***Innovating for Impact: A Pacific Regional Consultation on Women’s Political Empowerment and Leadership***

**13-15 September 2016, Nadi, Fiji**

**Background Paper**

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1. Introduction

This paper is to help guide discussions at the Pacific Regional Consultation on Women’s Political Empowerment and Leadership. The meeting has been convened by UN Women, in partnership with UNDP, with the following objectives:

* Critically review previous and current programming to advance women’s political participation in the Pacific;
* Agree on a comprehensive, coordinated programming framework that reflects national context and priorities;
* Bring together key actors and stakeholders and consolidate partnerships for comprehensive programming on women’s political empowerment and leadership.

Participants of the meeting will include practitioners in the development community at regional, national and local level, as well as the beneficiaries of those programmes in countries across the Pacific region. The meeting aims to consider, as frankly as possible, the effectiveness of programming in women’s political participation to date, and canvass innovative strategies to better achieve program goals. Across a variety of programming entry points, participants will be asked what has worked effectively and what has not. Where programmes are considered to have been ineffective, participants will deliberate on the potential causes and solutions.

To facilitate frank and fearless conversation, the meeting will abide by the **“Chatham House Rule”**: When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.

2. Improving women’s political empowerment and leadership in the Pacific

Despite their numerical parity with men in terms of the global population, in most countries women do not hold an equal proportion of leadership and decision-making positions. Globally, the goal of ‘gender balance’, as expressed in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, has not yet been achieved. As of January 2016, women represent 22.6 per cent of all national parliamentarians (across both chambers).[[1]](#footnote-1) In executive government, only 12 women served as Head of State and 11 served as Head of Government as of February 2016 and 17 per cent of the world’s ministers were women as of January 2015.[[2]](#footnote-2)

The countries of the Pacific region have found it challenging to reach these global averages, let alone the targets of 30 or 50 per cent women’s representation.[[3]](#footnote-3) In this region, women represent on average 6.3 per cent of all parliamentarians (excluding Australia and New Zealand).[[4]](#footnote-4) Levels of women’s participation in local government vary across the region, but are commonly low. Only in January 2016 was the first woman elected Head of State or Government of a Pacific country, in the Republic of the Marshall Islands.[[5]](#footnote-5) Table 1 details the number of women in the national parliaments of Pacific Island Forum countries and territories, as of August 2016. It is followed by Table 2, which outlines women’s participation in local government bodies, as of 2012.

**Table 1: Women’s representation in national Pacific parliaments**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Countries** | **Number of MPs** | | **Number of Women** |
| Fiji | | 50 | 8 |
| Kiribati | | 46 | 3 |
| Niue | | 20 | 2 |
| Papua New Guinea | | 111 | 3 |
| Palau | | 29\* | 3 |
| Cook Islands | | 24 | 4 |
| Samoa | | 50 | 5\*\*\* |
| Tuvalu | | 15 | 1 |
| Tonga | | 26\*\* | 1 |
| Marshall Islands | | 33 | 3 |
| Solomon Islands | | 50 | 1 |
| Nauru | | 19 | 1 |
| Tokelau | | 20 | 0 |
| Federated States of Micronesia | | 14 | 0 |
| Vanuatu | | 52 | 0 |
| \* This number refers to both Houses of Congress in Palau - the House of Delegates with 16 members, and the House of Senate with 13 members.  \*\* This includes the elected representatives of the Noble ( 9 members) and the people (17 members).  \*\*\* This includes the 4 elected women representatives together with the next highest polling woman included as part of Samoa's 'special measure' for 10% of womens representation in Parliament. | | | |

*Source: Pacific Women in Politics website, UNDP,* [*http://www.pacwip.org/women-mps/national-women-mps/*](http://www.pacwip.org/women-mps/national-women-mps/).

