opportunities experienced in the family, community, educational, employment, faith and public contexts.

A 2014 study by DFAT's Office for Development Effectiveness (ODE) reviewed a wide range of leadership literature and activities and found an absence of an agreed definition of women's leadership.⁴ Building on the DLP work, it proposed the working definition of women's leadership, used in this report, as:

A political process of women mobilising people and resources in pursuit of shared and negotiated goals within government, private sector, and civil society (Kenway, Bradley and Lokot, 2013: iii)

2 Global Context

At the international level, efforts to focus on supporting women's leadership have been patchy. This has been due, in part, to the variable engagement of development partners in areas of democracy promotion, good governance and, more recently, support for inclusive political processes. Since 2000 there has been a considerable increase in work in this area, not least because of the inclusion in the 2000-2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of a specific indicator on women's political participation. This section summarises key global frameworks and approaches relevant to women's leadership. It identifies areas of progress in broadening the understanding of how women's engagement in decision-making and leadership are inter-related and can be more effectively supported by governments, civil society and development practitioners.

2.1 Relevant international frameworks

The good governance agenda that became prominent in development in the 1990s was an opportunity to address issues around the enabling environment for gender equality. In the area of women's leadership, a more strategic focus on leadership and politics can be traced back to the 2000 MDGs, specifically Indicator 3.4 of Goal 3: Gender Equality, that focused on the 'proportion of seats held by women in national parliament'. This indicator explains the emphasis on women's formal political participation and less engagement with women's leadership in informal spaces. Since the MDGs were adopted, with associated international resourcing, progress in women's representation in national parliaments increased globally from 14 per cent in 2000 to 22 per cent in 2015 (UN, 2015: 4). In comparison, by 2015 (the period of implementation of the MDGs) the 14 Pacific Islands Forum countries (i.e. excluding Australia and New Zealand) only had 6.7 per cent women Members of Parliament (MPs) in their national parliaments (PacWIP, 2016).

During the period of the MDGs, increasing attention was also given to the UN Convention against the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) provisions on using temporary special measures (TSM). Specifically, Article 4 of CEDAW⁵ recognises that TSM may be required in the short-term to advance women's equality, not only in formal politics but across multiple fields.⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security, endorsed in 2000, also provided

⁴ In a review of 67 leadership programs, Lyne de Ver and Kennedy, 2011 found that only nine programs actually expressed their concept of leadership and only ten had developed a theory of change.

⁵ CEDAW has been ratified by every Pacific Island Government except Palau and Tonga.

⁶ See CEDAW Committee General Recommendation # 25 on Article 4, paragraph 1

[http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/General%20recommendation%2025%20\(English\).pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/General%20recommendation%2025%20(English).pdf)

guidance by emphasising the importance of involving women in decision-making during peace processes, providing the early foundation for a broader focus on women and decision-making.

The UN General Assembly passed two wide-ranging resolutions on women and political participation, (2004 and 2011) that sought to reiterate and implement the commitments made in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995 on women's political participation and decision-making.

Recognising the narrow focus on women's inclusion in national legislatures under the MDGs, the follow up Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and associated 2030 Agenda have broadened the scope of women's leadership and decision making across all areas under:

SDG-5: Target 5.5 – Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.

This broader focus provides opportunities for stakeholders to explicitly work on issues around politics, particularly under indicator 5.5.1 that expands the measurements of women's leadership from parliamentary representation to women in local government. SDG-16 specifically focuses on promoting peaceful and inclusive societies, with Target 16.7 explicitly calling on stakeholders to 'ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels'. This builds on work by academics and practitioners around inclusive political processes and political settlements, predominantly in the conflict prevention field and, increasingly, across democratic governance more generally.

These international frameworks situate politics at the heart of development and can assist gender equality stakeholders contextualise the fundamental issues around strengthening the enabling environment, as well as more effectively engaging with behaviours and social norms that undermine gender equality.

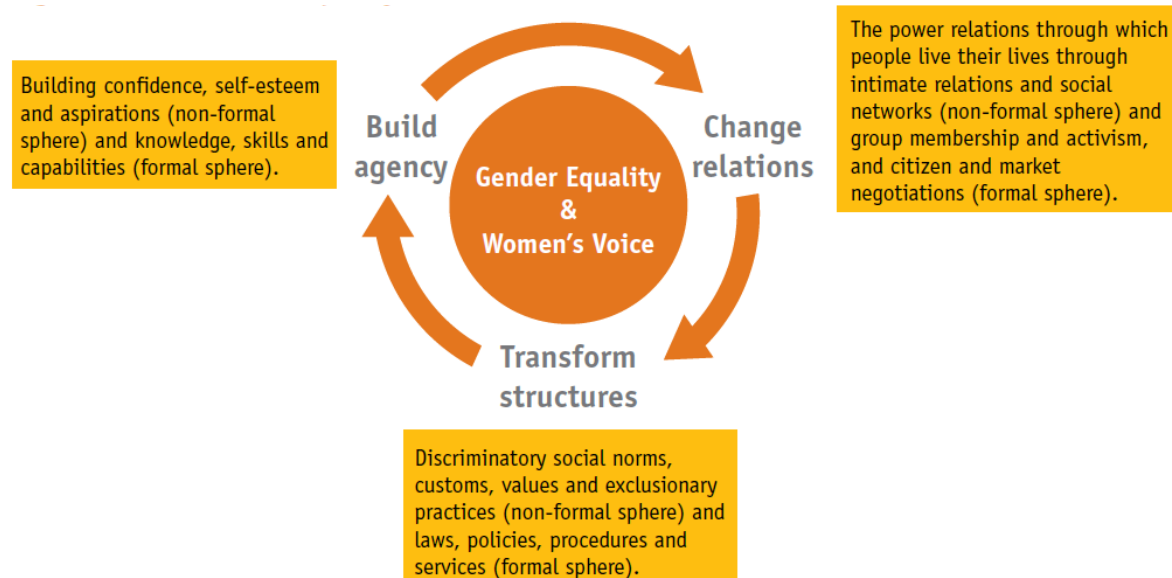
2.2 Global good practice and lessons learned

Support for women's leadership at the global level is characterised by limited evidence of what does and does not work, with much of the feedback anecdotal. Existing evidence is heavily weighted towards women's political participation. The UN Secretary General's 2011 report on women and political participation highlighted that more data is needed with potential indicators as: numbers of women in local government and ministerial posts; numbers of female candidates; prevalence of violence against women in politics; and numbers of women in sectors such as public administration, justice, policing etc. (UNSG, 2011).

2.2.1 Change requires complementary interventions at all levels

Available evidence suggests that efforts to support women's leadership require locally-tailored strategies. There is also increasing agreement that change needs to be encouraged at different levels to address women's individual agency and empowerment, gender relations within families and communities, and gender roles within the overarching society and cultural context. While there are numerous theories of change designed to meet such objectives, the approach captured in Figure 1 by CARE International is being increasingly adopted by development agencies and practitioners. Oxfam Australia's comprehensive Gender Justice framework (Annex 2) also aligns with this approach, as does the proposed theory of change and monitoring framework for women's leadership support recommended by the 2014 ODE women's leadership evaluation (Annex 3).

Figure 1 CARE International gender equality framework



2.2.2 Individual vs collective leadership development is still an open question

To date, leadership development efforts have tended to focus heavily on individual training programs, both for men and women. Leadership has been addressed as an individual attribute through personal capacity development, training, mentoring, or a mix of these approaches. In 2011, DLP undertook a review of 67 leadership development programs and individual training programs and highlighted the importance of a clearly articulated theory of change grounded in an explicit definition of leadership (DLP, 2011: 44). The general conclusion was that leadership training needed to be very specifically designed around the type of participant selected in relation to the change that was required (ibid).

Analysis of Leadership Development Programs working in the development context

When deciding whether to support leadership development programs, the following policy messages need to be considered:

- Make sure to articulate your own understanding of 'leadership' and its role for development first. What do you mean by 'leadership', why do you want to support it and to what end?
- Be critical and discriminating when supporting or commissioning programs. Ask:
 - What is the definition of leadership used by the program?
 - What is the theory of change of the program?
 - For whom is this program intended?
 - What methods, contents and practices are likely to be consistent with the theory of change?
 - How effective is the program and how is this measured?
- Choose programs that understand that leadership for development is more than leadership for organisational development. Leadership programs oriented to development should understand the 'political' nature of leadership and should train in the use of networks, the formation of coalitions and how to work politically in a positive sense.
- Choose programs that are appropriate for the context and sector. Considering the importance attached to facilitating the use of networks and formation of coalitions, context and sector specific programs may be more appropriate than generic ones.
- Make sure you have the right participants. There is an enormous range of programs and approaches to choose from. Make sure you select the right participants, or the right program for the people you have in mind.
- More can and should be done to evaluate the effectiveness of leadership programs. A small number of programs show it is possible to evaluate beyond satisfaction at the individual participant level. Evaluations should be carried out over time, at least at the individual and organisational level, and, where possible, at the societal level, to assess the appropriateness of leadership development programs as a policy tool.

Kennedy F and Lyne de Ver H, 2011, An Analysis of Leadership Development Programs working in the context of development, DLP, University of Birmingham.

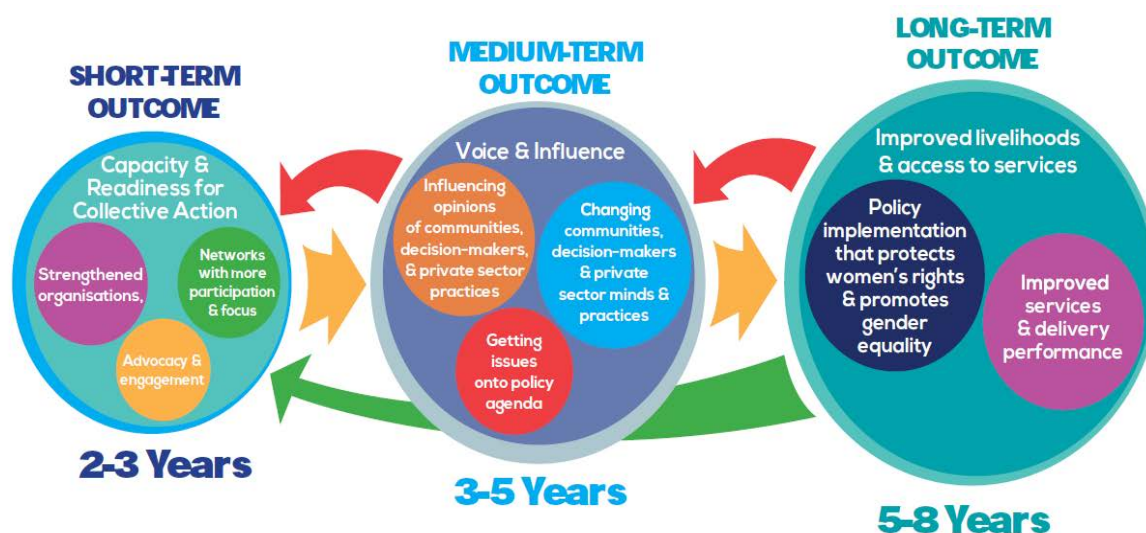
In the area of women's leadership, focus has been on helping women get elected and then supporting their efforts in political arenas. The literature is increasingly unclear, however, on whether the impact of more women being elected automatically results in improved decision-making for gender equality. For example, in summarising research from Africa, Newton-Cain observed that 'an increased number of women in parliaments does not necessarily lead to more/better democratic ideals overall'. In Rwanda, where women's representation in 2008 was at 56.3 per cent, the government became increasingly authoritarian and repressive; and in Ghana, where the number of female MPs decreased, the quality of governance improved (Newton-Cain, 2013: 11-12). Hayley and Zubrinich assessed that 'women in government do not necessarily possess progressive political views and, even when they do, they may feel too inhibited to express them, particularly if their personal views are at odds with party policies' (2016: 3). Conversely, Newton-Cain also referenced research from India that showed that resource allocations in villages with women leaders favoured spending on health, education and pro-children infrastructure such as provision of drinking water (Ibid).

A 2016 Overseas Development Institute (ODI) review of development support to women's leadership efforts took a broader perspective. It questioned whether individual leadership development was a useful approach at all and whether other approaches would have better outcomes. ODI's research tended to fall on the side of investing in collectives and coalitions, rather than individuals (O'Neil and Domingo, 2016: 33). In that context, ODI made two critical findings (ibid):

- Donors should invest in groups not individuals, specifically:
 - Funding might be better invested in long-term support for organisations (such as student groups, trade unions, professional associations and faith-based organisations), where adolescent girls and women could hone their political and leadership skills that might nurture future women leaders.
 - Interventions should work with families and communities – not only women – in recognition that, while women's organisations can foster women's solidarity, changes in gender norms and practices do not come from changes in individual attitudes but from changes in shared expectations.
- Donors should work with civil society organisations (CSOs) as they are, not as they wish them to be. This recognised that 'rather than working with organic, locally anchored organisations, development agencies often fund those that ostensibly share their values or meet pragmatic or bureaucratic requirements.' This then risked that donor funded organisations were not best-placed to change gender relations in their own communities. In some cases, they also undermined voluntarism and the development of a diverse and mature civil society.

For example, the Indonesia MAMPU project support of women's leadership (Figure 2) explicitly includes support for coalition-building and networking, as well as organisational development for individual women's groups (MAMPU, 2015). The approach recognises the critical importance of building and supporting strong women's CSOs as a vehicle for delivering social change to people on-the-ground. The project has initially focused on developing CSOs and women's networks/coalitions to promote policy and law reform that will improve women's lives. MAMPU's early success could be a useful model to adapt to the Pacific context, where CSOs have variable capacities but are critical stakeholders in promoting transformational change.

Figure 2 MAMPU approach



2.2.3 Comprehensive programming approaches are more effective

Efforts to support women's leadership have tended to be ad-hoc through individual interventions rather than a coordinated program of action. Building on the ongoing challenge of how to aggregate efforts to achieve sustainable, systematic change, UN Women recently developed a comprehensive approach to women's political empowerment and leadership. The related theory of change supports a program that attempts to join the different elements of agency, relations and structural change (Annex 4). This includes:

- **Changing social norms:** to enable women to be 'perceived as equally legitimate and effective leaders as men'. Activities involve outreach, community dialogues, media campaigns and working with traditional male leaders as champions for women.
- **Working with men:** in support of women's leadership, recognising the need for male leaders to be partners in – or at least acquiesce to – changing power dynamics and open up decision-making spaces to women. The UN Women framework specifically recognises the importance of engaging male political leaders, as well as traditional, religious and community leaders to support changing norms.
- **Identifying pathways to leadership from community and local levels:** and developing networks/coalitions and individual capacities of women at all levels in support of women's leadership, instead of engaging only with women leaders at higher political levels.
- **Violence against women in politics:** to address the threat and reality of violence faced by potential women leaders as well as women voters. This is a gap and a critical challenge in the Pacific, where levels of violence against women are already at epidemic levels.

2.2.4 Issues-based and/or community development entry-points

While a comprehensive approach to leadership development is preferable, global evidence also shows that women's leadership and involvement in decision-making can also be effectively supported as a complementary element in programming on other issues such as peacebuilding, education, rural development or issues-based advocacy. Such programming taps into considerably more resources. It also has the potential benefit of avoiding tackling the sensitive issue of leadership and power relations

head-on, by focusing on collective, outcomes-based activities, that may reduce resistance to women's leadership. For example:

- **Women's peace and security:** Addressed in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequently included in many national and regional action plans and activities. Efforts to institutionalise women's inclusion in peace processes and women's role in negotiating and implementing peace settlements have shown positive outcomes. For example, in Rwanda more than 50 per cent of the post-conflict parliament comprises women.⁷ More broadly, UNSCR 1325 has seen women's increased systematic inclusion in peace-making bodies such as constitutional assemblies, post-conflict unity governments and local peace councils.
- **Provincial government/rural development activities:** Support for rural and provincial development has long been a focus of development organisations, but it is only in recent years that there has been a more systematic effort to engage women. For example, the World Bank's community-driven development programming has supported numerous local-level activities. 'When given clear and transparent rules, access to information, appropriate capacity, and financial support, poor men and women can effectively organise to identify community priorities and address local problems by working in partnership with local governments and other supportive institutions.' (World Bank, 2014). The Bank's community-driven development projects usually include specific indicators disaggregating decision-making by women and men. Additionally, a focus on processes, rather than just outcomes, enables more resources to be directed at building capacities for planning and engagement.
- **Issues-based advocacy:** One form of demonstrated leadership is through advocacy on a particular issue. However, there has been less systematic exploration of how this could be an effective entry-point for women to develop and demonstrate leadership skills in a particular sector. Women are engaging in such advocacy, for example, around issues such as climate change, global trade, constitutional reform and sexual and gender-based violence. More effort could be made to proactively support women's advocacy, help showcase their successes, and increase recognition of influential women leaders in communities and globally.

2.2.5 New partnerships with alternative stakeholders

Development programming has tended to favour traditional partners such as governments, civil society organisations and the private sector. However, in recent years, there has been an increasing recognition that non-state actors such as faith-based organisations (FBOs) and traditional bodies (e.g. alternative dispute resolution bodies), play an important role in many communities and could be included in efforts to change community norms and decision-making processes. For example, UNDP's 2014 Guidelines on Engaging with Faith-Based Organisations and Religious Leaders recognised that their 'presence in local communities, coupled with their capacity to deliver critical services, allow them to mobilise grassroots support, earn the trust of vulnerable groups, and influence cultural norms – all of which make them vital stakeholders in development' (p.3). The guidelines highlight the need to be selective in partnering with FBOs and religious leaders to ensure that partnerships are based on shared values, objectives and commitments. FBOs are no longer monolithic in their approach to social issues and partnerships can be developed with individual organisations for the benefit of communities where religion plays a vital normative role.

There has been less structured attention to the engagement of traditional leadership groups and individuals to promote gender equality. Engagement with traditional structures as part of support for alternative dispute resolution mechanisms offers good practice for engagement with traditional customs and leaders for the benefit of women. For example, UN Women engages with traditional

⁷ It is difficult to make generalisations. For example, Rwanda is increasingly tending towards more autocratic governance, with Parliament recently supporting the extension of the President's mandate and acquiescing to a range of reforms that have weakened political opposition.

leaders in support of alternative dispute resolution efforts aimed at addressing violence against women (UN Women website).

3 Pacific Issues and Barriers

Promoting women in leadership, both in formal and informal spaces and across the public, private and community sectors, has been a longstanding challenge in the Pacific. Considerable academic attention has been given to analysing the various barriers impacting on Pacific women's inclusion in leadership.⁸ This section relies heavily on this existing literature and provides supplemental analysis where there are gaps. This literature has predominantly focused on *why* women have struggled to break through as leaders or effective decision-makers, rather than *how* to improve their situation. Feedback from the limited research or project evaluations on successful approaches has largely been anecdotal.⁹ In recent years however, there has been an increase in efforts to focus on action-oriented research and/or workshops to bring together practitioners with experience to collaboratively identify options for action (discussed in detail in Section 4 below).

3.1 Structural issues

Gender roles in the Pacific are influenced by communities and traditional leadership structures that impact the opportunities women have for engaging in leadership. While there has been considerable research on structural barriers (SSGM and Centre for Democratic Institutions), there has been less recognition of the importance of socialisation, early childhood experiences and parenting practices in determining attitudes to gender. This is an area that has not yet been fully explored in the Pacific, although there are global lessons in this field (Aina and Cameron, 2011). A 2007 study on broader Pacific leadership examined social, cultural and traditional issues as part of the development of DFAT's Pacific Leadership Program. Detailed analysis of different traditional leadership approaches across the region highlighted that:

Throughout the Pacific, traditional notions of leadership have limited impact upon the rights of individuals to freely associate as members of civil society, however conservative notions of gender relations may prevent women from doing so in Melanesia...In the arena of political society, however, local notions of leadership clearly impact upon the degree to which the legislature is representative of society. While only formalised in Samoa, in Tonga, Federated States of Micronesia and, to some degree, Fiji, rank is a key determinant in selection for parliament, limiting the pool of potential candidates for election and skewing representation in favour of those with rank. Similarly, the gendered nature of traditional leadership has resulted in limited formal political participation by women, most notably in Melanesia. (McLeod, 2007: 27)

The challenges faced by women when they push back against traditional leadership expectations is felt even more keenly by young women, who face the double-burden of their sex and their age – both typically under-valued in traditional spheres of influence. This is reinforced through Pacific educational systems, where curricula often tend to suggest more traditional roles for women as home-makers and/or participants in more feminised work sectors such as teaching and nursing. Limited attention is given to educating young women on their potential as leaders and on the opportunities for them to

8 A large amount of literature has already been produced in this area. For a fuller understanding of critical issues and gaps, the following publications constitute essential reading: Hayley and Zubrinich, 2016, Women's political and administrative leadership in the Pacific; McLeod, 2015, Women's Leadership in the Pacific. The 'State of the Art Paper' series: No 4. The Developmental Leadership Program; Tavola, 2014, Mapping of existing legislation, programs and other mechanisms to support Women's Leadership in the Pacific; ODE, 2014, Women's Leadership Evidence Review; Kenway, Bradley and Lokot, 2013, AusAID's Support to Women's Leadership: An Evaluability Assessment; Quay, undated, Pacific Women's Leadership Scoping Study.

