WOMEN IN POWER PROJECT SUMMARY REPORT

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Disclaimer

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FIGURES AND TABLES

ACRONYMS

BiH	Bosnia & Herzegovina
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CDCS	Country Development Cooperation Strategy
DCAF	Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DLM	Diamond Leadership Model
DRG	Democracy, Human Rights and Governance
EMB	Electoral Management Body
EPP	Elections and Political Processes
EPT	Elections and Political Transitions
GEI	Gender Equity Index
GGGI	Global Gender Gap Index
GII	Gender Inequality Index
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
ILO	International Labor Organization
IP	Implementing Partner
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IR	Intermediate Result
IRI	International Republican Institute
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MP	Member of Parliament
MSI	Management Systems International
NAP	National Action Plan
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RESDAL	Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina / Security and Defense Network of Latin America
SMS	Short Messaging Service
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WiP	Women in Power
WPS	Women's Power Score

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Countries cannot fully realize democratic governance and sustainable development without women's equal participation in all facets of life, including in politics. The Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG Center) of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) launched the **Women in Power (WiP)** project to better understand its women's political empowerment programming; to improve upon existing measures of women's political leadership; and to bring donors, practitioners and academics together for mutual learning to advance work in this field.

The WiP project generated substantial insights and best-practice strategies to increase the *supply* of women with the skills, experience and will to run for and serve in public office; strengthen the *demand* for women politicians and leaders; or both. Supply-side strategies provide insights on how USAID and its partners can more effectively support women leaders and candidates, close campaign finance gaps and enhance elected women's leadership and policymaking skills. Demand-side strategies highlight practices that support the inclusion of women participants in political transitions and foster women's access to institutions that include political parties, electoral management bodies and legislatures. Dual supply-and-demand strategies propose ways that USAID and its partners can address deep-rooted sociocultural barriers to women's political empowerment by mainstreaming gender in civic and voter education, using the media as a force for change and combating violence against women in politics.

The WiP project also piloted a new tool for measuring women's political empowerment: the Diamond Leadership Model (DLM). It adds to existing measures of women's political leadership, most of which focus only on the percentage of women in a national legislature or executive cabinet, but do not capture variation in women's representation across government sectors. The DLM closes this data gap by measuring women's political leadership horizontally (legislative, executive, judicial and security sectors) and vertically (leadership positions at high, middle and low levels) to create a country's Women's Power Score (WPS). The project piloted the new model in 40 developing countries where USAID works. The DLM pilot study found that women's political leadership is often highly uneven across government sectors; representation in one sector does not guarantee women's leadership in other parts of the government. It also demonstrated that while much of this data was relatively easy to access, security sector data was not often publicly available and was the most challenging to collect.

The WiP project led to comprehensive and cutting-edge learning related to women's political empowerment and identified multiple areas for improvement. A key starting point for USAID and its partners is to develop a clearer definition of women's political empowerment that goes beyond the physical representation of women in government and includes their ability to influence public policy development and implementation. The project proposes a new working definition of women's political empowerment, which includes: the equal participation, representation and leadership of women within government institutions, political parties and civically engaged organizations; women's free exercise of the authority inherent in those positions; and the regular creation, implementation and enforcement of laws and policies that address women's rights, positions and priorities.

Clarifying the meaning of women's political empowerment is a necessary first step to advancing a more holistic approach to programming. The WiP project also highlighted a clear need for development practitioners to adopt longer-term and context-specific programming focused on increasing women's political empowerment during all phases of the electoral and governance cycle. This includes looking at other government sectors beyond the legislature and paying closer attention to subnational as well as national levels of government. It also requires allocating dedicated resources to support women's political empowerment programming and developing better indicators and reporting systems to measure their impact. Finally, the project identifies areas where more robust and intentional collaboration among donors, implementing partners and academics could foster better data collection, improve shared learning, contribute to more successful programming and ultimately lead to more women empowered to serve in public office.

INTRODUCTION

"Providing women and girls with equal access to … and representation in political and economic decision-making processes will fuel sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large."