**Table 2: Women’s representation in local government bodies in the Pacific**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **Women Elected Representatives** | | | **Women Chairs** | | |
| **Elected Reps Total (#)** | **Total Elected**  **Women (#)** | **Elected Women  (%)** | **Chairs/Heads**  **Total (#)** | **Women Chairs/**  **Heads (#)** | **Women Chairs/**  **Heads (%)** |
| **Cook Islands**  *10 Outer Island Local Governments* | 65 | 5 | 7.7% | 10 Mayors  (9 popularly elected) | 1 | 10% |
| **FSM**  *4 State Governments* | 85 | 1 | 1.2% | 4 Governors | 0 | 0 |
| **Kiribati**  *20 Island Councils*  *3 Urban Councils* | 233 | 10 | 4.3% | 23 | 2 | 8.7% |
| **Marshall Islands**  *14 Village Councils* | 63 | 23 | 36.5% |  |  |  |
| **Nauru** | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Niue** | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Palau**  *16 State Governments* |  |  |  | 16 Governors | 4 | 25% |
| **PNG\*\***  *National Capital District Council*  *20 Provincial Assemblies*  *26 Urban LLGs*  *287 Rural LLGs* | 14  -  6138 | 0  -  35 (tbc) | 0%  -  0.5% (tbc) | 1 Governor  20 Governors  313 Presidents (now popularly elected) | 0  -  - | 0%  -  - |
| **Autonomous Region of Bougainville**  *2 Urban Councils*  *40 Councils of Elders* | *9*  528 | 0  50 | 0%  9.4% | 2  40 | 0  0 | 0%  0% |
| **Samoa**  *286 Village Councils* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Solomon Islands**  *Honiara City Council*  *9 Provincial Councils* | 19  39 | 0  5 | 0  12.8 |  |  |  |
| **Tonga**  *Town and District Offices* | 179 | 1 | 0.6 |  |  |  |
| **Tuvalu:**  *8 Kaupule Councils* | 48 | 4 | 8.3 |  |  |  |
| **Vanuatu\*\*\***  *2 Municipalities*  *6 Provinces* | 26  99 | 2  0 | 7.7  0 |  |  |  |
| \*  Elected local councils suspended and then replaced by appointments from 2006 to present | | | | | | |
| \*\* Supposed to elect one woman to each Provincial Council (21 Provinces + NCD) | | | | | | |
| \*\*\* Local governments suspended as of 9 March 2012 | | | | | | |

*Source: UNDP, UN Women, CLGF & UCLG (2011)* [*Women’s Representation in Local Government in Asia Pacific Status – Report 2010*](http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/presscenter/articles/2011/03/07/asia-pacific-women-left-waiting-for-local-leadership-roles.html)