9 The analysis in this section should be read together with the following key regional overview documents: ODE, 2014 Women's Leadership Evidence Review; Tavola, 2014, Mapping of existing legislation, programs and other mechanisms to support Women's Leadership in the Pacific; Clark, 2014, Options for promoting the participation of women in Parliaments and in elected bodies at sub-national level in the Pacific Region 2014-2017.

participate in decision-making that affects their lives. This is often reinforced by women's relatively early reproductive roles in the Pacific. Teen pregnancy rates continue to be high across the region (Begum, 2013), and early motherhood has impacts on women's ability to engage in the public sphere as decision-makers and/or leaders over the course of their lives.

Although not impacting on all women equally across the region, the potential for both political conflict in the public sphere and physical violence in the personal sphere is an issue that affects women's potential to engage in decision-making and leadership. Fiji, PNG and Solomon Islands are all emerging from conflict where the ongoing threat of violence has a strong negative effect on women's activism and leadership. In Fiji, for example, anecdotal feedback indicates a genuine fear amongst some women leaders and ordinary people to speak out on issues of democracy and development. Evidence from multiple Family Health and Safety Studies across the region shows that intimate partner violence and family violence is particularly high in the Pacific and women are often subjected to multiple forms of abuse exacerbated by cultural practices and social norms.¹⁰

3.2 Legal and institutional issues

A range of legal and institutional frameworks constrains gender equality and women's opportunities for leadership across the Pacific, and TSM are rarely included in electoral legislation. In fact, many electoral laws pose real barriers to women's engagement in formal politics. In Tonga, new electoral laws introduced after a major constitutional reform process require candidates to resign from their jobs if they work in the public service. This is a disincentive for senior women public servants who may not want to risk their jobs on the off-chance that they may get elected. Likewise, in the Marshall Islands, electoral regulations requiring public servants to take leave without pay have dissuaded some women from running for office if they could not afford to be off work for long campaigning periods and also take care of their families. In Fiji, new electoral laws passed before the 2014 elections specifically forbid candidates from receiving campaign donations from overseas donors or NGOs. More generally, legal frameworks that do not ensure equal-pay-for-equal-work, protect women from discrimination in the workplace, or provide for parental leave or child care entitlements also undermine women's economic security and individual agency. These have flow-on effects on women's ability and confidence to engage in the public sphere.

In addition to legal frameworks that do not serve to promote gender equality or women's leadership, weak governance institutions also constrain women's opportunities. Pacific parliaments, overall, lack organisational and institutional capacities that makes it difficult for MPs to do their jobs effectively. MPs have variable skills and there have been only limited attempts to tap into the expertise of current and former women MPs to mentor others. Limited respect for the rule of law and poor parliamentary procedures can also undermine women as leaders. Additionally, parliaments often have only minimal consultation and outreach mechanisms that can make it difficult for women and men to exercise their civic rights. Political parties and electoral management bodies are also under-developed and/or non-existent across the region. In those countries where political parties do exist, their internal structures are usually weak. This makes it difficult to develop women's wings as support networks for aspiring female politicians or to get women involved in political party executive bodies. Weak electoral management bodies also make it difficult to undertake effective voter education, police political corruption that can disproportionately affect women candidates, and be accessible to women who might want to learn about electoral processes.

Despite the fact that the majority of people across the Pacific live outside capital cities, local-level governance across the region is extremely variable and under-resourced. Many local councils are mandated to hold participatory consultations and proactively involve women in their decision-making, but they often lack commitment, funds and/or skills to get this done. This can be even more

¹⁰ These studies are available on the Pacific Women website. http://pacificwomen.org/achieve-search/?topics=Ending+Violence+against+Women&countries=&string=family+health+and+safety&post_type=resource&term=search&btn-submit=VIEW+RESOURCES

challenging in countries where traditional leadership dominates local level governance, and can result in the exclusion or diminution of women's voices and engagement in decision-making. For example, in Tuvalu, even where women are elected into their *kaupules* (traditional local councils), traditional gendered roles make it difficult for them to actively engage in decision-making (Roadmap Report consultations). In the north Pacific, apart from the single island state of Palau, scattered islands can make it challenging for governments and CSOs to actively engage women. In the Federated States of Micronesia, for example, despite strong state government powers, state departments are often weak and lack funding or capacities to undertake effective gender equality work.

National women's departments are commonly marginalised within Pacific bureaucracies, siloed from coordinated government mechanisms, under-funded and under-staffed, and have little influence on government policy-making processes. Likewise, National Councils of Women – whether part of the government structure or operating as NGOs – also face a lack of funding, variable technical expertise and, often, internal division.

CSOs working on women's issues and/or gender equality also have variable coverage and capacity. PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji have a core group of women's organisations that have been active for many years. Similarly, in Samoa and Tonga, a group of CSOs provide a mix of services. In the north Pacific, Women's United Together for Marshall Islands and the Centre for Women Empowerment Belau in Palau are recognised as active women's organisations. In the smaller countries of Kiribati, Cook Islands, Tuvalu, Cook Islands, Niue and Nauru, civil society gender activities are mainly undertaken through less professionalised and/or community-based groups.

3.3 Political and electoral issues

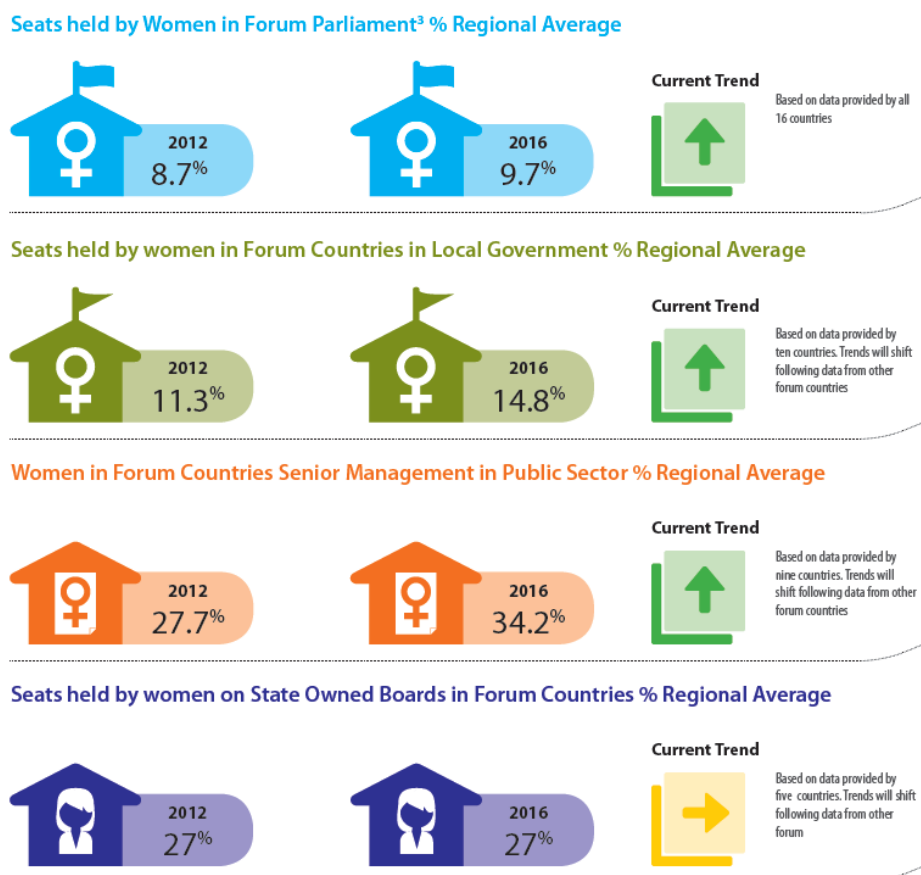
While the latest statistics from the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat show an encouraging rise in the numbers of women in formal leadership positions (Figure 3) – in absolute numbers, only small numbers of women have been elected to national parliamentary and local assemblies. Women's formal engagement in political parties is also relatively limited and candidate selection processes tend not to favour women. Conversely, the public sector is the largest single employer of women across the region and, without exception, women are well-represented overall. However, women are under-represented at senior management levels and tend to be concentrated in service professions (although anecdotal evidence suggests that this is changing) (McLeod, 2015: 4).

Analyses of the constraints on women's political participation often focus on institutional or structural barriers to participation. In fact, political and social constraints arguably have more of an impact. For example, a review of women's leadership in PNG shows that there is a clear public perception that politics is a man's job. It also shows that changing voter perceptions about women's leadership will require much more targeted national and sub-national campaigns that include dialogue with male voters and working with male champions. (Pam Bourke Consulting, 2016: 8-9). Research also suggests that women who have the support of male leaders, including family members, are usually more competitive in elections (Haley and Zubrinich, 2016a: 17). Importantly, the intersection between politics, money and violence also has a serious effect on the ability and desire of women to participate in political life, as candidates, voters or otherwise. Haley and Zubrinich cautioned that women's leadership support must 'give due regard to the gendered nature of political gifting and money politics, and to the intimidation women voters report experiencing on polling day, otherwise they are unlikely to be effective' (Ibid: 3).

This is substantiated by ODI global research that found that: 'formal authority or positions of power do not always give women substantive influence over private and public decisions that affect their lives...[typically] women are unable to exercise power on the same terms as men even after reforms to discriminatory laws. For example, women activists may be unable to attend political meetings in the evening because of domestic responsibilities or male MPs may use sexual harassment to dominate female MPs' (O'Neil, 2015: 4). That said, increased numbers of women MPs provide role models for

young women contemplating their own leadership potential. Even a handful of effective female MPs promoting gender equality can have a positive impact on law-making and political engagement (Pereira, 2012).

Figure 3 Regional trends on women in decision-making



Source: Pacific Leaders Gender Equality Declaration Trend Assessment Report 2012–2016

3.4 Social, cultural and economic issues

Across the structural and institutional issues constraining women's ability to engage in leadership and decision-making is an intersecting set of social/cultural and economic issues that are relatively common across the region (while also recognising the diversity between countries). Considerable research undertaken in this area was brought together in a seminal 2016 report by Hayley and Zubrinich on women's political and administrative leadership in the Pacific.¹¹ In summary, they found that:

Pacific scholars have attributed the enduring under-representation of women in politics in the region to a multitude of factors, most notably: culture or *kastom* (Kofe and Taomia, 2006:211; Huffer, 2006; Whittington, Ospina and Pollard, 2006; Whittington, 2008; Korare, 2002); the pervasiveness of masculine political cultures (McLeod, 2002); male prejudice (Douglas, 2002); the perceived incompatibility between traditional societal values and modern state structures (Whittington, 2008); the view that politics is men's work (Pollard, 2003); the view that electoral systems are not gender neutral (Whittington, 2008; AusAID, 2012); the lack of a level playing field in relation to campaign financing (McLeod, 2002; Whittington, Ospina and Pollard, 2006); women's limited involvement in local or village governance (Meleisea, et.al. 2015:15-16).

¹¹ This paper was updated in August 2016 to focus on Solomon Islands: Hayley and Zubrinich, 2016b.

Factionalism and divisiveness within women's organisations have also been identified as contributing to women's ongoing under-representation (Brouwer, Harris and Tanaka, 1998; Whittington 2008). (2016a: 6)

Women's control over, and access to, financial and other resources impacts their ability to engage in leadership in the Pacific (Women's Economic Empowerment, Synthesis Roadmap Report, *Pacific Women*, 2017). It can also impact their ability to engage in decision-making at a number of levels from the household to politics. In the formal political sphere, Haley and Zubrinich found that 'material resources are also key to enabling women's political voice..., particularly given the centrality of political gifting and money politics to formal politics in the Pacific.' (2016a: 3). ODI specifically looked at the connection between women's economic empowerment and women's leadership outcomes (2014: 23-6). It found that: 'As well as access to political networks, money is a critical factor for women wanting to enter politics...personal skills and capacity are not the only factors, but clan-based exchange and material accumulation are critical for anyone entering politics in Melanesia. In this way, economic status and access to wealth can be seen as preconditions for involvement in politics in some contexts' (p.23).

In the informal and personal sphere, the data around women's economic empowerment and leadership is less clear. ODI found that the evidence was less persuasive in linking women's economic empowerment and women's leadership outcomes (ibid). It demonstrated that access to microfinance could result in participation in new economic activities, as well as a relationship between women's engagement in paid work and household decision-making. However, unless a woman could control the income she earned, her economic empowerment would be limited. ODI drew on the World Bank's analysis that found that: 'Economic growth can improve the material conditions for exercising agency...[but] what matters are a woman's own income and assets as well as her ability to leave the household; all of which increase her bargaining power and ability to influence household choices' (p.25).

4 Pacific Initiatives and Evidence of Change

4.1 Regional policy frameworks

The issue of women's participation in politics and decision-making has been on the Pacific regional agenda for more than 20 years, although early efforts tended to be siloed within Departments of Women and civil society rather than being mainstreamed through regional and national policies. The foundation for work in this area by Pacific Island Forum members and partners includes:

- Pacific Platform for Action for Women 1995–2005, endorsed by regional leaders in 1994, that included a clear target of 30 per cent of women in decision making levels of government.
- Revised Pacific Platform for Action for Women 2005–2015 that recommended that governments 'take affirmative action in policies and practices that enhance gender parity in political representation'.
- Commonwealth Platform of Action (2005–2015) that endorsed action in support of women's leadership.¹²
- Pacific Plan, a regional framework agreed by Pacific Leaders in 2005, that prioritised the need to improve gender equality, through strategies to support participative democracy and consultative decision-making and electoral processes, and support for the implementation of human rights treaties, such as CEDAW.
- SIS Action Plan Advancing Women's Participation in Decision Making Processes 2010–2015.

¹² Thirteen of the 16 Pacific Islands Forum countries are also members of the Commonwealth.

These regional policy efforts culminated in the 2012 Pacific Leaders Gender Equality Declaration that commits governments to support women's political representation by: strengthening consultative mechanisms with civil society groups on key budget and policy issues; advocating for increased representation of women in the private sector and on local level governance boards and committees; and considering specific legislative changes to allow TSM such as reserved seats. The Declaration continues to guide work in this area and is supported by a more specific agenda and action plan endorsed by women policy-makers in 2014 at a Pacific Regional Dialogue on Women's Participation and Decision-Making.

4.2 Regional networks and platforms

Unlike the EAW sector with established networks amongst service providers and practitioners, there has been less systematic regional information-sharing amongst women leaders or groups supporting women's leadership. There is no regional organisation or non-government organisation recognised as a leader in providing advocacy or support in this area. Nonetheless, the following platforms have filled this space to some extent:

- **Pacific Women's Information listserve (PacWIN):** A regional gender equality information service that is managed by the Pacific Community (SPC). PacWIN has been used to share information on developments in women's leadership across the region and collect information through surveys or discussions. PacWIN's content is member-driven – unlike other listserves (e.g. within UNDP) that are designed to be active communities of practice with a dedicated moderator who manages e-discussions and queries.
- **Pacific Women in Politics (PacWIP) website:** A platform for sharing information on women in politics that is the only website that collects profiles and data on all women elected to Pacific national legislatures, as well as women candidates and former women MPs. It has pages dedicated to collecting publications/research and other resources on Pacific women in politics. Established by UNDP in 2012, it was envisaged that the website would be developed into an EMILY's List-style women's candidates donation platform.¹³ Campaign financing restrictions as well as lack of funding more generally has limited the use the website as a place for women candidates to promote their manifestoes and share information with voters.

4.3 Advocacy and agenda setting

Over the last two decades, advocacy has been undertaken with and by the two major Pacific regional inter-governmental organisations, the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) and SPC, in partnership with NGOs and other organisations working on gender equality to advance the agenda with Pacific leaders and government officials. The Pacific Islands Forum has a mandate to lead on regional policy efforts to support gender equality and women's leadership. Its Secretariat and partners have developed: advocacy and programming in support of women's leadership; publications on women's political participation; the 2011 Small Island States (SIS) Action Plan on Women's Leadership as a blueprint for work with SIS; Mock Parliaments for Women; and the Forum Leaders' Gender Equality Declaration in 2012. These initiatives have demonstrated the impact of consistent campaigning and how it can bring attention to a complex issue through multiple engagements to build commitment for change amongst a wider constituency.

Complementary to PIFS policy work, SPC has provided technical support, primarily through the Regional Rights and Resources Team (RRRT). RRRT delivers a range of advocacy and training activities on gender and legal literacy, legislative lobbying and technical advice on gender-related legislation (mostly related to EAW). RRRT worked with the Fiji Women's Rights Movement to develop and provide associated training for the 2011 Changing Laws: A Legislative Lobbying Toolkit. Consultations for this report indicate that considerably more resources are required, along with

¹³ See EMILY's List USA: <https://www.emilyslist.org/>; and EMILY's List Australia: <https://www.emilyslist.org.au/>

improved engagement by other organisations working on law-reform and CSO development, to build skills for strategic advocacy with governments and other critical stakeholders.

4.4 Women and leadership research

Organisations that have undertaken research on women's leadership in the Pacific include, inter alia: CDI at the Australian National University (ANU)¹⁴; State Society and Government in Melanesia (SSGM) Project, also based at the ANU¹⁵; University of the South Pacific Gender Studies Department; DLP, a consortium of the University of Birmingham (UK), University College of London and Latrobe University¹⁶; Pacific Institute of Public Policy, a think-tank based in Port Vila¹⁷; and Commonwealth Secretariat, with upcoming publication of a study on women's leadership within the Pacific public service.¹⁸

Consultations for this report acknowledged that, despite this volume of research being undertaken, it was not widely disseminated or used and, therefore, has had limited impact on policies or actions to improve women's leadership and decision-making roles. Many Pacific stakeholders felt over-consulted and were sceptical of the use of much of the research in terms of improving outcomes for women in the Pacific. To examine how to improve the application and impact of research, *Pacific Women* commissioned a study on a decade of gender research in the Pacific (1994–2014) that recommended to: synergise technical and gender subject expertise in the design of a dynamic research portal or platform or clearinghouse; and undertake a feasibility study into the establishment of a Pacific Gender Research Institute (Underhill-Sem, 2016).

4.5 Leadership development programs

As discussed above, the regional Pacific Leadership Program (PLP) in Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Tonga, Samoa and PNG has evolved to include a focus on women's leadership. Efforts are made to align PLP and *Pacific Women* support to women's coalition building, adaptive leadership training, and leadership dialogues, including the Emerging Pacific Leadership Dialogue that has been held every four years since 2006.¹⁹ It is not clear what impact these interventions have had.

At the national level, two countries have small NGOs dedicated to leadership development, namely Leadership Fiji and Leadership PNG. Established in 2002, Leadership Fiji is modelled on Leadership Victoria and aims to equip emerging leaders with the skills to better engage as leaders in their professional and public lives (Tavola, 2010: 11). Leadership PNG was established in 2007 and offers a 'community leadership program which aspires to strengthen the leadership capacity of individuals in their communities and organisations, with learning models intended to immerse the country's most promising managers and leaders in a transformational experience that will foster professional, intellectual and personal development' (Tavola, 2010: 13). Although neither program has been evaluated, they could provide opportunities for engaging with alternate cadres of potential leaders to those commonly engaged in politically-focused leadership activities.

14 CDI was established by DFAT to engage in democratic development in Fiji, PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Indonesia. CDI has supported parliamentary and political party strengthening, electoral processes and increased women's political representation, including through women candidates' training. CDI has scaled down in recent years, but continues to produce research and undertake training activities.

15 SSGM was established in 1996 and funded in partnership by DFAT and ANU. SSGM undertakes multi-disciplinary research concerning contemporary state, society and governance issues in Melanesia and the broader Pacific. SSGM has produced the vast bulk of academic research on women's leadership in the Pacific, including current 'state of play' papers published in 2016.

16 DLP was founded in 2006 to produce research to address the knowledge gap on the role of leaders and coalitions in the politics of development. DLP has gathered significant evidence on the role and importance of leadership and coalitions in development in sectors ranging from education to climate change. In 2013, DLP received a three-year research grant from DFAT.

17 Pacific Institute of Public Policy is a Pacific-owned and operated think tank based in Vanuatu. It is primarily a research organisation and has done some work around political parties in the context of Vanuatu elections, including documenting their manifestoes.

18 <http://thecommonwealth.org/sites/default/files/documents/vacancies/terms-of-service/ToRs%20Status%20Women's%20Leadership%20in%20Pacific%20Island%20States%2010Mar2016.pdf>

19 <http://www.csgaustralia.com/ep14/index.html>

4.6 Coalition-building, networks and dialogues

The ODE report on women's leadership found that a critical element in facilitating women's leadership is providing support for coalition-building and networking (AusAID, 2014). In this way, women can be supported to exchange ideas and information, learn lessons from each other and aggregate their individual and organisational efforts to create synergies. There has been some work in support of coalition building at the national level, but there has not been as much regional collaboration as in the area of EVAW.