— United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (2015)

Over the last century, global progress toward gender equality in politics and public life has advanced significantly. Unlike in 1915, when women had full voting rights in just five countries, 2015 was the first year that women had the legal right to vote in every country where men did.[1] Particularly over the last 20 years, women have also made considerable headway in political representation and leadership. For example, between 1995 and 2015, the number of women members of parliaments more than doubled, driven in part by the spread and growing effectiveness of legislative gender quotas (e.g., Krook 2009; Paxton and Hughes 2015). Women increasingly serve in a wide range of political positions, including party leader, legislative committee chair, chief policy adviser, mayor, court president and even military general (Paxton and Hughes 2016).

Nevertheless, progress toward gender equality in politics continues to lag behind other sectors, such as education and participation in the labor force (Dorius and Firebaugh 2010). Men outnumber women in electoral politics and public sector leadership. In January 2015, men constituted 78 percent of national legislators, 81 percent of cabinet ministers, 84 percent of parliament speakers and 93 percent of heads of state and government worldwide (IPU 2015). Even in countries where women have achieved success in some public institutions, other government sectors remain dominated by men (Hughes, Duncan and Pournik 2014). In many countries, women are also significantly less likely to vote than men (Amoateng, Heaton and Kalule-Sabiti 2014). Full gender equality in politics and public life continues to be more a goal than a reality.

The Case for Women's Political Empowerment

Gender equality is a fundamental human right (UN Sustainable Development Goals 2015). As women are a key constituency in every society, their representation among political decision-makers is a matter of justice. Beyond its intrinsic value, greater gender equality in politics and public life is powerful because women bring distinct orientations and behaviors to office (Carroll and Dodson 1991). Indeed, among citizens and legislators, women and men often have different political interests and priorities, issue positions, party preferences and legislative behavior (Paxton and Hughes 2016). Although the mere presence of women in political positions does not guarantee any particular policy outcome, their greater representation in legislatures has been linked to increased legislative focus on health and family policy, more spending on social services and foreign aid and less on defense (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Koch and Fulton 2011; Lu and Breuning 2014; Swiss, Fallon and Burgos 2012).

Empowering women politically also has broader effects. Women's political representation and leadership transforms adolescent girls' career aspirations and educational attainment; increases women's political interest, knowledge, engagement, aspirations and overall self-esteem; and improves men's assessments of women's ability to govern (Alexander and Jalalzai 2014; Barnes and Burchard 2013; Beaman et al. 2012; Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007). Gender gaps in political decision-making also shape the way both women and men see the democracies in which they live, impacting their confidence in the legislative process and trust in government (Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; Barnes and Beaulieu 2014).

Multilateral organizations have played key roles in the global struggle for gender equality in politics and public life. Since its inception, the United Nations has upheld women's political rights through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Over time, the UN and other international organizations have expanded expectations for women's political inclusion, first calling for political rights, then women's inclusion in political

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[1] Women now have the legal (de jure) right to vote in all countries that men do. This does not mean that women currently have an equal opportunity to exercise these rights in all countries, however, as this report will discuss.

decision-making and, most recently, access to political leadership (Paxton, Hughes and Green 2006). Numerous international organizations have also joined forces with local civil society organizations (CSOs) and political parties to prepare women to run for office, lobby for women's roles in political and peace processes and pressure governments to adopt gender quotas (Bush 2011; Hughes, Krook and Paxton 2015).

USAID's Approach

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) shares this international commitment to promote women's political rights, representation and leadership, as it states in several recently updated and expanded policies, plans and strategies. The 2012 USAID Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy calls for women's equal access to political rights and representation, as does the U.S. National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace and Security. In addition, the 2013 USAID Strategy on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance integrates gender equality and women's empowerment into its approach to supporting inclusive and accountable democracies.

In 2013, USAID's Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG Center) launched the Women's Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment Project, known as Women in Power (WiP). The project's main objectives were to better understand the scope, results and lessons from USAID's women's political empowerment programming to inform future work; to improve upon existing measures of women's political empowerment; and to bring donors, practitioners and academics together to enhance mutual learning. This report provides a summary of WiP research findings and offers recommendations for USAID and its development partners to build on the best existing work and expand collaborative efforts to advance women's political empowerment globally. The report begins by briefly describing each of the main elements of the project.