3. Existing programs on women’s political participation and leadership

Table 3 presents a snapshot of programming to advance women’s political participation in the Pacific. Noting that the regional consultation will explore the impact of these programmes further, some initial reflections are also presented.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Focus area** | **Programmes implemented in the Pacific** | **Reflections** |
| **Legislative reform** | In the Pacific, the focus in this area has been in encouraging legal reforms to establish temporary special measures (TSMs). Actors in this space include **UN Women** and **UNDP** (supporting work in Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu), in partnership with stakeholders in each country (e.g. the **Ministry of Women, Youth, Children and Family Affairs** in Solomon Islands, and the **Department of Women** in Vanuatu). In 2015, UNDP, UN Women and PIFS, with the support of DFAT, organised a regional conference on good practices on TSM implementation. The conference report, covering lessons learned, will be available soon. In Fiji, the **Fiji Women’s Rights Movement** played a significant role in facilitating women’s input during community consultations on the Fiji Constitution. | * TSMs have been implemented in Bougainville, Samoa (national), and Vanuatu (municipal). (The Parity Law applies to the French territories in the Pacific.) * TSMs are often seen as a ‘foreign imposition’ in the Pacific. In some countries, there is considerable resistance to their implementation. * Successful take-up of TSMs has occurred when specific electoral and cultural contexts have been taken into account (e.g. Samoa and Vanuatu). |
| **Political parties** | The **UNDP** has done some work with political parties in select countries in the region. Prior to 2013, the **Centre for Democratic Institutions** (CDI) ran numerous programmes for political parties in Melanesia, but is currently not engaging in this work. In PNG, **Australian political parties** (e.g. Australian Labor Party, Liberal Party of Australia, the Greens) have been working with ‘like-minded’ candidates on fundraising and campaign training. | * Reviews and evaluations have pointed to the need to work more strategically with political parties in the Pacific. * Many Pacific Island Countries have weak political party systems and structures. * Electoral assistance is a highly regulated area of work for the UN, and UN agencies are required to work in accordance with specific guiding principles. |
| **Electoral administrations support gender equality** | The **Commonwealth Pacific Governance Facility** has provided technical assistance to Commonwealth Pacific member countries to help strengthen democratic institutions’ – including electoral commissions – capacity and processes. In Samoa, the **Office of the Electoral Commission** was involved in implementing the Constitutional Amendment that provided for an additional five seats for women to the national parliament. With **UN Women** support, the OEC has been recently working to improve its own gender sensitivity, and to ensure voter and community outreach programmes are gender sensitive. In Vanuatu, the **Electoral Commission** has run a series of diagnostic assessments of past elections, to determine success and hindrance factors for women’s election. | * Many electoral commissions are willing partners in the Pacific. * Programmes with EMBs would be more effective if they were designed across the electoral cycle (i.e. not just a few months prior to an election). |
| **Candidate training** | **UN Women** has run a series of Transformational Leadership Programmes and Empowerment Series across the region, as well as BRIDGE trainings under the GEPG programme (2009-2013). These programmes train women in a range of campaign skills including public speaking and campaign message crafting. **UNDP** has facilitated a series of practice (sometimes called ‘mock’) parliaments which give prospective candidates a sense of what it is like to be in parliament. The **Pacific Leadership Programme** (PLP) has run leadership development forums for women candidates. The **CDI** ran women in politics courses, aimed at women candidates and also produced a Campaign Handbook for Women Candidates in the PNG local elections in 2013. The **Commonwealth Local Government Forum** (CLGF) has run candidate training for women at the local government level. **International Women’s Development Agency** (IWDA) also supports candidate training. | * This is the core area of programming across the Pacific. * There has been limited follow up with candidates after training:   + many are not elected, and therefore no longer supported (questioning the ‘transformational’ nature of leadership programmes);   + those few who are elected become the responsibility of other programmes – but there is no coordination. * Some training programmes have not developed required skills for campaigning, instead focusing on awareness raising - questioning relevance and applicability. * Women’s leadership and capacity to attract support at grassroots level must be developed. |
| **Campaign finance support** | A leader in this space is **IWDA**, which with its Funding Leadership Opportunities for Women (FLOW) program, seeks to build the capacity and confidence of individual women to participate in decision-making processes and assume positions of civil and political leadership. It has, for example, supported crowd funding for candidates in Bougainville.**FWRM**previously ran a fundraising exercise for women candidates, although it was subsequently found that this activity contravened the Electoral Code in Fiji. | * This is a challenging area of programming because most international actors are required to remain politically impartial in their provision of electoral assistance, and may not fund the campaigns of individual candidates. * Constituency development funds are another key challenge – women candidates are competing with incumbent male candidates who have access to large funds to run their campaigns. |