PLP has made support for coalitions a critical element of its women's leadership support, though it is not yet clear whether these coalitions will be sustainable and what the lessons are for coalition-building in the Pacific more broadly. To date, PLP has supported forums in four countries, namely:

- Samoa National Development Forum, that in 2016 brought together the 46 women candidates who contested the last three elections to reflect on challenges facing women candidates.
- Solomon Islands Women's Rights Action Movement that has worked to develop the capacity of women's stakeholders to progress reforms through an ongoing partnership with RRRT. Work has included lobbying the Ministry of Women to develop a CEDAW implementation plan, working with CSOs on a joint submission on the draft Solomon Islands Federal Constitution and undertaking advocacy in support of implementation of the new Family Protection Act.
- Tonga Civil Society Forum that supports the Tonga Women and Leadership Coalition to build the public's knowledge of CEDAW and supports women candidates in local government elections.
- Vanuatu Women in Shared Decision Making coalition that successfully lobbied for amendments to the Decentralisation and Municipalities Act (2013) and worked with the Department of Women to facilitate a learning exchange program between Port Vila and Luganville women councillors. The exchange provides a 'safe space' to share ideas and help build women's networks and skills for effective leadership (PLP 2016: 1-2).

Separately, the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA), through the Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women (FLOW) Program, has supported coalition building in support of women's leadership in Fiji and Cook Islands. The approach is to support existing NGOs as convenors of coalitions, thereby grounding them in locally-owned, pre-existing institutions. The Cook Islands Women in Local Government (WiLG) Network brings together local government employees, councillors and other women and men to: raise awareness of the contributions and achievements of women in local government; promote strategies to accelerate the advancement of women in decision making positions; provide professional development opportunities for women in local government; and promote good practices in engendering workplace policies within local councils (WiLG, 2012). Again, it is not clear whether and how these coalitions will be sustainable without external funding.

The Fiji Women's Forum operates as a coalition of key women's groups including the Fiji Women's Rights Movement, femLINKpacific, the National Council of Women and the Soqosoqo Vakamarama iTaukei. The Fiji Women's Forum aims to give women's organisations a space to collectively develop strategies to increase the number of women elected to Parliament, including developing a number of publications, supporting candidate capacity-building (including de-briefing for candidates post-elections), civic education, and lobbying.²⁰ The Forum is a good practice model of cooperation that includes a Code of Conduct to guide working relationships and a full-time paid coordinator.

4.7 Supporting women's political participation

Support for developing women's leadership within formal political institutions has received the most visible proportion of women's leadership funding from development partners over recent years. This

²⁰ For example: Balancing the Power: Promoting Women's Political Participation in Fiji through TSM, 2012; Public Perceptions of Women's Leadership in Fiji, 2013; and a Women in Politics Handbook, 2014.

support, however, has often been uncoordinated and delivered outside an overarching framework for supporting women's political participation and leadership, as recommended by UN Women (Annex 4). Nonetheless, there has been some progress including in:

4.7.1 Direct capacity development

One of the most common activities undertaken to support women's leadership has been capacity development for potential women candidates and, to a lesser extent, women MPs and local councillors, notably through:

- CDI, UNDP and UN Women²¹ and Australian Labour International (ALI) in PNG.²² Training is usually provided in collaboration with national stakeholders such as Departments of Women or parliaments. The duration, content and participants involved in training has differed, though in most cases it has been rolled out only a few months in advance of elections. Several critiques of this work highlighted problems with design and delivery of training, including that unreliable donor funding has made it difficult to use an electoral cycle approach to women candidate's capacity development.²³ CDI is trialling new approaches focused on supporting candidates with a political economy analysis of their electorates and taking a more context-specific, less normative approach to skills development.
- The Pacific Women's Parliamentary Partnerships Program (PWPPP), funded by *Pacific Women* since 2013 to undertake direct person-to-person mentoring as a form of capacity development between women MPs from the Pacific and Australia. PWPPP also aims to build gender analysis capacities within parliaments. An in-depth evaluation of PWPPP is currently being undertaken and will provide useful reflections on how effectively it has supported both coalition-building/networking of women MPs across the region and mentoring as a means of capacity development.
- The Pacific Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians Mentoring Program, supported by the New Zealand Parliament, that brings together women members of parliament from Fiji, Niue, Samoa, Tuvalu and an unelected candidate from the 2014 Tongan election with an experienced New Zealand member of parliament for a long-term mentoring relationship.²⁴
- Mock Parliaments for Women, initiated by PIFS and UNDP, that provide training on policy issues as well as how to operate in parliament prior to participation in a mock parliament as 'MPs'. Although there has been no formal evaluation, anecdotal feedback from participants has been positive, with many reporting an increase in confidence about their capacity to engage in politics. UNDP intends to publish a handbook on undertaking a mock parliament for women.

4.7.2 Promoting temporary special measures

A dedicated campaign to advocate for specific TSM options commenced around a decade ago by PIFS, UNDP, UN Women and national partners. A handbook produced by PIFS and UNDP – *Promoting Gender Balance in Pacific Legislatures: A Guide to Temporary Special Measures* – provided specific options for each country, recognising the diversity of political contexts across the region. Commitment amongst national stakeholders was developed through regional workshops on

21 For example: The Strongim Mere Transformational Leadership Manual, 2014, UN Women, is intended to serve women elected representatives at various levels, with 'transformative leadership' a central component.

22 ALI is the international arm of the Australian Labor Party. It contributed to CDI election campaign training workshops prior to the PNG 2012 national election. ALI has recently partnered with the Integrity for Political Parties and Candidates Commission in PNG to produce a Guide to Political Parties in the PNG Parliament, that includes information on the role of women in each of the 22 political parties represented in the Parliament after the 2012 election.

23 Haley and Zubronovic found that: 'Much of what is taught in these [candidate training] courses is not directly relevant to the Pacific context, and much of what is relevant is not substantively addressed – for example these courses would do well to consider how to campaign in highly charged and increasingly volatile contexts where money politics prevails.' (2016: 20-21) Likewise, Clark found that: 'the outcomes of [women's candidate] training to date are not clear. For example, the rigorous evaluation of the UN Women Gender Equality in Political Governance program, which used electoral BRIDGE training, indicated limited/variable skills development and success.'

24 See: <http://www.pacwip.org/resources/news/2016/pacific-women-mps-come-together-to-create-long-term-support-networks.html>

TSM (including the 2010 workshop for Melanesia and 2011 meeting for SIS), and awareness raising activities directly with national MPs. National stakeholders took the lead in campaigning in their own countries to influence change, with Departments of Women, in collaboration with local CSOs and newly developing coalitions, often supporting these campaigns.

The success of the TSM campaigns in many countries was that the strength of local NGOs and coalitions was strategically coupled with technical advisory inputs and funding from external partners. However, legislative lobbying was variable. Solomon Islands and PNG campaigns broke down during lobbying for legislation with Cabinet and the National Parliament respectively. Further, there has been considerably less focus on lobbying for TSM within the public service, with the focus mainly on political representation. Consideration could be given to introducing TSM within national public services, particularly in relation to senior management positions that are currently dominated by men. Lessons could also be learned from other sectors, for example, education and training/vocational education programs by development partners who sometimes use affirmative action in their selection of program participants.

4.7.3 Promoting women's leadership through parliaments

Complementary to advocacy for TSM, efforts have been made to engage existing parliamentarians to support women's leadership and gender equality. However, as mentioned above, work with Pacific parliaments has been characterised by a range of partners who have not engaged consistently and systematically. The PWPPP program, for example, was resourced to work with female Pacific MPs, but less attention has been paid to engaging the remaining 95 per cent of male MPs whose support is needed to progress the gender equality agenda generally and women's leadership reforms specifically. PWPPP has also suffered from DFAT funding cuts for twinned parliamentary programming. UNDP has engaged consistently with Pacific parliaments, implementing parliamentary development projects in most Pacific island Parliaments over the last ten years, that have included regular training for MPs on CEDAW, gender equality and TSM.

More intermittently, CDI has delivered parliamentary training but it has not typically been tied to its separate candidate training for women. A range of other ad-hoc training has been provided by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the National Democratic Institute, and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA). CPA Australia developed an Australia-Pacific Twinned Parliament Program that preceded and supported the PWPPP. It involved each Australian State Parliament twinning with a Pacific parliament with a small allocation of funds to support parliamentary development, including on gender equality issues.²⁵ CPA Australia also includes a Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians Australian Region Committee that supported young women's forums in 2011 and 2013. The CPA Pacific Branch, whose secretariat is in the New Zealand Parliament, offers opportunities for more systematic engagement with Pacific MPs in support of women's leadership. It has regular meetings bringing together all the Pacific CPA chapters of Pacific Island Forum countries (except from the north Pacific).

4.7.4 Electoral and civic education programs

Complementary but uncoordinated efforts to support women candidates are electoral support projects and voter and civic education programs. DFAT is one of the main supporters of electoral assistance projects in the region, in some cases through funding to UNDP and UN Women. Such programs provide an excellent entry-point for mainstreaming women's leadership into political parties and electoral management bodies, as well as identifying opportunities for engaging with women candidates and with voters. A handbook on Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties: Guidebook to Promote Women's Political Participation (UNDP and DPI), uses an electoral cycle approach for integrating women into electoral processes as candidates, voters and MPs.

²⁵ Funding was originally from the AusAID Public Sector Linkages Program.

Work on civic education could also be an entry point to promote women's leadership through discussions on good leadership more generally. There is, however, only intermittent support for voter and civic education activities. On a small scale, some NGOs undertake their own awareness raising in advance of elections, but this is often ad hoc and geographically limited, resulting in limited outreach to voters. Likewise, there is often only limited civic education undertaken with the public. Work has included, for example:

- The Fiji National Council of Women's civic education and empowerment for more women in leadership project between September 2013 to February 2016. The project aimed to increase: knowledge of civic education among potential women leaders in Fiji; capacity of potential women leaders for active participation in civil leadership within parliament, administrative boards and councils; and awareness within the community of the importance of women in political processes and civic leadership (Transtec, 2016: 1). The project had variable success due to the political climate, impacts of a natural disaster and project management challenges. An evaluation found that 'women in politics training contributed to reinforce leaders' skills and self-confidence of women leaders' (Transtec, 2016: 2).
- The Women United Together Marshall Islands Gender Equality in Leadership project that addressed the gap in civic education leading up to Marshall Islands' November 2007 elections (Tavola, 2014: 10). Sponsored by USAID, the project undertook research on voter knowledge and behaviour, held a national conference to sensitise voters to women leaders and discuss the civic education needs, and developed a media campaign and gender-sensitive school curriculum. A complimentary UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women) project supported mentors conducting civic education workshops on women in leadership in the outer islands.

4.8 Women's leadership in the public service

Research into women's leadership in the public sector across the region includes: Haley and Zubrinich's 2009 multi-country study of women's experiences; further work on national public service experiences in Samoa, Solomon Islands and PNG (Haley and Zubrinich, 2016a: 10); and forthcoming research by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Despite the public service constituting a disproportionate part of the formal employment sector across the Pacific, it is notable that work in support of women's leadership within the public service has attracted only variable attention from development partners. The Asian Development Bank and World Bank have provided support in financial management systems and processes. The Australian Government's long-term engagement in public sector reform across the region has often included gender equality objectives. McLeod found that: 'virtually all institutional strengthening exercises (such as capacity development programs) undertaken by Australia within the region involve specific efforts to promote the role of women in Pacific Island government agencies. Often with the support of dedicated gender advisers, such programs typically seek to promote the role of women through a combination of activities including policy reform to create enabling institutional environments (such as family friendly HR policies, merit based recruitment and promotion policies), training to upskill and empower women and networking programs aimed at facilitating information exchange and the creation of critical mass.' (2015: 15)

Comprehensive multi-country approaches to support systematic women's leadership development in the public service do not exist in the Pacific but there are some good national practice examples, including:

- The PNG Public Sector Senior Women in Leadership Research Group that brought together women holding senior positions within the public sector, and involved women from provinces and mentoring and coaching programs for upcoming leaders (Tavola, 2014: 12).
- The Samoan Women in Leadership Advocacy Group established as a high-level network of women parliamentarians, chief executive officers and public service commissioners committed to

support and improve gender equality in Samoa (ibid: 8). With the mission of the Women in Leadership Advocacy continuing to expand to include women as informed future leaders across the public and private sectors, it provides a strong example of a nationally developed approach to women's leadership.

- Investment under the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands over the course of more than a decade and the inclusion of (IWDA, 2016: 20):
 - a dedicated gender Adviser with a mandate to promote mainstreaming within programming;
 - a Women's Leadership Mentoring program, *Spes fo Umi Gro Lo Lidasip*, that involved over 100 women from government, community, church and business sectors developing skills and confidence to take on leadership roles;
 - Government-wide gender training for all permanent secretaries in the Government, with their annual performance appraisal ties to specific gender mainstreaming indicators;
 - development of a database of qualified women for boards and conferences to progress the appointment of a number of women to board positions, and training to more than 50 women as existing or potential members of boards and commissions; and
 - the publication, *Being the First*, documenting the experiences of 14 senior Solomon Islands female public servants, providing strong examples for young women.

Australian and other government and development partner scholarships have also indirectly been effective in developing women leaders' skills within Pacific public services. For example, a 2015 ODE evaluation found that: 'AusAID Awards have increased women's agency, in some cases built stronger and more equitable gender relations, and increased women's access to decision-making positions within work places (possibly supporting some changes in structural conditions). However, generally, there appears to be limited data available on changes resulting from women's leadership' (2015: p.iv). The evaluation also identified that many alumnae felt their associations could be supported by DFAT to more effectively support women's leadership (ibid: 4-5).

4.9 Women's leadership at local and community levels

There are few development programs focused solely on supporting women's leadership at local levels. Nonetheless, there are potential entry-points for engagement through sectoral programming.

4.9.1 Local government activities

Local government is one of the most active sites of government decision-making throughout the Pacific, with every country having at least one level of local governance, if not more. Yet there are few dedicated organisations working at this level. Within the non-government sector, the Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF) works across ten Pacific island countries and implements a specific Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment program. Unlike many other programs, CLGF does not focus on getting women into positions of leadership but provides support for improving the enabling environment and developing leadership skills of women already involved in local-level decision-making (Tavola, 2014: 7). Relevant CLGF activities include: development of women in local government networks; voter education; mentoring of women local councillors, though the number of mentors outstrips the demand (Tavola, 2014: 8); compilation of baseline data of women in local government; research on use of TSM at local levels; and *Space on the Ma'*, a networking site for Pacific women in local government (Haley & Zubrinich, 2016a: 28). CLGF has also established twinning opportunities between six PNG and Australian local authorities. Tavola found that a previous CLGF women's leadership program, *Strengthening Women's Participation in Municipal Governance*, shifted its focus from elected representatives at the municipal level to women working at management and service delivery levels in local government (2014: 8).

DFAT, the World Bank and UNDP have also funded government-focused institutional strengthening projects aimed at developing the capacity of local and provincial governments. For example, although no longer being implemented, IWDA found that the Isabel Provincial Development Project focused on capacity building of provincial and traditional leadership institutions, with positive results for women's inclusion (IWDA, 2016: 22). This included women reporting that they were better able to express themselves during meetings and, in one district, the chiefs and other community members supported a female candidate in her national election campaign (ibid).

In the law and justice sector in PNG, the Brukim Bush project worked to increase women's voice in community decision-making through an initiative of the Village Courts Secretariat assisted by the Manus Island Provincial Government (Tavola, 2014: 9).²⁶ The project enabled communities to use customary methods of decision-making together with local laws to change customs that were not working well for men and women in their communities. After a second phase, Tavola reported that: 'the consultations on declaration of custom enabled women's voices to be heard and women's issues to be raised' (ibid).²⁷

4.9.2 Community development activities

Complementary to work with local governments are other community-centred interventions, community development activities are usually concerned with promoting inclusion of diverse voices into community planning and decision-making processes. Accordingly, community development provides fertile ground for efforts to support women's leadership and inclusion in decision-making. There has been some engagement by development partners in this area, although much of the research and evaluation to date has focused on women in formal local government, rather than in more informal, community-based decision-making processes. Some community development work that engages women in leadership and decision-making has taken place through natural resource management programs.²⁸ However, monitoring processes do not necessarily track leadership as an indicator of success. Examples of interventions with specific leadership components include:

- DFAT's Fiji Community Development Program (FCDP) that works with local CSOs to engage poor, vulnerable and excluded communities – including women and young people – in development processes through a participatory, community-centred approach. Grant funds are awarded to CSOs, including those with specific capacities to engage with women and youth. FCDP's capacity-building initiatives first worked on strengthening CSO partners' abilities to address gender equality and social inclusion in organisational development, project planning and implementation, monitoring and reporting.²⁹ These CSOs then led participatory community processes focused on developing community profiles and community development plans that communities use to guide their implementation and advocacy. Considerable focus is placed on building the capacities of CSOs to work with communities in ways that ensure that all voices in communities are heard when creating a community development plan (i.e. men, women, youth, elderly, widows, LGBTIQI, people living with disability, etc.). There is less focus on women's leadership but a heavy emphasis on improving equitable participation in local level/community decision-making.
- The World Bank's Inclusive Development in Post-Conflict Bougainville project that provided funds and training to women's groups to help them develop their own community-based projects. The project was initiated by the Division of Community Development in Bougainville and aimed to invest in community infrastructure and livelihood opportunities, as well as to promote women's rights and leadership within their communities. The project has worked with over 40 women's

²⁶ This was supported by the PNG-Australia Law and Justice Partnership.

²⁷ A third phase was planned but stalled due to lack of commitment and resources in the village courts.

²⁸ <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Toolkit%20booklet%20pages.pdf>;

<https://www.adb.org/documents/solomon-islands-country-gender-assessment>

²⁹ FCDP has conducted GESI Introductory and TOT workshops that have equipped CSO partners (both Executive Directors and field staff) with a better understanding of the impacts of gender inequality on work and daily life, as well as with skills to facilitate learning and discussions on GESI within their organisations and in the communities within which they work.

groups who: identified needs together with the community; developed proposals for activities; oversaw project management; and received training in leadership and finances. *Pacific Women* is now funding a second project phase.

- The Samoa Women Shaping Development Project (2015–2020) that is working at community levels to implement Samoa's gender objectives under the national Community Development Sector Plan. The project aims to implement a UNDP community conversations approach to leadership development (UNDP, 2004). The process involves training local facilitators to help communities generate insights into issues using a range of participatory methodologies such as story-telling, active listening and strategic questioning. A cross section of people from the community are invited to participate (e.g. men and women, old and young, religious and traditional leaders, representatives from women's associations, youth groups), with ideas validated, built upon and strengthened through community meetings.
- The World Bank's Solomon Islands Rural Development Program, based on the Bank's community driven development model that operates on the principles of transparency, participation, local empowerment, demand-responsiveness, greater downward accountability, and enhanced local capacity.³⁰ A specific results indicator aims to increase the percentage of female representatives in Ward Development Committees.³¹ To this end, the program works with both men and women to encourage changes in attitudes towards the inclusion of women in community decision-making processes.

4.9.3 Women's leadership within churches and faith-based organisations

Roadmap Report consultations and much of the literature (e.g. McLeod, 2015: 7) confirm that one of the most active sites for women's leadership at community level is within churches.³² In some cases, women are already being actively engaged as leaders of church groups, as pastors and within executive bodies. Even where women are not in formal leadership positions, it is understood that many play active roles in leading the organisation of key church functions and ceremonial events. Research indicates that: 'throughout the Pacific, women's church groups provided women with new opportunities for social cooperation, status advancement and the exercise of influence, as well with transferable skills such as budgeting, agenda-setting, minute-taking and constituent engagement. Put simply, women's church groups have provided a safe 'leadership training ground' for women throughout the region' (ibid p. 17).

There has not been substantial investment in work with Pacific FBOs by development partners to date. Such work requires a sensitive balance of human rights promotion combined with respect for principles of faith. *Pacific Women* is funding Uniting World's Pacific-wide Partnering Women for Change Program to: 'find pathways for secular and faith-based agencies and churches to collaborate for gender equality and reducing violence against women in the Pacific'.³³ Under the program, a 2016 Bridging the Gap forum was held in Suva bringing together Pacific FBOs with secular human rights agencies, such as the FWCC and FemLINKpacific, to discuss ways to collaborate on gender equality issues (*Pacific Women* website). Tavola also reported that the Pacific Council of Churches has made an increased effort in recent years to address gender inequality and violence against women in faith-based platforms (2014: 19). It has conducted a region-wide survey of women's position in church leadership, with a cross-cutting investigation of violence against women in all locations, and has also convened a training workshop to advance attitude change among clergy from across the region (ibid).

30 <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/communitydrivendevelopment/overview>

31 <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P149282/?lang=en&tab=results>

32 The reference to 'churches', rather than FBOs, is deliberate here, with the regional literature focusing on the Christian FBOs that almost completely dominate this sector in all countries other than Fiji.