THE WOMEN IN POWER PROJECT: AN OVERVIEW

The Women in Power (WiP) project is a cutting-edge learning activity led by the DRG Center in partnership with Management Systems International (MSI). From October 2013 to December 2014, research teams composed of leading U.S. academics, DRG Center staff, USAID Mission field staff and specialists from MSI conducted eight studies. The WiP project culminated in a two-day workshop in Washington, D.C., to share findings among major donors and practitioners in women's political empowerment. These efforts resulted in the publication of seven reports, available at www.usaid.gov/what-we-do/gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment/addressing-gender-programming/strengthening-womens.

USAID Program Review

The **Desktop Study** was a global review of USAID programs that addressed women's political empowerment objectives.[2] It focused primarily on activities that were supported through the DRG Center's Elections and Political Processes (EPP) Fund[3] or through the Consortium for Elections and Political Processes Strengthening (CEPPS) III Leader with Associates Award.[4] The study analyzed 56 programs (for a total of 98 activities) that were implemented between 2008 and 2014. The activities covered 55 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Eurasia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East.

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2 This report defines the terms "program," "project," "activity" and "intervention" to be consistent with USAID practices at the time the programs under review were executed. For purposes of this report, a "program" is a set of projects or activities that address a common goal, set of objectives and results. "Project" and "activity" are used interchangeably to refer to a USAID award to a partner to implement a set of interventions designed to address a common goal, set of objectives and results.

3 The EPP Fund is a centrally managed fund that provides approximately $30 million annually to USAID missions to support programming for snap elections or other unanticipated elections and political processes needs, windows of opportunity and innovative program approaches.

4 CEPPS is a joint venture of three non-governmental organizations working to advance democratic governance worldwide: the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI).

Complementing the Desktop Study's global overview were in-depth **Country Case Studies** from each of the five regions where USAID works: **Cambodia**, **Georgia**, **Jordan**, **Kenya** and **Mexico**. The research teams selected countries that varied by level of democracy (Freedom House 2013) and where programs achieved at least half of their gender-related performance indicators. The case studies assessed the results of select USAID activities from the Desktop Study, along with broader progress toward gender equality in elected and appointed positions across all sectors of government. They ascertained obstacles to women's political empowerment, identified successful USAID program strategies, recommended ways to improve future programming and collected data for the next phase of the project, the application of the Diamond Leadership Model.

Diamond Leadership Model and Pilot Test

The WiP project contributed to the measurement of women's political empowerment through the **Diamond Leadership Model** (DLM). It measures women's numerical representation in 12 different leadership positions in the legislative, executive, judicial and security sectors across high, middle and low leadership tiers. The DLM indicators — which measure the percentage of women represented in each of the 12 leadership positions — are weighted and combined to create the Women's Power Score.

WiP piloted the DLM in 40 countries. Countries in the pilot study fall under low, lower-middle or upper-middle income categories (World Bank 2013); are mostly classified as "free" or "partly free" by Freedom House (2013); and are in Asia, Eastern Europe and Eurasia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Africa. The pilot study had two purposes. First, it tested the feasibility of collecting consistent and comparable data on a broad set of indicators of women's political leadership. Second, the pilot study considered what lessons could be learned about women's political empowerment by using a more expansive set of indicators of women's political leadership than typically analyzed by donors and practitioners.

Multi-Stakeholder Workshop

The research phase of the WiP project culminated in a two-day participatory workshop in Washington, D.C., in November 2014 to share the preliminary research findings and identify areas for future research and collaboration. The workshop brought together representatives of intergovernmental organizations such as, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU); non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL, the Security and Defense Network of Latin America) and the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF); implementing partners, such as the International Republican Institute (IRI), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI); academics; and participants from USAID/Washington and Missions, the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement and Office of Global Women's Issues, and Management Systems International (MSI).