| **Supportive networks for women** | The **Women in Shared Decision Making** (WiSDM) coalition was established in both Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.   * In Solomons, it formed as a collaborative effort between government, women’s NGOs, development partners and volunteers. All work on temporary special measures was coordinated by the WISDM. WISDM was asked to undertake widespread consultations in the community on the proposed candidate quota, across the country. * In Vanuatu, the coalition was created in 2012, composed of representatives from the Vanuatu Electoral Office, the Attorney General’s Office, the University of the South Pacific and the Department of Women’s Affairs (DWA). DWA was the secretariat and main driver for the coalition to lead the strategic lobbying and legislative review.   **IWDA’s** PWLP aimed to increase the capacity of women’s civil society in Fiji, Solomon Islands and PNG to advocate for increased coherence between national and regional commitments to gender equality. In particular, **IWDA’s FLOW** program is based on the premise that supporting and strengthening the capacities of women’s organisations and networks is key to enabling women’s political engagement, advocating for change and providing a safe space for women to come together and act collectively.  At the local level, **UN Women** through its Markets for Change (M4C) Project in Fiji, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, has supported women in creating vendor associations. The vast majority of these associations have been led by women – reflecting a strong potential support base for women leaders at the local level. | * Supporting CSO networks has been a strong area of programming in the Pacific. * More strategic thinking is required to translate this support into greater numbers of women elected or gender equality reforms. |
| **Community awareness raising** | **UN Women** and **UNDP** have implemented a number of civic education initiatives in their programme countries. **FWRM** conducted a voter education survey to ascertain voter attitudes towards women in politics. **IWDA’s** FLOW program has also worked to increase voter willingness and community support for women in leadership positions. **UN Women** has also worked with a range of stakeholders (including UNDP and civil society organisations) in Solomon Islands and Samoa to create radio programs on women’s political participation. Both radio series were run prior to national elections in those countries. | * Awareness raising on gender equality and women’s political empowerment is another area of programming focus in the Pacific. * More thinking is required on the messages and methods of this outreach. * The extent of the reach of these radio/media programmes has been questioned. * More work could be done in refining the messages of these programmes (e.g. on violence). |
| **Gender sensitive media** | **UN Women** delivered media training in Nauru ahead of elections. Under the **Increasing the Political Participation of Women in Samoa** (IPPWS) project, journalism students from the National University of Samoa received gender sensitive training. The **Women United Together Marshall Islands** (WUTMI) coalition has run a ‘Women in Leadership’ media campaign. **FemLINKPACIFIC** convenes a regional feminist media network, enabling and supporting correspondents in partner organisations in Bougainville, Solomon Islands and Tonga to produce regular content reflecting priorities based on GPPAC Pacific and CSO network activities. | * Media outlets themselves can be seen as institutions where cultural change is required, not only in the content of their work, but also in the structure of their organisations (e.g. more women in leadership, development of gender policies with commitments to cover gender issues, etc.). |
| **Elected women’s leadership** | **PLP**has supported the Women in Leadership Advocates network of women parliamentarians, chief executive officers and public service commissioners. This network collaborates with the Samoa National Leadership Development Forum and other stakeholders to address issues affecting women leaders in Samoa.Under the **Pacific Women’s Parliamentary Partnerships** project (PWPP), women elected to national parliaments around the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand have met annually to discuss issues of importance to them. PWPP has also designed a learning module for women parliamentarians on gender equality. Following their participation in the PWPP, women Senators from Palau established the **Centre for Women in Belau** (C-WEB), a group that aims to promote women’s political participation. | * Promoting elected women’s leadership has received some programmatic attention in the Pacific, but this has not frequently translated into gender equality reforms. * Networking among women MPs in the Pacific has been a positive outcome of these leadership programmes – with Pacific women MPs better able to connect with each other, and discuss gender equality issues. |
| **Gender sensitive parliaments** | The **UNDP** has been the primary implementer of parliamentary assistance projects in the Pacific. Its core project is with the Parliament of Fiji, with which it has supported reform of the standing orders (now including a provision for gender mainstreaming across parliamentary committee work), working to establish a women’s caucus. The **IPPWS** project, implemented jointly by UN Women and UNDP in Samoa has also engaged parliament, as an institution. In addition to its work with women MPs, **PWPP** has worked to support parliamentary staff by establishing scholarships to the Australian Parliamentary Library for staff to undertake a gender equality-related research project under the guidance of library staff. Having developed key resources in this field, **IPU** is looking to further its work in the Pacific, having recently supported (with UNDP) a Needs Assessment Mission to the Parliament of Fiji on Gender Equality and the Sustainable Development Goals. | * Gender sensitive rule changes were passed in Fiji but have been difficult to implement comprehensively. * More thinking is required to ensure that reforms can be implemented sustainably by parliaments themselves without resorting to external consultants (e.g. to do gender analysis). |
| **Supporting young women in politics** | The **Young Women’s Parliamentary Group Solomon Islands** was established to channel the voice of young women in the country’s political development by, among other things, arranging discussions on a wide and topical range of social, political issues of relevance to the Solomon Islands. **IWDA** has commissioned research on young women’s leadership in Bougainville. The **Pacific Young Women’s Leadership Alliance** is a platform representing an established network of women leaders with a representative voice in the Pacific Region on issues affecting young women. The Alliance is composed of regional and UN organizations. At a regional level, **UN Women** has run trainings for young women leaders. UNDP and UN Women have created a joint peacebuilding project in the Solomon Islands, with a focus on young women leaders. | * Strong programmes exist to support young women’s political participation across the Pacific, although there are question marks around young women’s voice in formal politics in the region. |