33 <http://www.unitingworld.org.au/get-involved/partner-with-us/becoming-an-australian-church-partner/what-are-the-projects/transforming-lives-through-leadership-a-project-with-pacific-women/>

4.10 Young women's leadership development

Support for women's leadership in the Pacific has often overlooked young women as potential leaders. According to Spark and Corbett (2016), young women have become disillusioned with formal politics and are engaging as change-makers and thought-leaders through other channels. Capacity development has tended to focus on adult women with some experience in government and/or development. Feedback during Roadmap Report consultations indicates that young women often view older women as gatekeepers. In this context, there has been an increase in recent years in work on young women's leadership. The Pacific Young Women's Leadership Alliance (PYWLA) is a group of NGOs, UN agencies and regional bodies working together towards a common goal of developing young women's leadership in the Pacific region.³⁴ To date, PYWLA has developed the Young Women's Leadership Strategy and engaged in the 12th Pacific Women's Ministers Triennial meeting.

In terms of programming, YWCA has supported young women leaders in Solomon Islands and Samoa through its Rise Up Young Women in Leadership Program that delivers skills development to young women in areas such as women's rights, leadership, public speaking, human rights and gender.³⁵ The program's peer-educator approach involves training-of-trainers for young women to conduct further training in their communities. An evaluation found that 47 per cent of participants reported increasing their leadership skills or becoming leaders in their communities. Leadership roles included formal positions in church and schools, such as women/youth leaders, Sunday school teacher or class captain (Lomasia, 2013). The evaluation also found that the program's peer-educator model, was effective. Recommendations for strengthening the program include: the need to include husbands, partners and community leaders in the training; further resourcing of the program for staffing and program needs; and adding a sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) component to the training.³⁶ YWCA Asia-Pacific also has a project dedicated to Mobilising Young Women's Leadership and Advocacy in Asia and the Pacific, that operates in Fiji, Solomon Islands, Samoa and PNG. The project provides small grants to projects focused on the post-2015 development agenda and human rights, focusing on building models of leadership around the thematic issues of SRHR and ERAW.

Programs supporting young women's leadership have often been undermined by a failure to recognise the specific needs of young women, viewing the youth population as a homogenous group and/or because of an inadvertent focus on reinforcing gendered roles (Vakotia, 2011). The few interventions that focus specifically on young women's leadership are found mostly in Fiji, Solomon Islands and PNG, although there is also anecdotal evidence of ad-hoc workshops in other countries. These small programs have been relatively effective in building individual leadership capacities of young women and creating a space where young women can connect to each other around issues that impact their lives. Resourcing remains a challenge and inhibits scale-up and adaptation of good practice models across countries. Some examples include:

- **Bougainville Young Women's Leadership Project:** Run by young women for young women, the project is funded by *Pacific Women* and IWDA, building on a 2014 study on issues and needs impacting young women's leadership in Bougainville. The project is designed to identify, train and mentor young women leaders from different districts. Newly-developed public speaking, budgeting and networking skills are put into practice through organising and participating in a Young Women Leaders Forum. The project also works with men and the broader community through awareness raising to support the enabling environment for women to take on leadership roles. Ongoing organisational support is also provided to the Bougainville Women's Federation that supports the project (*Pacific Women*, 2016: 13).

34 PYWLA's current members are UNFPA, UN Women, SPC, World YWCA, Pacific Youth Council, IWDA, International Planned Parenthood Federation, Commonwealth Youth Program, Femlink Pacific and FWRM (Secretariat).

35 The objectives of Rise Up are: young women are leading positive change in their communities; young women are more confident and identify as leaders in their own communities; community members recognise the leadership potential of young women; and young women are knowledgeable and skilled and are sharing information with their peers in the areas of human rights, women's rights, gender, public speaking and leadership.

36 See: <http://www.pacificwomen.org/projects/mobilising-young-womens-leadership-and-advocacy-in-asia-and-the-pacific/>

- **Fiji Emerging Leaders Forum:** A one-year leadership training program implemented by FWRM for young women aged 18–25 years. Through a series of day-long workshops and weekend retreats, participants learn about leadership, gender, human rights, rule of law, democracy, the environment, globalisation, trade justice, SRHR and public speaking. Graduates join the Emerging Leaders Forum alumni network and continue advocacy work. The Forum works from the premise of empowering young women with information, creating a safe space for them, assisting them with ongoing support and connecting them to a network of likeminded young women. A 2011 evaluation found that one of the strengths of the Emerging Leaders Forum was the strong human and gender rights focus, and that graduates were reported to find employment in CSOs or the private sector, with the ability to apply a gender lens to their work (Tilbury, 2011). Participants were also reported to be able to negotiate healthier relationships in their personal lives.
- **Fiji Grow Inspire Lead and Succeed (GIRLS) Theatre Program:** A three-year leadership training for girls aged 10–12 years, implemented by FWRM in partnership with the Informal Education and Theatre Consultants. Participants are introduced to topics such as gender, human rights, women rights and child rights through regular meetings to articulate issues that are important to them. Their stories are then developed into a script for a theatre production, that the GIRLS participants then perform in communities and schools around Suva, Fiji. Parallel sessions are also offered for parents and carers of participants who attend workshops on topics such as positive parenting, gender, SRHR and the law. A 2015 evaluation found that participants were reported to be more confident and taking up leadership roles in their schools (Bernklau, 2015). The success of the program was linked to the interactive methods of theatre and games, the inclusion of the parent's sessions and long duration of the program.
- **Solomon Islands Young Women's Parliamentary Group:** Established by the Speaker of the National Parliament and supported by UNDP to promote young women's leadership. The Group's aim is to identify and develop emerging young women leaders and link them to national leaders and forums. Data from 2011 indicates that the Group grew from 20 to 40 members since inception and has the public support, as patrons of the Group, of the Prime Minister, National Parliament of Solomon Islands' Parliamentary House Committee, the Speaker, and the Chairman of the National Council of Women (IWDA, 2016: 20). The Group has been instrumental in tracking and adding to the TSM debate in Parliament (Quay, 2012).

4.11 Supporting women's leadership indirectly

Much of the work on developing women's leadership has been undertaken through gender-specific programming. There have also been successes in building women's leadership through sector-specific programs with a gender component. For example, micro-finance and other forms of financial inclusion projects take a cross-cutting approach to building women's economic, political and social capacities concurrently. These approaches appear to have been successful because of their learning-by-doing approach, that develops leadership through skills training that women can immediately apply to their own financial management or entrepreneurship activities.

Similarly, a cadre of female climate change negotiators has emerged in the Pacific to address issues around women and climate change. Annual climate change negotiation training for approximately 20 Pacific island women, including government officials and non-government organisations representatives, has developed their negotiation, diplomacy and leadership skills, through activities such as mock negotiations where participants role-play as delegates. Training is delivered in partnership with PIFS, the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program and DFAT and aims to increase the likelihood that participants will be included in their national climate change delegations.

4.12 Promoting women's leadership through the media

There has been some effort to use media to give more visibility to women who are developing as leaders in their communities or their countries. For example, the Mock Parliaments for women were publicised through the media and anecdotal feedback indicated that many voters were impressed with the views of the women who played the role of MPs. Although there is only limited programming in this area, using the media to undertake advocacy and build community commitment and recognition of women as leaders could be scaled up. Other examples of prompting women's leadership through the media include:

- **FemLINKpacific's** approach to develop communication materials on critical gender issues, advocate for policy changes and enhance a community of practice and networks of women media practitioners. FemLINKpacific has enabled a cadre of women and young women across the region to use information and communication links to reach rural and urban women, their communities and decision making bodies. Information gathered from consultations and network meetings are crafted into stories that are published through various radio programs, television and online media platforms. FemLINKpacific has demonstrated how to support both a rural and regional network of convenors and correspondents. It has also increased the visibility of women's leadership at sub-national, national and regional levels, while demonstrating leadership through communications on a range of issues.
- **Vois Blong Meri**, a women's media organisation in Solomon Islands dedicated to facilitating the engagement of rural women in the mainstream media. It produces weekly 15-minute radio programs that draw attention to women's issues as well as actively demonstrate to communities the capacity for women to engage with policy issues. Vois Blong Meri developed and works with the Rural Women's Media Network through provincial media training activities to build women's capacity to engage in public political and policy discourses.
- **Pawa Meri** in PNG that aims to portray positive female role models, challenge stereotypes and inspire young women to become leaders. Part of the Centre for Social and Creative Media at the University of Goroka, in collaboration with Victoria University, Pawa Meri has produced a documentary series of six thirty-minute films about women leaders, as well as research publications about gender and leadership in PNG. It also aims to strengthen the PNG film making industry by providing the opportunity for six PNG women to direct each documentary with professional support (*Pacific Women*: website).
- **Won Smol Bag theatre group**, while not technically a media organisation, is recognised as having effectively used theatre and creative arts to engage with sensitive community issues, such as gender equality, HIV and sex work, in a number of Pacific countries. The theatre is recognised as having an impact in non-literate communities such as those found throughout the region. The Won Smol Bag Youth Centre in Vanuatu supports children and young people with equal opportunities for personal development through a lens of gender equality. This type of early engagement with young men and women, including via indirect engagement through arts and theatre programs, appears to have been relatively successful.

5 Gaps and Lessons Learned

5.1 Limited geographic coverage

One of the most critical gaps in programming to support women's leadership is the lack of focus on small islands states, apart from some support from the UN and PIFS – in particular, Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Tuvalu, and Cook Islands. In terms of activities, larger Pacific island countries have dominated, largely due to the more-developed capacities of their CSOs, many of which have been at the forefront of women's leadership development efforts, regionally, nationally and at the community level; and higher levels of research and consistent funding from development partners.

Consideration could be given to exploring options for sub-regional approaches that have been trialled in SIS with more limited human and financial resources in an attempt to develop economies of scale. For example: a sub-regional audit team was trialled to support the audit functions of Nauru, Tuvalu and Kiribati; Kiribati and Nauru share a Chief Justice; and the Micronesia Leaders Forum pursues issues of common interest. Sub-regional approaches could be useful in supporting women's leadership by enabling technical expertise to be deployed to SIS more economically (e.g. by engaging one consultant to service three countries), as well as facilitating sharing of good practice across countries with similar populations, government staff sizes, and rural/island outreach challenges.

5.2 Entry-points and issues

Despite the range of interventions that have been attempted across the region, they have tended to be scattered, small and/or niche. Key issues to improve programming and results include:

- **Identifying, understanding and engaging with social norms:** It is well-accepted that changing social norms is critical to the long-term, sustainable achievement of gender equality and the engagement of more women in leadership and decision-making. However, in the Pacific there has been little direct programming on this important issue. Roadmap Report consultations confirmed that this is a critical gap with stakeholders reinforcing the importance of undertaking perceptions surveys and studies of the views of men and women to understand and track the power dynamics and belief systems underpinning current gender roles. The Tonga Women's Crisis Centre recently undertook an innovative, highly contextualised perceptions study (2016: unpublished) that could be used as a model for other organisations to adapt for their own uses.
- **Young women's leadership and inclusion in decision-making:** In recent years, the establishment of the PYWLA has drawn attention to this gap. There have been some small positive interventions in Fiji, Solomon Islands and Bougainville but, to date, there has been limited systematic support for young women to engage in regional leadership efforts. This is an important potential entry point, particularly because of the demographic youth bulge that exists across the region.
- **Women's multiple and intersecting identities:** Work in support of women's leadership could more actively recognise the different roles that women play in their daily lives and the challenges of intersecting forms of discrimination or exclusion. For example, women living with disabilities, LGBTQI women and widows all face additional challenges in exercising their own agency.
- **Women's leadership roles within the Pacific public service:** In light of anecdotal evidence that an increasing number of women are now occupying senior positions within the national and regional Pacific public services, this is an area where more support could be provided.
- **Women's inclusion in local government and through inclusive community level decision-making:** There has been heavy emphasis on national level leadership but less policy and funding attention on sub-national levels of governance and community engagement. Institutionally, only CLGF has engaged consistently with women working in local government, and some donor-funded provincial government projects have, at times, included activities in support of women's leadership.
- **Engaging with men and boys:** The ODE report on women's leadership found that: 'The benefits of engaging with men and boys to promote gender equality are becoming increasingly evident in the literature... Within women's leadership programs, however, few have an explicit emphasis on working with men. But when men are involved, the results can be significant...' (2014: 15). More effort needs to be made to engage with male MPs and male political leaders at local levels to encourage them to act as champions for change and advocate for women's political leadership.
- **Engaging with faith-based organisations:** FBOs and churches have, in some cases, blocked work on gender equality. However, they are a crucial part of Pacific society and need to be engaged in development efforts to change behavioural and social norms. In the leadership area, it

can be politically sensitive to work with FBOs directly, so initial efforts could work through FBO peak bodies as an entry point for starting conversations more broadly.

- **Engaging with traditional leadership:** Some effort has been made through provincial government or community-development programs to work with traditional leaders but the gender component of such engagement has been variable. Engaging with traditional governance systems is an often-overlooked entry-point for promoting women's leadership. Although traditional leadership positions tend to be dominated by men, there are various contexts where women occupy key traditional leadership roles (Steege, 2008). There are also traditional female leaders in more patrilineal societies who exercise some degree of influence in their communities, for example in Samoa and Fiji. There has been limited research on how women in traditional leadership roles can be supported to build their leadership skills to promote gender equality. Similarly, there is a gap in work to engage the younger generations of ruling/chiefly families.
- **Working with parliaments and traditional leadership councils:** National governance is often located in parliaments and traditional leadership councils, yet women's leadership and gender equality efforts often bypass them by working primarily with Departments and/or Councils of Women. Parliaments, in particular, have been under-supported by development partners. Traditional leadership councils, both nationally and at the village levels, have rarely been engaged as partners and targets for advocacy. More effort needs to be made to connect women to male decision-makers and enhance their ability to have input into public policy.
- **Women as leaders in the private sector:** Women's ability to operate as leaders in the informal private sector is variable across the Pacific. In the formal sector, women are increasingly breaking through and their pathways to success could be researched to identify whether and how they might be replicated in the community or political sectors. For example, within the Pacific business community, there are a number of well-respected women entrepreneurs, and the Westpac Women's Business Awards recognise their achievements annually. The PNG Business Coalition for Women brings together male and female corporate leaders to support PNG's private sector to recruit, retain and promote women – as employees, leaders, customers and business partners.³⁷
- **Women as peacebuilders:** Although conflict is not a critical issue in all Pacific countries, it has been a challenge in recent years in Fiji, Solomon Islands, PNG and Tonga. The UNSCR 1325 agenda has been recognised by PIFS through its women, peace and security agenda, and yet development partners have provided only intermittent support. Similarly, women's leadership programs have almost completely overlooked this issue and funding has primarily come from Peace and Security programs. There is scope for *Pacific Women* to integrate the women, peace and security agenda in the context of EAW and leadership.
- **Women's leadership and inclusion in constitution-making:** In recent years, constitution-making and reform processes have been initiated in a number of countries, including Fiji, PNG, Tonga and Marshall Islands. Women's inclusion is critical but little direct attention has been given to this issue. That said, FWRM and the Fiji Women's Forum were active in engaging in the Fiji constitution-making process and accessed international technical expertise.
- **Women's leadership in relation to land ownership:** IWDA's report on women's leadership in Solomon Islands identified land ownership as a potential entry-point that could provide considerable benefits. Although the report only focused on Solomon Islands, its analysis is generally applicable across the region. The report found that: 'Men supportive of women's right to participate in land based-decision making and leadership roles need to be identified and supported to champion women's leadership and decision making roles in both matrilineal and patrilineal contexts...Women's limited representation in parliament, and the lack of legal frameworks to support women's ownership rights in matrilineal communities, serve to further marginalise women in land management processes... Opportunities exist to address the growing

³⁷ <http://bcfw.org.pg/about-us/>

marginalisation of women in land issues through reigniting mentorship within clans, and providing training for matrilineal women in land rights, legislation, advocacy, lobbying and in understanding and negotiating company agreements.... The Guadalcanal Council of Women, for example, have articulated the need to prioritise training for women leaders (particularly church women leaders and women chiefs) on traditional land knowledge and roles as landowners....Focus on young women's roles as agricultural entrepreneurs could strengthen their leadership opportunities, and their rights to engage in decision-making regarding land use more generally' (p.27).

5.3 Approaches to programming

In addition to the more complex contextual and institutional issues for women's leadership and engagement in decision-making in the Pacific, Roadmap Report consultations identified a number of issues directly related to the effectiveness of development programs.

5.3.1 Political context

As the issue of gender equality relates directly to power relations, any engagement needs to account for politics. Historically, development practitioners have tended to avoid working in the political area due to a mix of reasons including issues of national sovereignty and a lack of understanding of political economy. This reluctance is beginning to change with the focus of some development partners on inclusive political processes approaches. Recognising the impact that politics can have on programing outcomes, it would benefit women's leadership efforts to:

- Explicitly recognise political factors in programming and acknowledge that politics in the Pacific impact on the achievement of results.
- Support improved political economy analysis for each Pacific island country to ensure that interventions are appropriately tailored to national contexts and focus on power dynamics and opportunities to address social norms. There is a gap in knowledge, particularly, in relation to the north Pacific and SIS. Programming would benefit from specific political economy analysis of the jurisdiction (e.g. country or district) and/or institution (e.g. Ministry or CSO) under consideration for support.
- Recognise that politics are fluid and that engagement needs to be responsive to changes in the contextual environment. As Hayley and Zubrinich noted, there is a strong 'need to work opportunistically and to seize the political moment when it arises' (2016a: 21).
- Operating within the power dynamics of local politics is sensitive work that can result in (un)expected negative consequences. McLeod noted that: 'Activities aimed at women's empowerment in highly patriarchal societies – such as those found in Melanesia – frequently result in male backlash against women, often involving violence. All social change provokes resistance from those who benefit from maintaining the status quo. However, it is recommended that research be undertaken into: (i) the ways in which men's backlash against women involved in empowerment exercises can be minimised, and (ii) the ways in which the principle of 'do no harm' can be operationalised so as to constitute a genuine policy consideration' (2007: 34-5).

5.3.2 Importance of regional and national advocacy

Recognising that political will in support of women's leadership is variable across the region, programming could more proactively build commitment amongst political, community, faith-based and traditional leaders, as well as amongst the public. The SDGs and 2030 Agenda provide the platform for such advocacy, as do the existing regional commitments of Forum Leaders. For example, *Pacific Women* could:

- Support the Australian Government to advocate for women's leadership and women's inclusion in decision-making processes at the Pacific Islands Forum and Ministerial and other regional meetings.
- Encourage and support advocacy for women's inclusion in decision-making and leadership at the highest levels with partner governments and other influential leaders/change-makers through DFAT bilateral programming.

5.3.3 Potential for joined-up programming

Consistent feedback from Pacific partners, as well as lessons learned regarding the scope for stand-alone gender projects, suggests a need for more attention to integrating support for women's leadership into existing activities. ODE specifically recommended that: 'Addressing the barriers to women's leadership (particularly structural and relational) requires donors to ensure that women's leadership is promoted across and integrated into all sectoral programming in a coherent, explicit and visible manner (2014: 15)'. To this end, *Pacific Women* could:

- Review all programming in the Pacific to identify whether and how support for women's leadership can be integrated into existing activities. Examples of integrated programs include the Fiji Community Development Project and the PNG *Brukim Bush* Project in the law and justice sector. *Pacific Women* could support programming approaches within the DFAT Pacific Branch to enable women's leadership issues to be more systematically integrated where possible. For example:
 - Considering how to more systematically coordinate the efforts of PLP and *Pacific Women* to promote better synergies.
 - Working with DFAT bilateral programs to identify integrated opportunities, especially for community-based leadership activities for women undertaken with national partners and tailored to specific local contexts.
- Further explore the impact of delivering women's leadership development activities through DFAT's technical sectoral teams. The success of the work supporting women climate change negotiators could be examined for adaptation and replication to issues such as trade negotiations, human rights and the women's, peace and security agenda (in support of work already undertaken by PIFS and RRRT).
- Build on the recommendations in the ODE review of the Australian Government Scholarships program to implement strategies to more proactively promote women's leadership through improved award processes and tracking of scholarships.
- Consider the development of sub-regional programming to better service the needs of the SIS. The north Pacific has a sub-regional DFAT hub located in Pohnpei and strong connections across the Micronesian US Compact states. Existing sub-regional initiatives, such as regional audit and judiciary support, demonstrate the potential for joint programming in Kiribati, Tuvalu and Nauru. Such approaches can be cost-effective and help to contextualise interventions to the needs of the SIS, that are substantially different to those in larger Pacific island countries.

5.3.4 Coordination of development efforts

As the biggest funder of gender equality work across the Pacific region, *Pacific Women* is encouraged to take the lead in promoting donor coordination in this area, in accordance with the Cairns Compact and global aid effectiveness principles more generally. Duplication of activities and lack of coordination characterise much of the work in the Pacific on women's leadership efforts. In this context, *Pacific Women* could:

- Hold an annual women's leadership partners meeting to share information on their work and discuss opportunities for better collaboration and coordination.