KEY FINDINGS

Through the studies and workshop discussions, the WiP project generated numerous important findings, which are summarized here in two sets. The first set focuses on elections and political processes programs with women's leadership and political empowerment objectives; it summarizes the scope of USAID programs reviewed, key lessons learned and best practices to guide future programming. The second set focuses on the Diamond Leadership Model, outlining the need for a new measure, introducing the model and the Women's Power Score (WPS) and offering findings based on the pilot study. Recommendations for USAID and its partners, drawn from the combined sets of findings, are presented in the final section of the report.
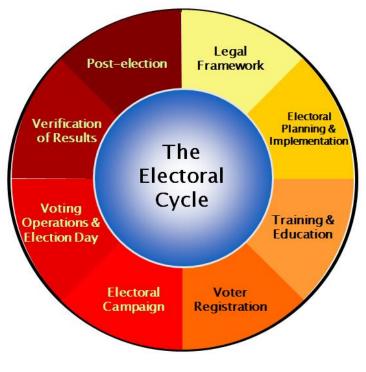
USAID's Women's Political Empowerment Programs

The review of USAID programming generated useful lessons learned and insights into ways that donors and implementing partners can best advance women's political empowerment. The reviewed activities were drawn from the elections and political transitions (EPT) subsector. While the findings that follow therefore focus mostly on women's access to and influence over the legislative branch and the political process, they also have broader application across the DRG sector. This section summarizes findings from the review of these activities, explains the supply-and-demand framework that USAID uses to conceptualize women's political empowerment and identifies programming best practices to advance the supply of and demand for women's political participation, representation and leadership.

Scope of USAID Programs Reviewed

The Desktop Study and five country-level case studies reviewed 56 programs, comprising 98 activities, implemented between 2008 and 2014. The programs reached all five regions where USAID works; however, most (60 percent) were in Africa and Asia. Through these activities, USAID and its implementing partners engaged a broad range of actors, including voters, candidates, legislators, political parties, election observers, electoral management bodies, media outlets and civil society activists and organizations.

Eleven of the programs were *gender-primary* — meaning that the main program objectives focused primarily on women's political empowerment. The rest were *gender-integrated*, where women's political empowerment was one part or a secondary objective of a broader effort to strengthen political participation and accountability. Gender-integrated activities often targeted women alongside youth, persons with disabilities and other traditionally marginalized groups.

FIGURE 1. THE ELECTORAL CYCLE

Combined, the gender-primary and gender-integrated programs committed substantial resources, totaling more than $300 million over six years. Based on available data, the research team was not able to determine precisely how much of this $300 million funded women's political empowerment activities or program objectives. However, the Desktop Study did reveal that gender-primary programs generally received substantially lower levels of funding than gender-integrated ones did. Indeed, four of the gender-primary programs had budgets of $50,000 or less.

Women's political empowerment activities spanned all phases of the electoral cycle: pre-election, election and post-election (see Figure 1). In countries transitioning to democracy or out of conflict, activities typically aimed to enhance women's roles in constitution development and the peac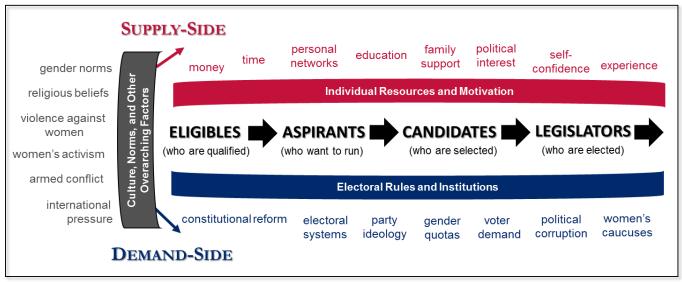e process. In the pre-election phase, activities primarily focused on empowering women as voters, increasing the number of women candidates, encouraging political parties to be more inclusive and educating the public about their civic and electoral

rights. Closer to the day of the election, the primary focus narrowed to voter education, mobilizing women voters and observers and getting women candidates elected. Post-election activities sought to establish and strengthen elected women's capacity and influence as policymakers and to advocate for gender quotas and related measures to improve women's rate of success in future elections. However, the Desktop Study found that more than half of the programs lasted only one to three years, with most activities focusing on only part of the electoral and governance cycle, potentially limiting their impact and sustainability.