4. Lessons learned from previous programming

Numerous evaluations and reviews have been conducted on women’s political empowerment and leadership in the Pacific. These reviews have presented consistent findings on the programmes implemented to date:

* A **plethora of actors** in the region has implemented **ad hoc, piecemeal, and unconnected activities**, often in the immediate **pre-election phase** (i.e. 3 months before the election).
* There is a critical need to **discontinue the duplication of effort** currently evidenced across many programmes in this area and **improve coordination and effectiveness**.
* A **comprehensive** **theory of change**, with clear goals, outcomes and outputs, and relevant indicators that apply in each national context, has been missing in this thematic area in the Pacific. Programming is often **not responsive to evaluations and lessons learned**, instead being replicated in different countries **without an analysis of its applicability and relevance** to the specific national circumstances (e.g. practice parliaments).
* While the capacity and development of **political parties** in the Pacific varies considerably, there is scope to work more effectively with existing parties to improve **internal democracy**, cultivate stronger **commitments to gender equality**, and encourage political parties’ **nomination and financial support of more women** candidates.
* A primary area of activity has been in training women candidates – particularly at the national level. In the Pacific, **training has not been a strong indicator of electoral success**: many women who have been trained have not been elected and vice versa. Women are significantly **disadvantaged** in certain countries of the region where candidates must prove to voters their ability to **disperse sufficient funds** to provide for the community’s school fees, medical services etc. Innovative solutions need to be found to ensure women have sufficient financial resources, logistics, and communication skillsto level the playing field with male incumbents.
* Support must be given **women contesting both national and subnational elections** and support for women candidates should **continue in the election aftermath** – irrespective of whether those women have been elected or not.
* More effective programming is required to **strengthen** **Pacific parliaments’ gender sensitivity**, including their engagement with women’s organisations, establishment of gender mainstreaming mechanisms (e.g. women’s caucuses, or regional network of women MPs).
* While **research** is being conducted in some areas of the Pacific, it is often **not applicable to all sub-regions** (most notably, Micronesia), and does **not cover a comprehensive spectrum of programme areas** related to WPEL. Research most commonly covers the election of women to political institutions (or, women’s lack of electoral success). Stronger research capacity should be created within Pacific research institutes and universities.
* Opportunities to develop more **inter-disciplinary programming** should be seized. **Violence against women in electoral and political processes** has become of increasing concern as more women enter the political space and this continues to challenge entrenched stereotypes about women’s role in society. There is scope to develop a much stronger program to encourage parliaments, local governments, media organisations, and electoral management bodies to focus on the elimination of violence, harassment and intimidation of women within their own institutions. Stronger synergies can also be harnessed with **economic empowerment** programs – for example, the Markets for Change programme could be expanded to encourage women to transition to **leadership positions in local politics**.

5. Reviewing the lens: is a comprehensive programme feasible?

Since 2015, UN Women has been developing a comprehensive approach to programming in the field of women’s political empowerment and leadership. This comprehensive approach builds on research that shows women’s increased political participation and leadership results from a confluence of factors, including the removal of legal and logistical barriers; implementation of supportive frameworks; promotion of women’s leadership through political party reform; support of CSOs and a positive shift in societal gender norms. Importantly, these are challenges faced in all corners of the globe.

This understood, UN Women has developed a theory of change (see Appendix B) which identifies four pillars of action to ensure women’s full and effective leadership at all levels of decision-making requires:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **1** | **Support development and implementation of** **robust legal frameworks and administrative arrangements** that facilitate women’s participation. This includes relevant reforms to constitutions, gender equality laws or party statutes, and policy actions such as setting numerical targets for women in leadership positions with temporary special measures (TSMs) and reforming party statutes. |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| **2** | **Expand the pool of qualified and capable women** **to run for election**, including through initiating programmes that boost women’s confidence and capacity to lead, enhancing their campaign strategies and techniques and promoting linkages with supportive CSOs. |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| **3** | **Transform gender norms so that women are accepted as legitimate and effective leaders** including through developing campaigns that sensitize the media and electorate on the need for women in public life at all levels. |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| **4** | **Support women leaders in gender-sensitive political institutions**, including parliament, political parties and EMBs, to attract, promote and retain women leaders, and highlight the constructive contribution they make to decision-making. |  | Snip20160713_8.png |