- Proactively use *Pacific Women's* funding decisions to encourage partnerships and discourage competition for resources. Although *Pacific Women* cannot force coordination, its funding decisions can be used to facilitate it. Potential mechanisms to support this are design, M&E and reporting processes that encourage collaborate institutional partnerships.

5.3.5 Potential to leverage change through issues-focused work

Complementary to integrated programming, *Pacific Women* could identify opportunities to integrate women's leadership into issues-focused work. Haley and Zubronobvic specifically highlighted that significant reform can be achieved through an opportunistic, issues-based approach, supported by program and technical support (2016: vii). Due to the breadth of DFAT's programming, this is an area where considerable gains could be achieved. As discussed above, DFAT's engagement with women's leadership through support for women as climate change negotiators is an example of good practice. Other potential entry points for this approach include:

- DFAT's Disabilities Strategy that recognises that support for people with disabilities needs to be mainstreamed across all DFAT programming. *Pacific Women* could collaborate with the Disabilities Team to ensure that women's leadership efforts proactively support women living with disabilities as leaders and their engagement in decision-making processes. At the simplest level, *Pacific Women's* funding guidelines could require that program activities support inclusion of female participants living with a disability.
- DFAT's Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Strategy (2016) that identifies as one of its three core priorities 'enhancing women's voice in decision-making, leadership and peace-building'. While *Pacific Women* has not specifically included the peace building element of this mandate in its own work, it could proactively use its EVAW and women's leadership programming to support women's engagement in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (2011).

5.3.6 Role of technical advisory services to support national efforts

While *Pacific Women* has tended to provide funding directly to implementing partners, consideration could also be given to developing a regional technical advisory hub in the region of gender equality expertise for access by partner governments and other stakeholders. This would build on and help harmonise the work of PIFS, SPC, UN Women, UNDP and RRRT. *Pacific Women* could work with these agencies to explore options for developing a regional technical expert database as a research and technical resource for countries and development partners. This could also enhance *Pacific Women's* efforts to support the development and utilisation of Pacific gender researchers, by proactively seeking out Pacific researchers and consultants that governments, development partners (including DFAT posts) and other stakeholders could access.

5.3.7 Monitoring and evaluation

With a dedicated M&E function (staff positions and consultants), *Pacific Women* could focus development of M&E processes with implementing partners to address the specific challenges of assessing outcomes and impact. It can be difficult to assess changes in agency in terms of women's leadership and development partners' contribution to any such change. *Pacific Women* could use its M&E Adviser to undertake specific work to provide guidance to implementing partners in the area of women's leadership, building on the work undertaken in the ODE Women's Leadership Evaluability Assessment (2014) and final ODE Women's Leadership Report. This could help improve the robustness of evidence of change beyond anecdotal stories and clarify the complexities of implementing women's leadership in highly fluid environments across the Pacific.

6 Issues and Priorities in the Context of a Single Roadmap

This report provides one input into the *Pacific Women* Integrated Roadmap on Women's Leadership, Women's Economic Empowerment and Eliminating Violence against Women. It recognises the increased impact that can be gained from implementing an integrated approach to gender equality through designing interventions that recognise the intersecting needs, challenges and opportunities for women and attempt to address them holistically. This section incorporates the preceding analysis of what has been done in the region, what has worked, what has been less effective and what has been overlooked. It also builds on *Pacific Women's* current Program Design Document, Delivery Document and M&E Framework and seeks to assist *Pacific Women* to prioritise its investments and support activities, projects and programs that, together, will aggregate towards sustainable results over time.

6.1 Support for a comprehensive portfolio of women's leadership support

Drawing on the CARE International gender equality framework (Figure 1), *Pacific Women* could consider adopting a comprehensive programming framework for women's leadership. This could encompass a multi-level and integrated approach, that recognises women as individuals, acknowledges the gender relations within which they negotiate their lives, and seeks to address discriminatory structural and normative environments. Three specific women and leadership frameworks have been provided in this report that build on the agency / relations / structures model. These are the Oxfam Australia framework at Annex 2, the ODE framework at Annex 3 and the UN Women framework at Annex 4. The utility of these frameworks is that they elaborate upon the activities that could be supported by *Pacific Women* to achieve its high-level objectives. They can assist *Pacific Women* identify the balance of its portfolio of investments, identify duplication and gaps, and proactively work on areas that may have historically been overlooked. The frameworks can also help *Pacific Women* more strategically identify partners with appropriate skills sets and networks with who it can collaborate to deliver critical areas of programming.

6.1.1 Support for changing social norms and a strengthened enabling environment

There are a number of ways *Pacific Women* can support development of a more enabling environment for women's leadership and decision making:

- **Work with a wider range of institutions** in support of women's elected leadership including both national and local governments. This will increase opportunities for women to participate at different leadership levels. CLGF has undertaken work on women's leadership in local government that could be explored for adaptation and upscaling. Likewise, national parliaments and local councils could be direct partners for engagement.
- **Engage more strategically with men and boys** at multiple levels. This can include male leaders in national parliaments, local councils, political parties, traditional leadership forums, FBOs, and public service bodies. More generally, efforts can be made to explore options for working with young men and women during their formative years to build their commitment to gender equality and women's rights. Entry points could include National Youth Councils, sporting clubs and educational institutions.
- **Support to enact and implement temporary special measures** at national and sub-national levels remains a good investment. Roadmap Report consultations strongly support continuation of this work with women activists stressing their commitment to ongoing TSM advocacy, and some experts endorsing the view that increased numbers of women in leadership positions count as a visible symbol of progress. As part of this agenda, *Pacific Women* could explore options for supporting electoral and campaign finance reform, as well as reviewing electoral legislation to: identify provisions that act as barriers to women's participation (e.g. candidate nomination fees, rules requiring candidates to resign from public service jobs); and opportunities to strengthen

women's engagement in political parties (e.g. through promotion of positive messages from political party executives and support for women's wings).

- **Support civic education campaigns** and recognise the need to develop multi-faceted campaigns in support of women's leadership and gender equality norms generally. There has been no major campaign to date that has directly attempted to shift social norms. Consideration could be given to the use of media campaigns, development of visual materials, good practice schools curricula and university programs to engage young people in particular.

6.1.2 Support for better relations through coalition-building

At the level of strengthening relations in support of women's leadership, there is increasing recognition that support to women's coalitions and groups is critical.³⁸ Efforts to date have tended to focus on the individual (i.e. individual women as candidates or MPs). This has missed the importance of mobilisation as an element of reform, social activism or changing of norms. *Pacific Women* could:

- Explore whether and how to **more systematically develop the capacities of CSOs in support of gender equality**. The Indonesia MAMPU Project model discussed in Section 2 above could be considered for adapting/replicating a similar program across the Pacific. Investing in a MAMPU-style approach to CSO development for gender equality would have impacts not only for promoting women's leadership and inclusion in decision-making, but also for ERAW and women's economic empowerment efforts.
- Invest in efforts to **develop and strengthen networks of existing elected women leaders**. *Pacific Women* could build on the work of PWPPP to develop a regional women's MPs caucus. At the sub-national level, CLGF's work in support of local government networks of women could be strengthened and extended. With variable available information on women leaders in local government, systematic research to collect relevant information could help strengthen these networks of women leaders.
- Explore options for better utilising existing regional platforms, such as the *Pacific Women's* information listserve or PacWIP, to more proactively share information amongst partners and develop an **online community of practice** on this issue.
- Provide **institutional support for local organisations**. A key challenge for many NGOs in the Pacific, including women's NGOs, is that of intermittent, activities-based funding. This funding model can leave many CSOs spending as much time fundraising as in implementing activities. It also jeopardises long-term advocacy and relationship-building that is critical to a politically-sensitive area of work such as women's leadership. Outcomes cannot be achieved in two to three years and require an investment of more than a decade. Yet funding agreements are usually very short-term. As the successes of Fiji Women's Crisis Centre and RRRT show, 10-year investments can have a huge impact on the successful implementation of their mandates. *Pacific Women* could consider entering into five-year funding partnerships. These agreements could also include some element of internal institutional strengthening and capacity development, rather than a more arms-length approach that treats CSO delivery partners more as contractors.

6.1.3 Support for individual capacity development

Developing women's individual agency remains one of the most complex challenges of development programming for gender equality.³⁹ PLP's 2014 Analytical Framework to Engage with Developmental

38 ODI's research found that: 'The viability and sustainability of collective feminist voice depends on women's mobilisational capabilities and resources for strategic action and coalition building. It also depends on there being institutional structures and political opportunities, including the political space for associational life, to enable voice to become influence' (2015: 2).

39 At the level of supporting women's agency, there is less clarity on what works and what does not. The 2014 ODE report on women's leadership referenced Tadros who stated that: 'Many programs aiming to empower women politically share the same approach: the extension of short training modules to individual women on how to be effective leaders and run campaigns. This

Leadership in the Pacific specifically reflected upon agency and leadership and found that: 'Developmental leadership is concerned with the politics of development and the role of agency (individuals, groups, organisations and coalitions) in prosecuting a deliberate development change program; [and] Leaders that are developmental are those that consciously and deliberately seek to secure development change by working politically' (Barbara & Hayley, 2014: 13). The framework recognises that work to develop individual agency must recognise that effective leadership can only be understood in terms of the political context, institutions and structures that leaders need to operate within (ibid). This means that support for individual capacity development needs to be politically contextualised. In terms of taking support forward:

- **Candidate training** remains a legitimate form of individual capacity development, but as discussed in Section 4, it must be reviewed and revised with a view to making it more anchored in the local political and social context. CDI, UN Women and UNDP have expertise in this area. An electoral cycle approach is preferable, treating the post-election period as the pre-election period.
- **Leadership training with specific institutions and/or on specific topics** could also be delivered in support of women's leadership development. For example, more effort needs to be made to support women's leadership development within the public service and at local government level. Likewise, as the DFAT program to train women climate change negotiators demonstrates, skills development for emerging women leaders in specific sectors, based on learning-by-doing models, could also be more proactively identified and supported.
- Training could also be complemented by support for **longer-term mentoring efforts**, such as those trialled by the PWPPP and the twinning programs that CLGF has piloted between Pacific and Australian local councils. This may be a useful way of specifically supporting emerging young women leaders.

Capacity development support for individual women's leadership development needs to be viewed with a longer-term perspective of impact. Whether women win elections or immediately take up leadership positions need not be the sole determinant of success. Leadership capacity and a greater sense of agency may have been successfully built, even if it is deployed in different forum (Pam Bourke Consulting, 2016). Likewise, training to support community development planning, advocacy or public speaking may not immediately be utilised by women participants, but may have longer-term effects involved in terms of building women's confidence. Assessing this behavioural change is an ongoing M&E challenge.

6.2 Support for public service leadership development

More resources should be directed towards **supporting women's leadership in the public service** that is complementary to support for women in elected leadership. It is important to recognise that it is through the public service that programs that contribute to *Pacific Women's* goal are implemented. The public service is a key venue where women can leverage leadership into policy and program change. Building on forthcoming research on women in the Pacific public service that has been commissioned for the Commonwealth Secretariat, as well as experiences of DFAT working with women in the Solomon Islands and PNG public services, *Pacific Women* could work with bilateral DFAT country desks to identify opportunities for women's leadership development. This could be achieved through efforts to include women's leadership in public service training activities, scholarships and specific performance indicators. Depending on the outcomes of the Commonwealth Secretariat research, *Pacific Women* could publish a guide or handbook on good practice supporting women's leadership in the public service that could be shared with Pacific governments.

reductionist approach to capacity support demonstrates weak conceptualisations of how women engage politically and the reasons behind their inequitable participation in politics. Conceptually, it suggests that women rise to power exclusively on account of their individual capacities and practically, that it is their lack of know-how that is preventing them from engaging politically' (2014: 10).

6.3 Specific support for young women's leadership

The 2011 YWCA Pacific Young Women's Strategy and subsequent creation of the PYWLA represent advocacy by young women to have their voices heard and to develop their own networks and coalitions in support of their own agendas. *Pacific Women* could support these advancements with specific programming responses to support young women in leadership. This could include exploring options for **engaging more vigorously with PYWLA as a strategic partner** to support young women leaders within the Alliance, and also harness the network as a channel for more actively engaging young women across the region. At the same time, consideration could be given to exploring options for adapting and replicating some of the known programming successes with young women. These include the YWCA Rise Up program, FWRM's Emerging Leaders Forum and GIRLS programs, the Bougainville Young Women's Federation, and the Solomon Islands Young Women's Parliamentary Group. Rise Up has already expanded from one to three countries, and FWRM also provides some guidance to other organisations in the region on its successful programming.

More generally, as part of efforts to support more transformational work on social norms, *Pacific Women* should look at the possibilities for working with young women and young men in their formative years, both through educational institutions, as well as innovative forms of civic education and programs in support of respectful relationships. This latter approach ties in with good practice EAW approaches that encourage early conversations with young men and women about how to communicate with each other respectfully, how to claim agency over their own bodies, and how to engage with the societies around them.

6.4 Advocacy and lobbying skills development

Although arguably of secondary relevance to the primary objective of supporting women's leadership and inclusion in decision-making, *Pacific Women* could consider programming to support the specific niche skill of undertaking advocacy and engaging in lobbying. Most obviously, a large component of gender equality work, including in support of women's leadership, has focused on legislative reform, but women's groups have exhibited variable capacities to engage in legislative lobbying. The FWRM/RRRT Legislative Lobbying Toolkit is a useful resource in this regard. *Pacific Women* could work with a broader network of institutional partners and stakeholders to develop an ongoing program of legislative lobbying training for women's groups, NGOs and women's leaders. More broadly, this could be part of a program to support advocacy skills development, recognising that if women are to be included in decision-making, they could usefully be supported to better understand policy processes and develop their skills to engage effectively.

7 Conclusion

This report provides a summary of global evidence and good practice for promoting women's leadership and effective engagement in decision-making processes. It also seeks to examine and reflect upon good practice and lessons learned from Pacific programming to date as well as to identify remaining critical gaps and possible entry points for support by *Pacific Women* and other interested stakeholders. This analysis does not seek to be comprehensive as many programs in the Pacific are insufficiently documented and/or have not been systematically evaluated. The analysis is based on the literature available, stakeholder consultations and the authors' own experiences in the Pacific. Overall, the findings show that, while some good practice has been evidenced through individual activities in certain countries, support has tended to be ad hoc, inconsistent and unable to aggregate into meaningful, sustainable changes. To address this, global good practice suggests a more comprehensive framework of assistance to be systematically supported over the long-term. Complementing such efforts, individual successful interventions need to be reviewed, analysed and examined for adaptation and scaling up. Impact will depend on a sustained engagement that harnesses the capacities and commitment of Pacific women, men and institutions over the long-term.

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Annex 1 Consultation Reports

(Confidential – not to be published)

A. UN Women consultation on women's political empowerment (September 2016)

Summary information

- New UN Women comprehensive programming approach is cutting edge and will now be promoted globally as good practice for implementation – in the Pacific could be particularly useful in identifying what has been missing re programming to date and avoid competition for resources within the UN if supported by DFAT as One UN regional program.
- Work being done by UN Women on collecting information about women in local government in support of the Sustainable Development Goals could be good jumping off point for work at this level in the Pacific.
- Despite interrogation by UN Women and UNDP, there was strong support from participants of a focus on TSM and working on women's political participation.
- PIFS/UNDP partnership on Mock Parliaments appears quite effective – lots of requests to do more – but trying to institutionalise through new Mock Parliaments Handbook
- Women's political empowerment campaigns often spring up just before elections and die down right after elections, they need to be continuous.
- Support for women candidates needs to be ongoing, even if they lose elections and after they win.
- Need to work with communities to change social norms so that they can recognise the value of women – but working at the community base is expensive – needs major investment of resources.
- In the Pacific, it's becoming clear that norms are learned very early, many school curriculums even reinforce unbalanced gender norms, there is a need to start addressing the root cause and addressing them early (i.e. In schools, with young children).
- Most social norm campaigns are coming in way too late – e.g. *He for She* makes little difference because people's ideas of leadership / culture / norms are already set.
- Need to build capacity of institutions to do M&E in this highly political, fluid, individualised area of work – currently don't have capacity to identify impact of efforts in this area – challenges of attribution/contribution are particularly difficult.
- Need to consider doing perceptions surveys at the outset of any work around social norms – and then enough money to keep doing them.

Detailed information

Current and past initiatives/approaches to respond to issues

- Tailor made TSM are more likely to be agreed on and implemented e.g. Samoa context specific measure, keeps cultural importance of matai chiefs as those being elected, encourages women to still run but there's plan B in case that doesn't happen, in Bougainville – ensuring representation from each region using electoral system that was already in place.
 - Country with TSM, New Caledonia (French parity law applies, in France in 2000, requires pol parties to nominate a required percentage of women, 44.4 per cent of women), Samoa (2016 there were five reserved seats, four women elected and additional woman put in as a result of quota), Bougainville (10 per cent).
- Partnerships and coalitions building is important.

- Electoral management bodies in PNG and Solomon Islands are currently working on toolkits that relate to women's political leadership – EMBs have a key role and are often overlooked, they can ensure ways to make elections safe and more accessible for women as candidates and as voters.
 - WRAM – trying to work with electoral management bodies office in Solomon Islands, to collect manifestos for all parties, link possible women candidates to parties that best suit them.
- UNDP/PIFS Mock Parliaments for Women were a novel and effective approach – would like to see them run more regularly and systematically – need better M&E.
 - Media broadcasting of practice parliaments – helps community understand the value of women in politics.
 - Women United Together Marshall Islands ran mock local government councils based on the same idea – very impactful – helped women understand realities of being a local government leader.
- Young Women's Parliamentary Group in the Solomon Islands – brought together young women under patronage of actual national parliament – have been active in lobbying on some issues already – not clear about sustainable funding.
 - Could consider mentoring by existing MPs for younger candidates?
- Fiji Women's Forum and Fiji Young Women's Forum – two very good examples of bringing together women for coalition building and agreeing a joint platform of action.
 - Emerging Leaders Forum and GIRLS theatre program (FWRM).
 - YWCA Rise Up programs in Solomon Islands.
- Model UN simulations for youth (in the Republic of the Marshall Islands) and send young people with MPs to international meetings.
- PWPPP – very useful scholarship program for women staff (example provided by Sulia, Clerk from Tonga – very impactful).
- CLGF women in local government program – range of gender awareness and skills building work done with women and men at local level – collected and published case studies of women at local government – also developed facilitators handbook for women in local government.

Observations on gaps

- There is a need for sex disaggregated data collection globally – e.g. women standing, people registering, people voting.
- Training for women candidates needs to be about how to help them with how to win – often these campaigns train them on how to be after they are successful at elections, but need more politically sensitive analysis on how to win elections – requires political economy analysis.
- Need to look at diagnostic studies post-election – FWRM debriefing with women candidates after 2014 elections was very useful (including for the women themselves who needed to vent their emotions and stress from the campaign).
- Campaign financing remains a critical issue – EMILY's list in Australia can be used as an example – www.PacWIP.org also a potential platform.
- Social norm programming still a critical challenge – how to change behaviours of ordinary people and of male leaders?
- Media need to be educated – mostly male – don't know the issues – need to be gender sensitised – demonstrate that their ideas about leadership are currently rooted in patriarchy – show them that

women are already leaders (whether in church or community) – show them that leadership is diverse and women are already involved.

- Need more dedicated programming for young women – still have challenges of intergenerational feminism – men and older women still act as gatekeepers – young women are active in their communities but hard for them to be taken seriously in politics.
 - An emerging issue for women, particularly young women candidates is the cyber violence that they receive on social media. Conversations need to be had regarding how to deal with this new issue for Pacific women.
- There are way too many one-off trainings – Existing trainings come too late in elections cycle – Training programs are not always relevant – do not always develop required skill for campaigning, raise funds, interact with the media.
 - Issues with whom is selected for the trainings (elitist approach V grassroots? National level only? Who do we select for trainings? We select women who are connected who are already there, we fail to create a grassroots movement, who are not part of political dynasties.
- No follow up in practice for women elected (become responsibility for some other program) and no follow up plan for women not elected not exactly transformational).

Recommendations coming from stakeholders

- Take up new comprehensive programming approach developed by UN Women globally – would address many of the problems of Gender Equality and Political Governance Program and the lack of coordinated delivery by One UN now.
- Need to engage power brokers, church, traditional leaders.
- Need to working across a range of key institutions rather than just depts. of women (e.g. EMBs, National Statistics Offices, CSOs, Attorney Generals, Parliaments).
- Awareness raising campaigns are an effective way of engaging the public – need to do more.
- Need to tap better into male power – can be critical at times – need to use them as allies and partners, especially in terms of legislative reform.
- Need to work more effectively with EMBs – some are now collaborating with gender expertise in ministries and CSOs – EMBs being consulted and making recommendations to electoral regulation/law amendments that are pro-gender.
- Political parties can be a critical entry-point for getting more women involved in politics – can promote women to leadership positions within political party executives + review political party constitutions and manifestos to ensure gender equality.
 - Institutional reforms – e.g. parties to endorse a second candidate if they have a woman candidate; giving political parties financial incentives to select women candidates.
 - Need to appeal to the 'self-interest' of political parties – having more successful women in parliament can be sold as 'added value' for parties – TSMs push political parties to look for women candidates.
- Need to better support individual women to be more effective in accessing decision-making and leadership forums – bring training into coherent, comprehensive programs.
- Teach women how to 'do politics' not just how to get elected – Teach women to make linkages – how does this policy connect with my constituency? Being analytical; understanding community protocols (addressing chief) – support women candidates to do their own research – 'the numbers', understanding their constituencies, analysis of vote preferences in the area.