Women's Political Empowerment: A Supply-and-Demand Framework

Collectively, USAID women's political empowerment programs generally recognize that increasing women's political presence, access and influence requires transforming two types of factors in any country: supply-side and demand-side. *Supply-side factors* increase the number of women with the capabilities, resources and motivation to run for office. Increasing the supply of women ready to assume political roles is thus achieved by addressing their access to resources (e.g., money, time, personal networks) and willingness to participate in politics (e.g., political interest, self-confidence). *Demand-side factors*, on the other hand, influence whether women will be recruited from the supply to become candidates, legislators and political leaders. Increasing demand for women in leadership positions is achieved by changing the rules and incentives of the political game (e.g., through gender quotas, other electoral reforms, greater institutional transparency) and shaping the behavior of the political gatekeepers (e.g., political parties and political leaders) and voters. Some factors influence both supply and demand, such as cultural attitudes about what roles and positions are appropriate for men and women in a given society. Figure 2 summarizes the influence of supply- and demand-side factors at different stages of political recruitment.

Politically empowering women requires attention to both supply- and demand-side factors. For example, increasing the number of capable women is insufficient if political parties are unwilling to nominate them or to place women in winnable positions on party lists. Likewise, removing barriers to women's access to elected office does not empower them if they lack the confidence, resources and networks to navigate political institutions and to press for their voices to be heard once they arrive.

FIGURE 2. THE INFLUENCE OF SUPPLY-SIDE AND DEMAND-SIDE FACTORS

Sources: Adapted from Matland (2002); Paxton and Hughes (2016)

Insights and Best Practices

The WiP project generated insights into ways that USAID programming has advanced women's political empowerment and how future programs can build on these lessons. The following lessons and best practices identified by the WiP project, including specific interventions (see also Annex 1), stand out as particularly effective. Practitioners may use them when designing program strategies in any country. The insights and best practices are organized below to highlight key supply-side, demand-side and dual (supply-and-demand-side) approaches to politically empower women.

Supply-Side Strategies to Increase the Number of Qualified Women Leaders

Across the world, societies and social structures (e.g., the family, education systems, the labor force) tend to be configured in ways that prevent women from gaining the necessary skills and confidence to participate in politics or compete against men for public office. Many USAID women's political empowerment programs seek to close these gaps. Approximately 38 percent of the programs reviewed under the WiP project targeted the supply of women leaders, candidates or elected officials in some way. Insights and select best practices for supply-side activities are summarized below.

Train Women Leaders and Candidates. In contexts where women's resources and skills are limited, training, mentoring and coaching women leaders and candidates is a first step to women's political empowerment. Effective USAID strategies engage local networks to increase the relevance, reach and sustainability of training programs.

- <u>Train women over a sustained period of time</u>. Consistent and methodical work with female prospective candidates yields better results than offering stand-alone training workshops during just one phase of the electoral cycle. This creates continuity and allows time for skills and capacities to develop with practice. For example, in Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH), many of the women who won municipal council seats in 2012 had engaged in multiple activities with USAID partner IRI's Young Women's Leadership Academy prior to the election. This three-year program included training on public speaking, voter targeting and online campaigning; and it helped women candidates prepare for local elections. To be most effective, pre-election training for women candidates should be followed by post-election support for newly elected women to further build capacity once in office (see "Enhance Leadership of Elected Women" below).

- <u>After elections, investigate what worked and what didn't</u>. Post-election debriefing and analysis is an often-overlooked but particularly important learning activity. Some contexts pose unique challenges for women aspirants and candidates, and it is useful to find out how women overcame or failed to overcome these challenges. In Kyrgyzstan, Niger, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, following up with trained women who won and lost their elections revealed insights for future campaigns and training activities.