6. Moving forward: applying a comprehensive programming approach in the Pacific

The agenda of the Regional Consultation on Women’s Political Empowerment and Leadership is structured around a comprehensive understanding of programming in this thematic area, covering:

* promoting legislative frameworks for gender equality (with particular focus on the subject of temporary special measures);
* gender sensitising the work of electoral management bodies, and ensuring violence-free elections;
* encouraging political parties to promote women and improve internal democracy;
* harnessing women’s capacity to run for election;
* supporting women to run through finance and networks;
* transforming gender norms through community outreach and the media;
* supporting elected women to pursue gender equality reforms and inspire young women leaders;
* developing more sustainable research capacity in political institutions; and
* encouraging institutional change for gender equality.

The regional consultation will identify *whether programmes in these output areas* ***have achieved desired results*** *and what has either* ***enabled or prevented*** *that* ***success****; and* *how programmes can be more* ***appropriately tailored to specific national******context*** *and the most appropriate partners in each country.*

Each session should clarify success and hindrance factors, that can then be used to begin conceptualising a more comprehensive programme in particular countries of the region.

*If (1) women from diverse groups have enhanced capacity to seek leadership and have skills to mobilize resources, then (2) more women will be nominated as political contestants because (3) there are sufficient numbers of skilled women for gatekeepers to select from*

*If (1) women’s participation is enabled through policy and legal frameworks, electoral arrangements and selection processes, and if VAW is mitigated, then (2) women will run for election because (3) there is a more level playing field*

**4. Women are promoted as leaders in gender sensitive political institutions**. *Key indicators: # of committees chaired by women; # of women’s caucuses; # of reforms to standing orders in parliament; # of parliaments adopting gender sensitive reforms; # EMB women leaders*

**2. A cadre of interested, diverse and capable women political leaders is formed**.*Key indicators: % increase in pool of potential women candidates; % increase in indigenous women nominated; # of networks supporting women’s leadership ability*

**3. Women are perceived as equally legitimate and effective political leaders as men***. Key indicators: # of targeted community campaigns; # of leaders supporting HeforShe; # of media articles portraying women positively; # of community dialogues; # of dialogues with male leaders*

**2.2. Enhance women’s capacity to conduct competitive, well-resourced and innovative campaigns** *(capacity development of women candidates on campaign messaging, outreach, using ICT and social media campaigns; access to women’s fundraising networks)*

**2.1. Increased technical capacity of women to engage in leadership contests** *(capacity development of women aspirants; public speaking; constituency engagement; transformative leadership training, including of young and marginalized women)*

**1.1. Strengthened legislative framework enables women’s participation and leadership** *(reforms to constitutions, electoral frameworks- voters, candidates, party members; promotion of GE/parity; political finance & campaign expenditure caps; quotas with sanctions legislated and enforced; violence criminalized)*

**1. Electoral frameworks and arrangements promote gender balance in elections**. *Key indicators: % legislative reforms; # countries where EMBs implement GE Action Plans; # countries with laws on violence against in politics; % countries with electoral laws fully implemented; # of women nominated by parties; # countries with funding regulations on gender*

Outcomes

**2.3. Diverse networks of support for women leaders created and sustained** *(e.g. working with professional networks, CSO networks, social media networks, political parties, youth groups)*

Outcome TOC Statement

*If (1) communities, civil society, the media and political leaders support women’s role in public life then (2) the number of women will increase because (3) discriminatory attitudes will be removed and women will be accepted as legitimate political leaders*

**3.1. Increased community and civic understanding of gender equality and women’s right to political participation** *(provision of outreach; community dialogues; women & gender advocates articulate demands)*

**3.2 The media promotes positive portrayals of women leaders and gender equality as a social goal** *(media awareness raising, targeted campaigns, media code of conduct, social media)*

* There is political will to adopt reforms.
* Some technical knowledge already exists among key national stakeholders.
* Providing technical support will result in reformed legal frameworks.
* Pol party nomination procedures discriminate against women.