- Include women elected at local government level in mentoring and support programs.
- Pay more attention to 'self-care' in candidate training (double burden, etc.).
- Debrief sessions after the election for women candidates not elected.
- Broker cross regional ties amongst women MPs and women leaders (including young women).
- Let young women drive the agenda and involve them from start of any programming that they are involved in – Create space for dialogue between young women and sitting politicians – Creating a safe space for young women to discuss relevant issues.
- Working with male leaders within parliaments/communities to encourage broad-based support for women to be elected from amongst their communities into DM positions – partnerships with chiefs.
- Changing social norms requires direct programming – long-term view of changing attitudes.
 - Radio talk back programs that articulate locally contextualised key messages (and emotions) on WinP – working with regional networks (Global Media Monitoring strategy, UN Women's media network) – media outlets registering, and working with EMBs – sharing data and information – Getting women to produce and broadcast women's stories.
 - In SI, face-to-face contact is the best way of 'sending messages' (expensive).
 - Mobile radio stations (Suitcase Radio) – partnerships with TV stations, or preparing 'videos' for YouTube channels.

B. Non-government organisations (include CSO / FBO / INGOs / think-tanks / academics)

Summary information

- Consultation and planning must go beyond the larger projects funded by INGOs/donors and include smaller organisations who sustain their initiatives locally – too few large projects establish lasting and mutually beneficial links with the grassroots organisations, actions, aspirations, knowledge and experience.
 - Large projects tend to take on a life of their own, and be overly bureaucratic, technocratic, more focussed on form than content.
- Too many projects still start and end with the myth that the best strategies, tools and solutions come from outside and are to be delivered top down, rather than acknowledging and facilitating knowledge building and expertise available in the community and embedded in successful long term activists, educators and their organisations.
- Finding issues/themes that members of the community are struggling with, such as livelihoods and economic empowerment. Work on these issues with the community as an entry point into expanding women's leadership opportunities and changing social norms.
- Strong support from NGOs for continued support for TSM advocacy and implementation support (also supported by SPC and PIFS) – most NGOs were very keen on support for women's political participation within national parliaments and local governments.
- Strong support from many researchers and NGOs for candidates training.
 - NGOs very keen for ongoing support for candidate training – including through Mock Parliaments – though needs to happen more regularly.
 - Researchers advise that it has been poorly implemented to date because funding has been ad hoc, lack of coordination, lack of grounding in political context, overly focused on international normative frameworks, poorly designed and delivered by externals – that said, strong caution 'not to throw out the baby with the bathwater'.

- A few researchers and academics were less supportive of focus on women's leadership at national level – too technical, too focused on elites – argued for more engagement at community and local levels and much more locally contextualised work – argue that women's political participation agenda looks imposed from outside – need to focus more on asking local women what they want [CR: arguably a general critique of gender DFAT development failings].
- Some NGOs highlighted impact of violence on women's ability to be leaders and advocate – highlighted especially for women in Fiji who face direct threat from their government.

Detailed information

Current and past initiatives/approaches to respond to issues

- Need long-term support for locally designed and led initiatives that have also been tried and tested over time.
 - Fiji Women's Crisis Centre an example of the success of long term support to initiatives with a bottom up approach to bringing about change.
 - Another example is the success of the provision of long term support for local government councils by CLGF to incorporate gender into their policies, programs and service delivery.
- Long term support for focused and dedicated home grown work with men and boys, that work from a feminist and women's rights framework, for example, Fiji Women's Crisis Centre male advocacy program.
- Anecdotal evidence shows that the 'Centres of Excellence for Gender in Local Government' approach used by CLGF Pacific has been successful in the councils in which it was implemented in Solomon Islands and Bougainville. The Centres of Excellence process allows for the provision of sustained support to a Council to incorporate gender into its policies, programs and service delivery. It involves interventions that bring together policy, capacity building through on-the-job training and council-to-council twinning, monitoring and evaluation, and the sharing of good practices. It has arisen from the realisation that the only way to make a difference at the local level is to start council by council.
- Evidence also highlights the success and cost effective nature of the CLGF Pacific's Good Practice Scheme in the area of women's leadership in the local government level, that was an opportunity for council members to experience on the job learning while being paired up (twinning) with a different council considered to be doing well in terms of gender equality.
- Working with traditional leaders in any area is difficult work as it requires a lot of sensitivity to the context, it is even more challenging when working towards trying to get the buy in of traditional leaders to support women's leadership. Building a relationship of trust is vital to this area of work and this has been proven to be made possible through establishing and maintaining a working relationship with traditional leaders over a number of years. Some organisations like PLP have made some headway in doing this in countries like Tonga and Samoa.
- Getting the buy in of traditional leaders is also possible when an advocate or champion is identified from within the circle of traditional leaders e.g. PLP works closely with the Princess of Tonga who has championed some of their work.
- Working with the younger generations of traditional leaders e.g. PLP's work with Tonga's young nobles. The approach has been to work with the group of young people through an issue that they have identified as important to them such as public speaking skills and economic empowerment, before delving into other areas such as human rights, inclusive leadership etc.

Observations on gaps

- Current projects need to strengthen the political organising/ leadership/ lobbying and advocacy aspect – focus on legislative reform but need to support CSOs with advocacy skills development.
- Must have a quality parallel popular education program on human rights, women's rights and appropriate sections on constitutions/ national laws / policies – means of empowering with information and expanding the potential of a critical mass of women leaders.
- Not enough linkages being explored between local beliefs/conditions and international norms, this would be helpful in implementing agendas such as human rights, women's rights and women's leadership.
- Recognise that a lot of work has been done with national institutions rather than local governments or communities, but this partly reflects the institutional bias of these support agencies which are all inter-governmental bodies that take their mandates from Pacific executive branches.
- Not enough support for Pacific parliaments generally – they have a big role re law reform, as well as being the place to work with women MPs – but not a lot of specific programming or funding for their capacity development.
- Considering the positive impacts that have been made by the CLGF Women in Local Government program in the Solomon Islands and Bougainville, it is suggest that a similar program is replicated at a regional level for countries that are ready to implement it. A new regional local government program must be established to support local government to actively support women's leadership and demonstrate gender responsive policies, programs and service delivery.
 - To allow for the difference in traditions and cultures among the Melanesian, Polynesian and Micronesian, the program can be implemented through a multi-country program using the three different regions.
 - The Pacific Gender in Local Government Facilitators Guide and Participant Workbook can then can be used as a learning manual for all to share ideas which can be adapted to suit the different countries.
- The recognition of the potential that the market place and informal sector has as an entry point to boost women's leadership. However, a different way of approaching work with the market place is needed. The current gap is an approach that garners local ownership, where a critical mass of women who already contribute significantly to household incomes and community welfare, are able to organise, share learning and working together as a political movement for structural change.

Recommendations coming from stakeholders

- Move beyond the bigger, top-down projects only. Contribute to movement building, knowledge sharing, and give voice to a broader base and diverse movement and change.
- Using local government processes at the provincial level as an entry point to work with traditional leaders and men to promote women's leadership. There is a widely-held misconception that local government only applies to the urban areas municipalities, in its work in the Pacific, CLGF's defines local government as inclusive of provincial governance systems and institutions as well, which are present in most Pacific countries. Most of the formal positions at provincial level are often filled by people who hold traditional leadership roles or those who are influential in their communities. For example, the Fiji provincial administration, the Samoa and Tonga village assemblies and the Tuvalu Kaupule (Island assemblies). Using the provincial government system might be an entry point in working with traditional leaders to promote women's leadership.

- Strong support from NGOs for continued support for TSM advocacy and implementation support (also supported by SPC and PIFS) – most NGOs were very keen on support for women's political participation within national parliaments and local governments.

C. Pacific governments

Summary information

- TSM is currently being discussed in a few countries in the Pacific and could be a first step towards a process of legislative reform – need to provide technical support in this area and others.
- There is a lot of work being done in main islands or capital cities in Pacific countries. People who live on outer and more remote islands and rural areas often have no access to interventions and opportunities for learning and capacity building.
- Mock parliaments by UNDP has been helpful for women to be more confident in parliamentary setting (responses from Tuvalu, Palau, Tonga and Kiribati).
- Need to invest in national surveys, which are often costly, but provide important evidence and data that can be used for advocacy as well as M&E.
- More success stories of women leaders need to be documented and circulated to encourage other women.
- Gap in terms of opportunities for women leaders to mentor upcoming women leaders.
- Need better coordination of efforts to assist women in leadership positions.

Detailed information

Current and past initiatives/approaches to respond to issues

- Working with male advocates to talk about gender issues has been successful when dealing with church leaders and politicians.
- Mock parliaments by UNDP has been helpful for women to be more confident in parliamentary setting (responses from Tuvalu, Palau, Tonga and Kiribati).
 - The Mock Congress which was held in Palau was reported to be successful, where members of the public were able to visualise women as leaders.
- The use of the media, particularly radio, where women can share their stories to members of the public. This form of media is most accessible in places like Palau, and other hard to reach outer islands.
- Gender mainstreaming done by the Tuvalu Human resources management unit with the support of a technical adviser. There is statistical evidence to show that this may have contributed to more gender balance in the public service workforce from 2015–2016.
- Women's participation in activities to take care of themselves, such as physical recreation is still viewed negatively in some Pacific communities, and this negative perception which needs to be addressed is often overlooked.

Observations on gaps

- Some male advocates training done but too ad hoc – current gap is that there needs to be consistent refresher trainings for the male advocates and that the selection of male advocates is done with care.

- There is a need to work with church leaders like pastors, who hold a lot of power and influence in the community. If they can make those links with the bible and gender equality, the masses who follow them will readily take the message due to the office of the person communicating it.
- There is a need for continued support for women who succeed in elections while they are in parliament – Mostly need support with information and technical skills.

Recommendations coming from stakeholders

- Need 'a safe place, a haven, a sanctuary' within which women leaders can share their stories of challenges and successes – not looking for solutions but looking for solidarity.
- Need to invest in national surveys, which are often costly, but provide important evidence and data that can be used for advocacy as well as M&E.
- More success stories of women leaders need to be documented and circulated to encourage other women.
- Gap in terms of opportunities for women leaders to mentor upcoming women leaders.
- Need better coordination of efforts to assist women in leadership positions.
 - Need to have better linking and inclusion of the different Gender Affairs Departments in the Pacific, in terms of project planning and aid coordination.
 - E.g. in Palau, the Center for Women Empowerment Belau can act as an umbrella organisation for all women organisations in Palau – need to coordinate efforts that help women in Palau succeed financially, politically, socially and emotionally.
- Recognise need to strengthen women's institutions, whether government or NGOs – a fully functional office with adequate staffing is necessary to ensure that women, children and families are supported in our community – information is key to empowering women.

List of people consulted / submitted questionnaires

- Senator Jerrlyn Uduch Sengebau Senior, Palau
- MP Akosita Lavulabu + Ms Ana Tonga Minister for Internal Affairs
- Ms Tupou'ahau Fakakovi, Tonga Department of Women
- Ms Natalie Makhoul, Tuvalu Gender Adviser to Department of Women
- Ms Maere Tekanene, former Kiribati Minister and former Head of Department of Women

D. Regional agencies (includes SPC, PIFS)

Summary information

- May need to look out for the Sustainable Development Goals regional initiative – whatever shape or form it takes in the region – identify opportunities for partnership.
- Look at ensuring gender statistics/mainstreaming is core to the work of the work involved.
- Gender sensitisation through partnerships with Pacific media needs to be pursued aggressively – coverage will challenge negative stereotypes about women as political leaders, community and business leaders and decision-makers and not as objects or property or secondary citizens.
- To tackle social norms more investment is needed to address the very institutions that perpetuate these social norms that marginalise and discriminate against women – working with Pacific governments especially PSCs, ministries of education needs to be scaled up.

- Engagement with Pacific parliamentarians, magistrates and community leaders also needs to be scaled up. Really need to stop with the endless 'trainings' for these stakeholders. Need to invest in more innovative ways of working suitable for each group.
- Need to provide more funding and legal advice to member countries etc. to enable temporary special measures to be pursued.

Detailed information

Current and past initiatives/approaches to respond to issues

- Review of national gender policy done by many Pacific Island countries was an opportunity to revive a dialogue with civil society on gender issues and what should be prioritised. In all policies, women in leadership, ERAW and women's economic empowerment have been prioritised.
- SPC undertook a series of stocktakes of governments' capacity to mainstream gender which have identified the need to produce and use gender statistics in policy making – although in initial stage, it also contributes to initiate a conversation about the responsibilities of different levels of governments to address gender issues – shows that progressing gender equality requires efforts of all Ministries.
- Gender statistical profiles provide critical information to that show where the gaps are and can be used to develop more effective policies and programs.
- Market for change appears to be an initiative that contribute to empower women who are often invisible and whose economic contribution not valued. This would can also be an example of building women's leadership in local governance.
- SPC with DIVA for equality have convened a regional dialogue on gender, climate change and sustainable development in 2014 –participants were from CSOs, youth groups, and governments – witnessed a shift in the way people interact because they had the opportunity to sit at the same table, on equal footing, and discussing issues they all have at heart.
 - Focused on strategising together to make sure gender equality and human rights considerations were included in the small island development states outcomes and in the Sustainable Development Goals.
 - Initiative shows the importance of having spaces where CSOs and governments can sit together and discuss about gender issues in a broader development agenda; it builds solidarities at the regional levels that are then continuing at the national level.

Observations on gaps

- Particular emphasis need to be made for multi-sectoral coordination in countries and across countries if we want to make real and sustained progress in the three areas identified by *Pacific Women*.
- At the countries' level, systems and coordination approach can be effective if it comes from public services (establish government systems) and planning and finances (budgets, national plans, etc.) – recommend that a particular focus on building capacity of those Ministries in mainstreaming gender be resourced and supported. SPC will be initiating the process with those ministries in selected countries; but this need to be supported at a 'political' level by DFAT.
- Gender sensitisation through partnerships with Pacific media needs to be pursued aggressively. Addressing the current coverage of the status of women and covering topics such as health, education, the economy from a gender sensitive, rights based approach will enable advancement in the three thematic areas as coverage will challenge negative stereotypes.

- The work the region is initiating on the Sustainable Development Goals is an opportunity not to be missed to make sure indicators on gender across the Sustainable Development Goals. This can support the monitoring of the *Pacific Women* program and the Pacific Leaders Gender Equality Declaration.
- No one is funding and providing legal advice to member countries etc. to enable temporary special measures to be pursued – one of the fastest ways to change social norms is to see more women in parliaments and the fastest way to get more women in parliament is TSM.
 - At the end of the day, governments might not agree because it's too sensitive, expensive or whatever – but in the first instance, the funding and legal advice needs to be ready for governments to access when they need it.

Recommendations coming from stakeholders

- The process of producing, updating, analysing gender statistics need a regional mechanism to sustain it. Pacific island countries are regularly raising the issues about the numerous reporting process they have to comply while they have very limited resources to do so. At the end, the reports are done 'for' the donors, 'for' the UN, 'for' others, and not use for their own monitoring system with an objective to feed reflections to improve approaches in delivering services. A regional body with the mandate to compile, analyse, disseminate data and monitor progress on gender equality would be useful not only for the countries, but also for the regional organisations and development partners to inform their own programs and strategies.
- Need support to build coordination within governments in order to facilitate multi-sector approach.
- Need to support more effective partnerships between CSOs and governments – which means resourcing the CSOs themselves – they need support to do effective advocacy.
- Need to investing in programs that directly affect women at the community level – but in a sustained approach: i.e. not to substitute what should be the responsibility of the governments.
- Need to support small businesses and women in the informal sectors.
- More investment in institutional strengthening is required in Pacific island countries. At the moment, only SPC works with Pacific island countries to support gender mainstreaming in governments. However, the ability to make a meaningful impact is a challenge given the size of the SPC team and the requirements of member governments.
 - DFAT provides a multitude of TA (bilaterally) to member countries to strengthen and support government institutions. In the Solomon Islands for example, an enormous review of DFATs support in the areas of governance, justice and other sectors underwent a review (in 2016) but with limited gender input (if any).
 - *Pacific Women* should invest its resources in making DFATs bilateral support to member countries more gender sensitive. The areas that DFAT supports in governance, trade, justice etc. are intrinsic to the effective implementation of the focus areas of *Pacific Women*.

List of people consulted / submitted questionnaires

- Brigitte LeDuc, SPC Gender Team
- Joanne Lee Kunatuba, SPC Gender Team
- Seema Naidu, PIFS Gender Adviser

E. DFAT

Summary information

- Support for women's leadership in principle within DFAT, but varying levels of programming and engagement. Different sections of DFAT had different understanding of how *Pacific Women* operates and how it can support other initiatives, particularly other regional programs – some bilaterals have a more structured engagement with *Pacific Women*, but only teleconferenced with two bilateral teams.
- Small island state posts could benefit from *Pacific Women* providing 'package' of guidance on good practice, lessons learned and possible entry-points for programming. Teams are too small to come up with this on their own and would appreciate technical advice and support from *Pacific Women*.
- Climate change negotiators training for women appears to be a very strong example of effective mainstreaming of women's leadership development – *Pacific Women* should consider partnering with them to run more trainings per year.
- Indonesia MAMPU Project appears to be very strong example of the effectiveness of: (i) developing a long-term program in support of gender equality; and (ii) the importance of investing explicitly in CSO capacity development in support of gender equality programming.
- Disability a cross-cutting issue – but no money for implementation and unclear how best to integrate this into *Pacific Women* programming. Consider including a quota for working with people living with disability for all training undertaken by *Pacific Women* or its funding partners?

Detailed information

Current and past initiatives/approaches to respond to issues

- MAMPU project – discussed the programming approach – strengths and results – changes and lessons learned over time. Project looks very effective and Phase 1 has developed strong partnership and accountability frameworks to guide the project.
 - Useful lessons learned on use of small grants in support of partner development – MAMPU has used 10 lead partners to provide accountable flow on grants to bigger network of NGOs.
 - Strong partner ownership – after initial backlash of overly-involved DFAT approach, partners now run their own agendas and regional meetings – onus strongly on the partners themselves to lead, design, implement and recalibrate.
- Women peace and security agenda – team focuses mainly on global agendas – lobbied for Solomon Islands to be included in new 'global acceleration instrument' in support of UNSCR 1325 – *Pacific Women* encouraged to follow this work and identify whether there are other lessons for conflict countries.
- Climate change negotiators training – implemented by a 'non-development' team within DFAT but appears very effective in building useful technical skills amongst Pacific women officials.
 - Note the value of training on specific technical issues alongside skills training – an effective approach to developing a strong cadre of smart, well-capacitated women within the public service who can rise to leadership levels over time based on technical skills.
 - Strong partnership with Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program and PIFS helped ensure proper identification of participants – needed to ensure they were likely to be part of delegations – usually coming from Foreign Affairs or Environment Departments rather than Gender Departments [*CR comment: this appears a MUCH more effective approach – building technical skills alongside gender awareness and developing new women leaders within the public service*].

- Would like to run more than 1 training a year but insufficient funding – also would like to run training using same participants so that skills can be built over time.

Observations on gaps

- Confirms literature and other consultations which indicate SIS are under-resourced – very hard for posts to dedicate personnel to developing strategies and programs for engagement because staff stretched thinly, even though they would like to do more on women's leadership.
- Based on success of climate change teams work, *Pacific Women* could reach out to other similar programs to see what they're doing and/or encourage them to do more – e.g. trade negotiations, peace process support, UN treaty negotiations.
- Confirms that there are weak linkages within DFAT with *Pacific Women* agenda.
- DFAT Global Gender Strategy includes peacebuilding as part of the overall objective but this has not been addressed within *Pacific Women* (except for ongoing funding for FemLINKpacific).

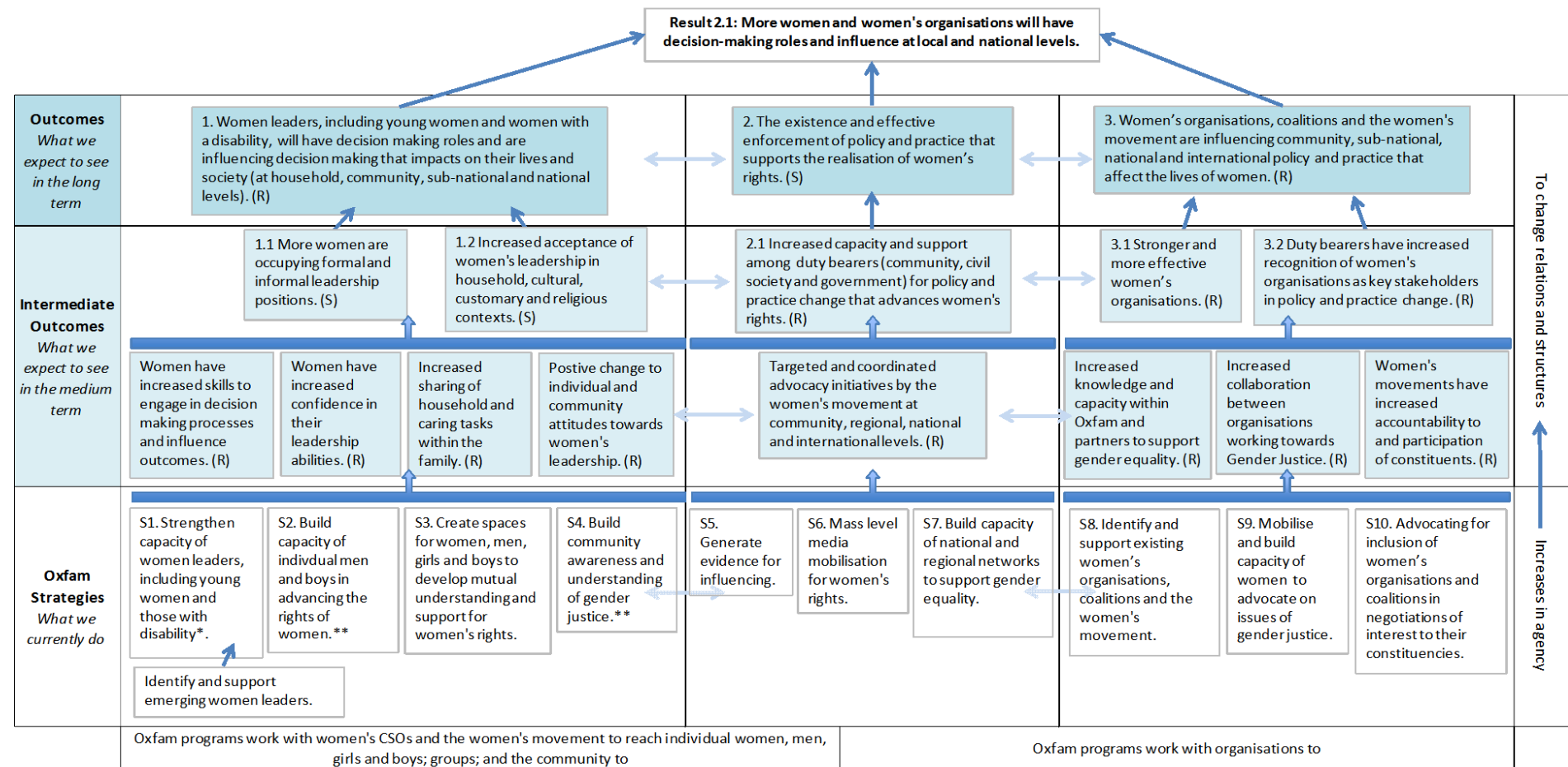
Recommendations coming from stakeholders

- Small island state posts could benefit from *Pacific Women* providing 'package' of guidance on good practice, lessons learned and possible entry-points for programming. Teams are too small to come up with this on their own and would appreciate technical advice and support from *Pacific Women*.
- Explore options for North Pacific sub-regional programming – could Women United Together Marshall Islands be supported to work with smaller CBOs etc. across the other Pacific Islands to develop their skills? Could other approaches be taken running intersecting programming across all three countries?
- Climate change team would like to run more than one training a year for women negotiators – also would like to run training using same participants so that skills can be built over time – but currently have insufficient funding because competing with other CC funds.
- Disabilities team would like to see disabilities work integrated into *Pacific Women* programming.
- MAMPU team would be willing to work with Pacific team to explore possibilities of programming [CR: this recommendation will be included in the Synthesis Report recognising that coalition building and CSO work is a key recommendation coming out of the literature].
- Information sharing and coordination across bilateral programs, regional programs and the department more broadly could be improved.

List of people consulted / submitted questionnaires

- Tracy Newbury, DFAT Gender Team
- Sean Singh & Sarah Goulding, DFAT Gender Team
- Felicity O'Brien & Mika Kontianinen, DFAT Disability & Inclusive Development Team
- Lisa Gittos, DFAT Climate Change Team
- Babara King, DFAT Women, Peace and Security Team
- Hannah Derwent and Carly Main, DFAT re MAMPU Indonesia Project
- Saini Malalau, Tuvalu Desk Officer, DFAT Suva Post
- Eliza Woolcock, DFAT Second Secretary, Pohnpei Post, North Pacific
- Kirsten Bishop, DFAT Governance Team

Annex 2 Oxfam Australia M&E Framework for Women and Leadership



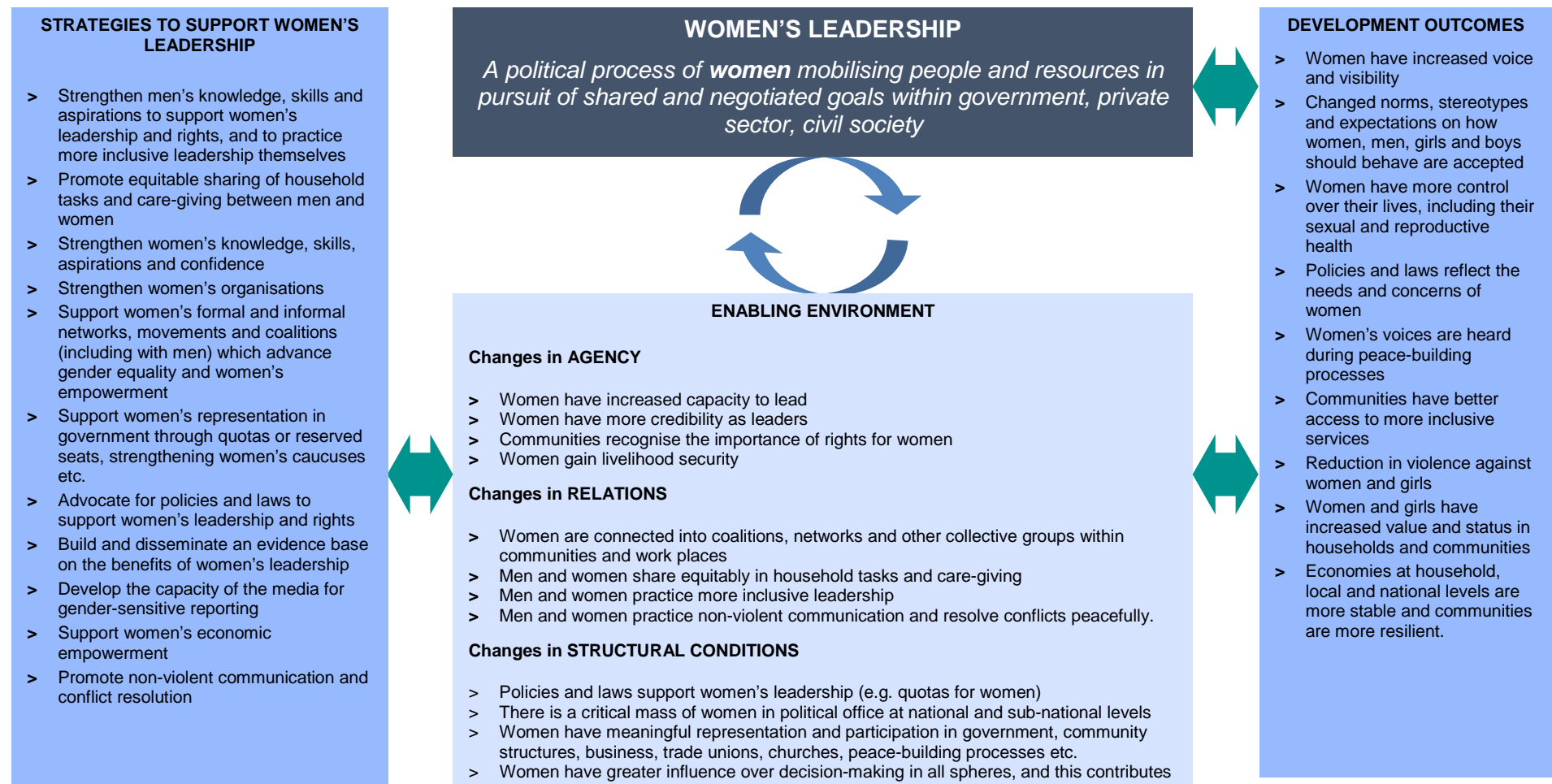
* 'Women leaders' for the rest of the Outcome Hierarchy will be assumed to mean 'including young women and those with a disability'.

** Link to the Violence Against Women (Result 2.2) MEL Framework

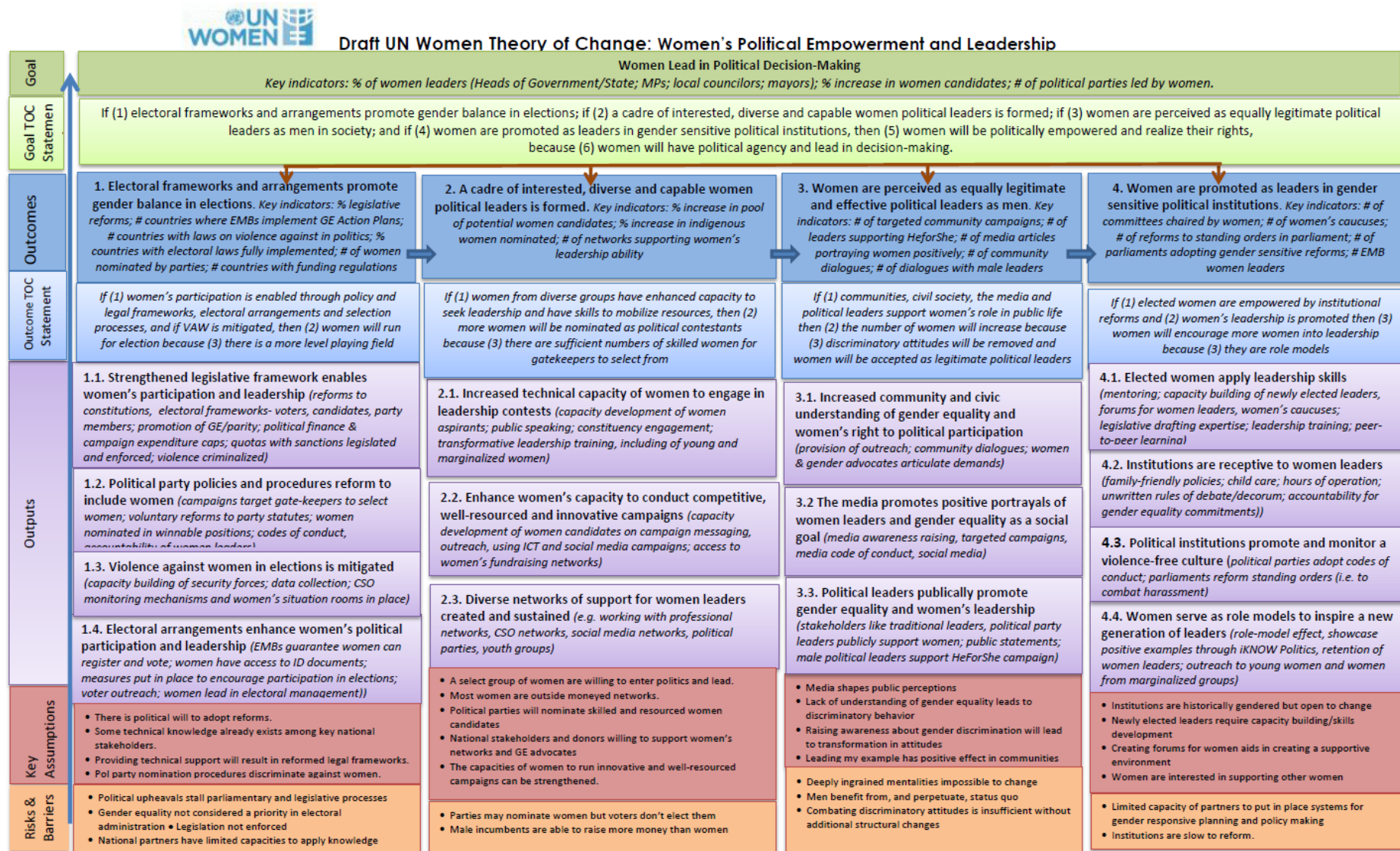
(S) denotes structural change

(R) denotes changes in relations

Annex 3 ODE Framework to guide women's leadership efforts



Annex 4 UN Women 'Women's Political Participation and Leadership Framework'



Annex 5 Excerpts from ‘Communique: *Pacific Women Policy Makers’ Dialogue Identifying Key Priority Areas for Action (2014)*

Pacific women parliamentarians and senior government officials met in Nuku'alofa, Tonga on 18 July 2014 to discuss strategies to enhance women's leadership and decision-making opportunities at national and sub-national levels. They agreed on actions to support their efforts to influence decision-making processes in order to improve gender equality and better outcomes for women at national and regional levels. The Dialogue was attended by over 30 Pacific women political leaders and senior women in government from 13 Pacific countries. Countries represented included: Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea (including political representatives from Bougainville), Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu. The dialogue was also attended by two Australian parliamentarians and senior representatives from the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community.

Topics of the dialogue included: (i) strategies for improving women's leadership; (ii) working through government mechanisms to improve outcomes for women; (iii) linking with women leaders at all levels and working with male advocates; and (iv) working through regional mechanisms to improve outcomes for women. Participants identify key priorities for each of these areas, which have been excerpted below:

Strategies for improving women's leadership

Participants agreed that much work remains to be done to advance women's leadership at all levels across the Pacific and agreed that work needs to target the following:

- Governments should identify opportunities to work in partnership with women's civil society organisations and women's groups on an ongoing basis.
- Governments should remove barriers to women's private sector leadership, and support for women entrepreneurs needs to be scaled up and maintained.
- Women policymakers must support young women leaders including through mentoring, but also by working actively to remove policy and legislative barriers to women's leadership.
- Governments should research whether existing voting systems impose barriers to women's leadership and introduce reform as needed, for example some electoral systems do not support women's leadership aspirations, such as the first past the post voting system.
- Women need support to conduct campaigns, including logistical, mentoring, administrative and financial support. Governments should review whether campaign finance reform is needed to ensure candidates without significant financial resources are able to campaign effectively.
- Donors and regional organisations should provide technical assistance to Governments to support the introduction and implementation of temporary special measures to increase women's participation in political leadership.

Working through government mechanisms to improve outcomes for women

Participants made the following recommendations for reform to better link women leaders in the legislative and executive arms of government.

- Women leaders should work together, including through cross-party caucuses and national advisory mechanisms (such as Councils of Women), to network and coordinate action. This needs to include consultation with all groups of women in communities, including young and disadvantaged women.

- All Pacific Island countries need to improve the collection and analysis of gendered statistics to enable effective advocacy and policy development.
- Gender equality outcomes should be used as a key performance indicator in the job description of senior officials across the range of ministries, e.g. Solomon Islands.
- Women's ministries should be constituted as stand-alone ministries rather than as divisions or units within larger ministries so the ministries can speak with their own voice and seek funding in their own right.
- Governments should take action to strengthen the functions and operations of National Women's Machineries to ensure that they are able to operate effectively, including with sufficient effective staff and budget.
- National Women's Machineries need to support line ministries to understand and effectively apply gender mainstreaming to advance equality and to support parliamentary staff to understand gender analysis and research, including by developing information hubs on gender aspects of policy and legislation. This should also include gender equality training in induction programs for all new MPs and their staff as well as regular and ongoing gender equality training updates for existing MPs and their staff.
- National Women's Machineries need to strengthen and deepen linkages with foreign affairs ministries to connect with regional and international gender equality developments.

Linking with women leaders at all levels

Participants recommended the following actions and reforms to support women leaders to link together, work with male leaders and foster community awareness.

- Where reform processes stall, women leaders should build constituencies, including with men, for change through community consultations and supporting women's organisations to advocate for change.
- Government agencies and parliaments should organise internships and work experience for young women.
- Governments and donors could consider adapting successful programs operating in the Pacific region, including the Australian Male Champions for Change Program to engage male leaders in promoting gender equality and women's leadership.
- Media is a powerful advocacy tool: women parliamentarians should use the media to profile their work and to engage communities, particularly young women.

Regional mechanisms

Participants committed to share promising practices and recommendations with colleagues and to influence the uptake of these where relevant. Participants agreed to continue networking to exchange information and draw on each other's' experience and expertise. Participants agreed regular Dialogues would provide a means for monitoring progress on the implementation of recommended actions identified at the inaugural Dialogue. DFAT committed to exploring options for supporting ongoing communication between participants and other women policy makers.

[1] National machinery (or machineries) for the advancement of women are defined by the United Nations as 'a set of coordinated structures within and outside government, which aim to achieve equality in all spheres of life for both women and men' (United Nations, 1999).

Annex 6 Conclusions from *Pacific Women Report on 'Mapping of existing legislation, programs and other mechanisms to support Women's Leadership in the Pacific' (2014)*

There is clearly a multiplicity of initiatives in different areas across the Pacific. What can we learn from an overview of them?

- Women in leadership is typically seen through a rather narrow lens of national political leadership. There are many layers of political leadership and women have tended to excel at the community and sub-national levels where there is relatively little support for them.
- Getting women in parliament is not an end in itself. Women need ongoing support in such positions.
- Little attention has been paid to encouraging and nurturing women in middle-level and senior management in the public services of Pacific island countries.
- There is a need for structured mentoring programs in the private sector to support women.
- Women need to work in partnership with men to gain their support and to have them as champions.
- While many initiatives rely on development partner support, some are locally initiated and are self-sustaining, some with private sector support.
- There are many activities in the leadership arena. This points to a need for coordination at national and regional levels in order to avoid duplication in order to make the best use of limited resources and also to fill any gaps.
- Young women have specific areas of interest and they should be encouraged and supported.
- Work to reduce legislative and policy barriers to gender equality needs to be ongoing in order to set an enabling platform for women in decision-making and leadership roles.

Annex 7 Young Women's Dialogue Outcomes Statement (2013)

Pacific Young Women's Leadership Alliance

The future we want

We, young women of the Pacific, affirm our power as decision makers, implementers, change agents, partners, and leaders of today and the future.

Young people make up the majority of Pacific populations, and we are central to sustainable development and the realisation of human rights. There are approximately 10 million people living in the Pacific; 56%, or 5.6 million people, are between the ages of 0–24. Over 11%, or 1.152 million Pacific people, are young women between 15–24 years old.

Our daily realities, our histories and 'herstories', our experiences, and our commitment inform this statement. We call upon our leaders – in the spirit of partnership, transparency and accountability, sustainable development, and democracy – to respond to our needs and concerns.

We represent the Pacific Young Women's Leadership Alliance – a network of young women leaders and local, regional, and international organisations working with and for young women across the Pacific region. The Alliance began with consultations across the Pacific and the development of a strategic framework. Over 100 Pacific young women and allies mobilised to engage in an online dialogue to express our opinions and strengthen our networks over several months. In culmination, 26 representatives gathered in Rarotonga, Cook Islands from 18–20 October 2013 for the **Pacific Young Women's Leadership Alliance Dialogue**. Together we have prioritised key strategic recommendations to inform discussions and decisions during the 12th Triennial Conference of *Pacific Women Leaders* and other important forums.

We are from the Cook Islands, Kiribati, Fiji, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu. Our primary constituents are young women, and include those who face intersectional discriminations such as people with diverse gender identities, sexual orientations, ethnicities and economic status; sex workers; survivors of violence; persons with disabilities; those living in rural areas and outer islands; and others. The Alliance is inclusive and encourages everyone to champion gender equality and the rights of all young people. We reiterate that climate change, environmental degradation, violence and conflict pose immediate threats to our lives and livelihoods, and we call for urgent action on these issues.

We have over two decades of experience working with women and young people, building on the achievements of women's rights advocates before us. We, Pacific Young Women, are leaders of today and should be involved in decision making and be included as real partners in all development.

Our five key strategic recommendations are: eliminating sexual and gender based violence; ensuring sexual and reproductive health and rights; eliminating all forms of discrimination against persons with disabilities; promoting full and decent employment and economic empowerment for young women; and ensuring full participation of young women at all levels of decision making.

Our voices need to be heard and urgent actions taken.

Pacific Young Women reiterate that lifetime prevalence of physical and sexual violence by partner and non-partner among Pacific island women aged 15–49 years old is between 60–80 per cent in those countries surveyed. All forms of violence have serious implications for young women, negatively impacting their physical, mental, sexual and reproductive health as well as their role in the public and private spheres. We recognise the efforts already in place but call for an acceleration of national and local efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women. Some harmful Pacific traditional

practices – such as bride price, early and forced marriage, and marketised traditional compensation – can perpetuate violence, particularly for young women. Pacific Young Women ask States to ensure first response service providers continue to undergo gender sensitisation training and provide accessible services to outer islands and rural areas. We urge States to immediately, substantively and effectively resource and enforce the implementation of legislation to address these issues, and allocate resources for support services to survivors of all forms of violence.