Key Assumptions

* A select group of women are willing to enter politics and lead.
* Most women are outside moneyed networks.
* Political parties will nominate skilled and resourced women candidates
* National stakeholders and donors willing to support women’s networks and GE advocates
* The capacities of women to run innovative and well-resourced campaigns can be strengthened.

**4.2. Institutions are receptive to women leaders** *(family-friendly policies; child care; hours of operation; unwritten rules of debate/decorum; accountability for gender equality commitments))*

**Women Lead in Political Decision-Making**

*Key indicators: % of women leaders (Heads of Government/State; MPs; local councilors; mayors); % increase in women candidates; # of political parties led by women.*

* Media shapes public perceptions
* Lack of understanding of gender equality leads to discriminatory behavior
* Raising awareness about gender discrimination will lead to transformation in attitudes
* Leading my example has positive effect in communities
* Political upheavals stall parliamentary and legislative processes ● Gender equality not considered a priority in electoral administration ● Legislation not enforced
* National partners have limited capacities to apply knowledge
* Ineffective oversight of the Parliament and lack of accountability

Risks & Barriers

* Deeply ingrained mentalities impossible to change
* Men benefit from, and perpetuate, status quo
* Combating discriminatory attitudes is insufficient without additional structural changes
* Parties may nominate women but voters don’t elect them ● Male incumbents are able to raise more money than women

If (1) electoral frameworks and arrangements promote gender balance in elections; if (2) a cadre of interested, diverse and capable women political leaders is formed; if (3) women are perceived as equally legitimate political leaders as men in society; and if (4) women are promoted as leaders in gender sensitive political institutions, then (5) women will be politically empowered and realize their rights, because (6) women will have political agency and lead in decision-making.

**4.4. Women serve as role models to inspire a new generation of leaders** *(role-model effect, showcase positive examples through iKNOW Politics, retention of women leaders; outreach to young women and women from marginalized groups)*

* Institutions are historically gendered but open to change
* Newly elected leaders require capacity building/skills development
* Creating forums for women aids in creating a supportive environment
* Women are interested in supporting other women
* Limited capacity of partners to put in place systems for gender responsive planning and policy making ● Institutions are slow to reform.

**1.2. Political party policies and procedures reform to include women** *(campaigns target gate-keepers to select women; voluntary reforms to party statutes; women nominated in winnable positions; codes of conduct, accountability of women leaders)*

**1.3. Violence against women in elections is mitigated** *(capacity building of security forces; data collection; CSO monitoring mechanisms and women’s situation rooms in place)*

**4.3. Political institutions promote and monitor a violence-free culture** (*political parties adopt codes of conduct; parliaments reform standing orders (i.e. to combat harassment)*

**3.3. Political leaders publically promote gender equality and women’s leadership** *(stakeholders like traditional leaders, political party leaders publicly support women; public statements; male political leaders support HeForShe campaign)*

Goal TOC Statement

*If (1) elected women are empowered by institutional reforms and (2) women’s leadership is promoted then (3) women will encourage more women into leadership because (3) they are role models*

**1.4. Electoral arrangements enhance women’s political participation and leadership** *(EMBs guarantee women can register and vote; women have access to ID documents; measures put in place to encourage participation in elections; voter outreach; women lead in electoral management))*

Goal

**Appendix A: Draft UN Women Theory of Change: Women’s Political Empowerment and Leadership**

**4.1. Elected women apply leadership skills** *(mentoring; capacity building of newly elected leaders, forums for women leaders, women’s caucuses; legislative drafting expertise; leadership training; peer-to-peer learning)*

Outputs

Appendix B: Key resources (by area of programming)

**Legislative frameworks**

* *Temporary Special Measures to Increase Women’s Political Participation in the Pacific: Case Studies of Implementation in the Region* (forthcoming)
* *Mapping of existing legislation, programs and other mechanisms to support Women’s Leadership in the Pacific*, PWSPD, 2014, available at: <http://www.pacificwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/Mapping-of-existing-legislation.pdf>
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