Pacific Young Women affirm that SRHR must be realised in the Pacific. We stress that bodily integrity and autonomy is at the core of all work on SRHR. Pacific young women ask our Governments to recognise that sexual rights are different to reproductive rights, and that sexual rights are human rights. Women are sexual beings and have a right to enjoy their sexuality and sound reproductive health. Understanding of these issues will translate to a reduction to the high rates of STIs, teenage pregnancy and sexual abuse prevalent in the Pacific region. We expect that States will play a much stronger role in providing funding and support for sexual and reproductive health services, commodities, and information. These are more widely available in most urban centres, but in rural or isolated areas access is difficult. SRHR awareness must include comprehensive sexual education, and be available to everyone including young LGBTQI women and persons with disabilities. Strong emphasis must be placed on legislative reform to eliminate laws and harmful practices that criminalise women who access SRHR care including abortion, emergency contraception, and HIV and AIDS services, and create a survivor-centred approach for people with a history of sexual abuse.

Pacific Young Women recognise that persons with disabilities experience discrimination in their daily realities which prevents realisation of their full potential for an adequate standard of living. We recommend that States, in partnership with the Alliance, ensure that persons with disabilities are safe, respected, included, connected, and skilled. We propose mainstreaming educational and sexual and reproductive health services; creating employment opportunities; and eliminating all forms of discrimination against persons with disabilities so that they may be included in society.

Pacific Young Women are living in a time of escalated social, economic, financial, and environmental crisis. We urgently seek full and decent employment and economic empowerment for all young Pacific women. In order to achieve this, we require meaningful participation of young women, women, and wider social movements in the design, delivery, and monitoring and evaluation of development goals, policies, and indicators at all levels. We must work together to recognise the informal sector and reorient the employment sector in the region toward agriculture and sustainable livelihoods which include young women. Development partners and civil society organisations must urgently support Pacific governments to reform monetary, financial, and trade rules globally in line with human rights obligations. This will ensure policy space at the national and regional level to implement macro-economic policies and trade and investment agreements to achieve gender and social justice for all, especially young Pacific women.

Pacific Young Women convey to our states that young women are almost entirely absent from local, national, and regional decision making and leadership roles. Positions of power and decision-making are traditionally male-dominated, and restricted to older generations. The Pacific region has the lowest rate of women's representation in national parliament of any other region in the world. **Pacific Young Women** urge States to implement temporary special measures to increase women's representation and participation in national level decision making. This will enable our States to be compliant with CEDAW, while recognising the urgency of ratifying CEDAW and implementing it to its full potential. **Pacific Young Women** ask States to deliver true and genuine democracy by ensuring that women are included in decision making at all levels. This will enable us to have role models we can aspire to emulate, and also create a cultural shift of power transformation.

Pacific Young Women urge all our States to have the political will to honour existing commitments, and to put our recommendations on national and regional agendas and allocate adequate and immediate funding and resources to address these.

Pacific young women want to be safe, respected, included, connected, and skilled.

Annex 8 Conclusions from PLP / IWDA Scoping Study on Women's Leadership in Solomon Islands, Bougainville, Samoa and Tonga (2012)

Outside of national politics, Pacific women are often visible as leaders. The study found that Pacific women from places as far afield as Bougainville and Samoa are leaders in diverse fields including local government, civil service, private business, and civil society.

Leadership in Pacific women's lives does not fit nicely into one category. Few women that we met were only leaders in local government or in business. For most of the women in the study, leadership began at an early age and continues to be expressed across many areas of their lives, for example within their extended family or in their church. These spaces and women's roles within them need to be considered when planning initiatives to support Pacific women leaders.

Local government in Bougainville and the Solomon Islands is already an important entry point for women's political leadership. Both countries have women elected into local government. The example of Bougainville is especially important because it has had its own indigenous special measures in place for women in politics since independence. Their experiences can be used to better understand how women can enter politics and also may be a stepping-stone into other types of leadership.

Across most of the countries, critical women actors are already working together and with certain men, to successfully lobby for policy and legislative reform at national and local levels. This type of work may be carried out discreetly through informal networks as in the Solomon Islands or openly through formal networks as in Samoa with WinLa.

Culture is often cited as a barrier for women's leadership in the Pacific. In some cases, culture does seem to be a real barrier for women and men to support women leaders. But such a view of Pacific cultures may be too rigid to be true in all situations. Many Pacific women do use or see potential to use culture to access spaces of leadership or to gain changes in policy, practice or legislation that substantively support women's rights.

Recommendations by country

Potential Pathways for Women's Leadership in the Solomon Islands

There are some exciting opportunities to build on existing work to support women's leadership and some emerging opportunities for new support especially at the provincial level. Both the International Women's Development Agency and the Pacific Leadership Program work in the Solomon Islands therefore; the recommendations are designed for both organisations unless specifically directed to one of them.

1. **Women in provincial government:** our analysis reveals some clear opportunities to support women in provincial level government especially in Guadalcanal Province and potentially in other provinces such as Isabel Province.
 - There are already women on the Provincial Council who may benefit from training, capacity development and networking. CLGF has already worked on this type of support to women in Honiara City Council and this could be extended to other provinces.
 - Improving the evidence base at the provincial level is important when moving forward. Firstly to track change and improvements. Secondly, to understand what has already been done at Provincial level to support women in leadership. Guadalcanal and Isabel would both be provinces that deserve further attentions. Moreover, in Guadalcanal there is an opportunity to re-instate reserved seats for women.
 - Linking up with the work of organisations like the World Bank who already work at the Provincial level could be useful for integrating work with women into existing projects, for

example with the Provincial Government Strengthening Project as this could be useful from a political leadership capacity development angle. The existing SPC's women's leadership project with RRRT at the provincial level could also be explored as an area for partnership.

- There seems to be some disconnect between community, provincial and national work on women's leadership possibly due to access issues. Finding ways to make the interesting community and provincial-level work on women's leadership available to national policy makers and national women leaders could be an area to explore in more depth.
 - There is a real gap in disaggregated data on the numbers of women working in leadership positions at the provincial and local level. There is a need to improve the evidence base especially for sub-national bodies.
2. **Critical actors for women:** At senior levels of government, women are working together to promote policy and legislation that support women's substantive interests, for example on the Gender Equality and Women's Development Policy.
- Women leaders explained how they work with each other and with male champions to achieve change. To date, this has been an informal network. Its success seems to lie in the critical actors' ability to work together and to work strategically within the system. This could be an area for further study as a model for other sectors or an entry point for further leadership support via this network of critical actors. This would fit well with the Pacific Leadership Program's current activities to support Solomon Island leaders.
 - The constitutional review and the departure of Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands are both crucial changes underway in the Solomon Islands. There is an opportunity to promote women's leadership and financial support for such leadership by supporting established critical actors for women to engage with both the government's constitutional review and bi-lateral donors.
 - Consider engaging critical actors for women at the local, provincial and urban levels. The support to Honiara City Council is example of working with both male and female critical actors for women to ensure change.
3. **Women, culture and leadership:** Cultural barriers on women in politics and even on women as leaders were often cited by those interviewed and in the pathways of women's leadership.
- Exploring how women, culture and leadership has already been navigated by women in different sectors, different locations and different ages could be a useful exercise in thinking about how to navigate these issues in the future. For example, building on the work of the Navigating Gender and Culture Solomon Islands Workshops and disseminating these findings could be useful. This recommendation is aimed at the International Women's Development Agency as it builds on their current Gender and Culture Innovations project.
 - With leadership understood as being linked to position and age, this is a real challenge for supporting young women's leadership. The YWCA Strategy had strong involvement from young women in the Solomon Islands. This could be supported in the future.

Potential pathways for women's leadership in Bougainville

From the analysis of the Bougainvillean system of local-level governance and of the women leaders pathways, there is clearly space for further intervention by new development actors especially those who seek to work in coordination to build on the existing efforts to mobilise and support women's leadership. The following themes for ways to support women leaders comes partly from the women leaders themselves, partly from key Government officials in relevant ministries, and partly from our own analysis. The International Women's Development Agency works in Bougainville while the Pacific Leadership Program does not. For this reason the recommendations below are designed for the International Women's Development Agency.

1. **Women in politics:** There is space and demand to support women's leadership in both the national and local politics of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville.
 - At the local level, the Ministry of Local Government's review process from 2012–2014 presents a key opportunity to work to ensure women's leadership and women's issues are given voice in the review process and its recommendations.
 - Moreover, there is an opportunity to work with both the Urban and Local Governments through the Town Councils and in the Council of Elders: in particular the administration of Buka Town Council staffed almost entirely by women could be an ideal opportunity to support women in the civil service.
 - During our fieldwork, the national Papua New Guinea Elections were just beginning to campaign with at least ten women standing as candidates. An increase on previous years there was a strong call from the women's movement to support and mobilise women candidates for the 2015 House of Representative Elections. Possible options could include Mock Parliament and candidate training.
 - Documentation of women's leadership in local government at both rural and urban levels is not currently available.
 - Bougainville's unique system of local government is too often invisible in academic work on Papua New Guinea and the Autonomous Region urgently needs more documentation. The special system of reserved seats for women at local and national levels is not well known or well shared with other Pacific countries currently considering the use of temporary special measures.
2. **Women's organisations:** The small number of women's organisations in Bougainville called for support for capacity development.
 - Consider training at different levels for different women: organisational management training, women's leadership training, and the need for functional literacy for women. Sister Lorraine's training in women's leadership and organisational management was regularly cited as a catalyst for change in women's lives. Other sources of training could build on UN Women's pre-existing work to train accredited Bridge trainers to roll out such training. At the local level, it may be possible to work with critical actors like Brenda Tohiana who have already been trained by the Commonwealth Local Government Forum in supporting gender training for local government structures.
 - IWDA's organisational support to the co-founders of Leitana Nehan was also praised as having long lasting effects on women who now have key leadership roles in UN Women and in the civil service. Leitana Nehan also offers gender training.
 - Core support for Women's Organisations remains a challenge and will continue to be so despite the significant funding available for women's organisations from the World Bank. The Bougainville Women's Federation is one organisation that has identified core funding support and capacity development as key needs.
 - Coordination and documentation of women's leadership activities is needed.
3. **Young women's leadership:** In Bougainville a two-pronged strategy to engaged young women's leadership is needed.
 - Firstly one which seeks to reach out to the 'lost generation' to better understand their needs in terms of women's leadership.
 - Secondly, working with young women under 25 years of age who themselves have different needs from the 'lost generation'. Although our interaction with young women leaders was not the focus for this part of the scoping study, a few areas emerged from our discussions with Leitana Nehan: i.e. the need for training and opportunities to engage with women through the media, especially the radio.

Potential pathways for women's leadership in Tonga

From interviews, a few key areas may be worth exploring in more detail in relation to women's leadership in Tonga. It should be noted that in Tonga even more so than elsewhere, status matters. The people we met all held some kind of privileged status either through education, profession, the church or through traditional family structures. The findings should not be taken as representative of the whole of Tonga nor of the needs of all Tongan women. The preservation of traditional culture and the need for all actions to support women to be in-line with Tongan culture was stressed repeatedly by most of the Tongans we encountered. Moreover the recommendations below were all made by Tongans themselves. This was important as it seemed that only local solutions would be likely to gain traction and support. The recommendations are designed for the Pacific Leadership Program as they work in Tonga while the International Women's Development Agency does not.

1. **Evidence base:** There seems to be a lack of evidence that women's political representation makes a clear difference for women and for the general community.
 - Developing the evidence base was seen as a key way forward in encouraging changes to cultural practices which have seen few women in national political positions.
 - At the national level, one way forward could be to document the effects of women's leadership at a Ministerial level. One suggestion was to document the leadership of the current female Minister of Education to demonstrate the positive impact of having a woman in this role.
 - Other leaders, for example the church, could also be published and used as case-studies for advocacy.
2. **Local-level advocacy on issues of concern to women:** At a local level, it may be interesting to consider how women's voices may concretely affect change on issues like street lighting. This type of research could be a crucial advocacy tool in the next local elections.
3. **Work within gender and culture:** those interviewed suggested working within existing power structures to tackle issues like domestic violence, land laws and health issues. There was a real sense from those interviewed that working within, not challenging cultural roles and gender stereotypes was the way forward.
4. **Young people:** The need to reach young people was also highlighted through on-going work with Youth Parliaments, the possibilities of inter-generational mentoring, and the work of the National Youth Congress could be explored.

Potential pathways for women's leadership in Samoa

Women's leadership in Samoa is in a positive space in some areas. Women hold key leadership positions especially in the civil service and are excelling in education. The recommendations are designed for the Pacific Leadership Program as they work in Samoa while the International Women's Development Agency does not.

1. **Women in parliament:** The relatively low numbers of women in parliament is likely to be improved by the introduction of reserved seats for women.
 - This may be an ideal opportunity to re-launch the Parliamentary Women's Caucus; in addition this would complement rather than duplicate the activities planned by UNDP-UN Women.
2. **Men as critical actors for women:** The role of the male Prime Minister in pushing for TSMs is in itself interesting in its potential to be replicated, especially in other Pacific Island Countries where there are no women in parliament.
3. **Networks for women**
 - Women themselves are organised into an impressive number of networks. Networks such as WinLA may be a key entry point for legislative changes or providing support to women leaders in the Civil Service.

- Other networks like the Samoan Association of Women Graduates, and the Pan-Pacific South East Asian Association could also be entry points to working with women leaders.
4. **Work in partnership with other leadership programs:** This should be done in collaboration with the proposal from UNDP-UN Women for the project of strengthening national commitment to women in leadership and decision-making. With the implementation of reserved seats, the 2016 elections are likely to increase the number of women in parliament.
 5. **Improve the evidence base:** Finally, there were strong calls to improve the knowledge base on understanding women's roles and effectiveness in politics, documenting views on women's leadership to create a better understanding of the leadership roles of Samoan women and to understand the increase in the number of women Matai.

Encouraging young women's leadership in Pacific organisations

FemLINKpacific's aim, structure and work support spaces for young women's leadership. Working from the point of view Veena Singh Bryar the organisation offers opportunities for young women to be part of the organisation's work and influence its decision-making. The positive opportunities for leadership that Veena Singh Bryar noted within femLINKpacific may be useful to other organisations when considering how to practically encourage and support young women into leadership roles. From the specific experience of Veena Singh Byrar, the following suggestions have been drawn put and may be useful to other organisations.

1. **Organisational focus on young women:** Ensure that young women's leadership is consistent with the organisation's aims and work to make those spaces where young women can be heard into reality.
2. **Create organisation entry points for young women:** Give young women exposure to the organisation and allows the organisation to build up a relationship with a large number of young women over time.
3. **Secure spaces in the organisation for young women's voices:** Ensuring access and participation for young women in these different meetings and forum allows for young women's voices to be heard and taken into account.
4. **Young women working together:** Young women working together as peers was a '*key support and a site to learn from each other.*' This is an important location for networking with other women, working together with other young women, and learning new skills.
5. **Mentoring young women:** Encourage young women to have professional mentors both inside and outside the organisations. These can become crucial sites for inter-generational learning about leadership.
6. **Allowing others to Lead:** Send a clear message that young women are considered to be capable leaders within the organisation. In the Pacific, where a number of women's organisations have one leader over a significant period of time, succession planning becomes important.
7. **Creating outside leadership opportunities for young women:** Young women within organisations should be encouraged to speak out on behalf of the organisation at national, regional and international forums and panels. The Pacific Young Women's Alliance is an important space to promote young women's leadership.

Annex 9 IWDA FLOW Report on Solomon Islands – Options for FLOW Engagement (2016)

Desired FLOW Outcomes	FLOW Opportunities in Solomon Islands
Increasing women's civil society engagement and representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote knowledge exchange processes between <i>Tugeda Tude Fo Tumoro</i> (TTFT) villages to create more space for women's leadership by reviving traditional leadership roles, social structures that were more egalitarian, and recognising and valuing new leadership opportunities. The exchange processes could focus matrilineal and patrilineal land management systems, positive aspects of women's involvement in land management based on experiences of people involved, positive and negative aspects of custom practice for women's leadership, ways young women can be engaged in leadership roles, and custom as a living and changing concept. These exchanges could involve chiefs, and women and men and youth (men and women) leaders. Focus on the redistribution of labour between women and men (particularly young women and young men) and explore options for affordable labour saving technology (domestic and/or agricultural), to reduce women's work burden and enable women to have more available time to engage in leadership activities inside and outside of their communities. Support the development and networking of any groups arising from TTFT communities that are established to promote women's rights in land issues or peace building, or that enable new leadership roles for women. Link these groups to similar groups working in other communities and at a national level. Engage men in this process as champions and supporters. Identify pathways for policy influence on land matters and peace building and support women and men in the community to advocate for change that supports recognition and formalising existing roles and responsibilities of women (and men) leaders. Celebrate women's leadership in TTFT communities alongside men's leadership. Promote women's leadership (including young women) through employment and representation in TTFT activities
Mobilising young women to participate in decision-making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support women's fellowship groups involved in the TTFT program to promote decision making and leadership opportunities for young women, and advocate for their representation, alongside older women, in network meetings and opportunities outside of the community. Gather case studies of young women's leadership and contribution to decision making within TTFT communities and promote these across the TTFT community network. Promote a young person's TTFT network for young women and men to share stories and experiences, attend training and develop confidence and strategies to improve their communities. Promote understanding by young men and women of the importance of shared decision-making and leadership. Promote pathways for young people (men and women) to present their experiences and skills within community forums on a regular basis. This could include examples of collaboration with equal opportunities and voice provided to women and men. Engage male and female leaders in TTFT communities in discussions on approaches to supporting young women and men to have more leadership and decision making opportunities in the home, community, church etc. Identify strategies to engage with families to discuss more equal distribution of domestic and agricultural work between young women and men. Support the development of intergenerational mentoring relationships and processes in matrilineal TTFT communities to ensure that information and skills critical to women's role in matrilineal communities can be passed on.
Increasing gender equality commitments at the local government level (chiefly leadership and church leadership)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work with male champions of women's leadership in matrilineal land management systems to support the strengthening of these systems in TTFT communities where women's leadership is declining. They could also be engaged to share perspectives with men and women in patrilineal systems about the benefits of women's involvement in decision-making. Support efforts by TTFT communities/clans to formalise women's role in decision-making processes and/or leadership roles. Support meetings between leaders (church and chiefs) of TTFT communities with advocates from outside these communities that believe in women's capacity to act as chiefs and within

Desired FLOW Outcomes	FLOW Opportunities in Solomon Islands
	<p>the Church hierarchy. Promote discussion about the benefits of women's contribution as leaders and to decision-making. Consider using ascribed gender roles here as an entry point and justification regarding good governance etc. (i.e. peace makers, mothers, etc.).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Support work by church groups to use biblical texts to unpack domestic violence and women's leadership in TTFT communities. Support localised church hierarchies to consider how this may affect their structure/practice. Support church groups to document their experiences and perspectives and use these to advocate for change in the church hierarchy.
Increasing voter willingness and community support for women in leadership positions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Develop a media campaign from stories of women's leadership in peace building, church groups, land matters etc. drawn from TTFT's experience, to raise the profile of women and young women in leadership (and in doing so, challenge perceptions of leadership being a man's role) in rural and urban communities more generally. This could include dramatisation of the stories for radio, interviews with various women and men involved, press releases, letters to the editor etc., posters, church newsletters, booklets etc. (using appropriate media channels). Within this, it would be important to profile a range of gender roles, as a counter point to growing rigidity associated with these. The roles and activities of young women would also need to be articulated clearly. – Explore options for annual awards (or a celebration if more culturally appropriate) for women and young women demonstrating exceptional leadership in their communities/clans/churches (awards for men's/young men's inclusive leadership could be held simultaneously) with nominations made by community groups/church/ village and clan leaders. This could begin as a TTFT activity and expand if successful. It could raise the women leaders' profile and in doing so make the invisible visible, raise the value of women's leadership, and draw a range of stakeholders including government, into the process. – Use case studies and stories gathered through TTFT to work with an agency interested and capable of policy advocacy (WRAN may be suitable and interested in this role) to turn these stories into advocacy materials targeted at government and churches. The materials could use creative mediums to focus attention on improving women's leadership opportunities, recognising their existing leadership roles, and ensuring the maintenance of their rights in a land management context through legislation and participation on relevant boards, particularly (initially) in matrilineal communities where a precedent exists for their leadership role and voice. – Work with the education department to build positive stories of women's leadership into the national curriculum, again drawing from TTFT experience (and drawing from Solomon Islands NGO Partnership Agreement partnerships with other agencies to expand the scope of stories identified). – Developing a national event (perhaps aligned to an already existing project or faith based activity bringing together multiple churches) to bring various community members together to share their stories. Explore opportunities for supporting male advocates of women and leadership. – Working with churches from targeted TTFT communities at a national level to support the development and implementation of training materials demonstrating biblical references to inclusive leadership, the importance of women's voice etc. (using for example the World Vision model). Support the implementation of these materials in targeted TTFT communities.