- <u>Engage local women leaders and CSOs in curriculum design and training</u>. Local women leaders and CSOs increase the relevance and impact of training because they contribute their knowledge of local institutions, culture, language and more. Of the 26 programs that implemented training, seven involved local women leaders and eight partnered with CSOs. In Azerbaijan and Cambodia, local women leaders served as role models and provided "proof" that women can succeed, and CSOs were involved early on in candidate training.

- <u>Use training-of-trainer models</u>. Limited program resources can reach more women who are prospective candidates, especially at local levels away from capital cities, through training-of-trainer (TOT) models — when trainees pass their knowledge to others in their communities through subsequent trainings. Eight of the 26 programs that trained women candidates used TOT models. Monitoring and follow-up support by lead trainers can help ensure that trainees follow program guidelines when they train others. In Indonesia, participants in a leadership training by USAID partner IRI held follow-on workshops for their fellow party

members at the local level. Most local-level participants demonstrated an increased understanding of constituency outreach and reported plans to share the information and prepare for the next election.

Close Campaign Finance Gaps. Political campaigns are expensive to run and in many countries they have been getting pricier (Bussey 2000). Respondents in all five WiP case study countries pointed to women's financial disadvantage as a significant obstacle to their political empowerment. Some USAID programs have addressed this issue, but they could do much more.

- <u>Train women to fundraise</u>. The high cost of running a successful campaign often disproportionately puts women at a disadvantage. In countries such as Albania, Haiti, Mexico and Sierra Leone, candidate training programs included discussion of how to raise campaign funds.

- <u>Establish fundraising networks to support women candidates</u>. Networks can build momentum and necessary broad-based support to effectively fundraise. In Jordan and Mexico, USAID partner NDI explored creating women's campaign finance networks, similar to EMILY's List in the United States.

Enhance Leadership of Elected Women. In countries where women had already experienced electoral success, USAID programs strengthened elected women's abilities to influence policies and attain leadership positions — essential for successful representation of women and other marginalized groups in governance. Best practices include:

- <u>Conduct orientations for newly elected women</u>. Such sessions provide basics on how to be an elected representative. Although relatively few programs featured orientations, they showed great promise in Cote d'Ivoire, where 25 percent of the women who won election now occupy leadership positions in the National Assembly, including the chairmanships of 50 percent of the standing committees. One of the assembly's vice presidents attributed this outcome to the USAID-sponsored orientation program.

- <u>Provide elected women with tools and skills to govern more effectively</u>. In at least eight countries (Albania, BiH, Cambodia, Colombia, Jordan, Lebanon, Mexico and Niger), elected women received training in communication and media relations; community outreach and mobilization; administrative and budget procedures; and management and leadership. These trainings helped women legislators be more effective representatives, policymakers and leaders. In Jordan, for example, after attending a series of USAID-sponsored workshops, women parliamentarians began hosting town halls with their constituents and more actively contributing to parliamentary deliberations.

- <u>Build and strengthen women's networks</u>. Women can be a resource for one another. USAID activities can create opportunities for women to build effective networks. Some women's political empowerment programs created spaces for elected women to network across parties (e.g., in BiH) or with women's CSOs (e.g., Cambodia). A two-day forum in Afghanistan sponsored by USAID partner NDI convened at least 47 women councilors from around the country to share best practices and challenges in implementing activities.

- <u>Convene policy dialogues</u>. Elected women can be more effective in advancing women's policy interests when they have opportunities to learn about and discuss issues that affect them and their constituencies. USAID programs in nine countries (Niger, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Nepal, Azerbaijan, Peru, Jordan, Georgia and Paraguay) brought elected women together for policy dialogues. In Azerbaijan, USAID sponsored a Women's Leadership Conference to foster policy dialogue among more than 100 stakeholders, including CSO and government representatives. The dialogue resulted in 22 policy recommendations submitted to the Cabinet of Ministers. In Jordan, USAID partner NDI worked closely with women parliamentarians, senators and women's organizations on promoting gender equality through amending the Jordanian legal framework and promoting international standards and best practices.

Demand-Side Strategies to Increase Women's Access to Political Institutions

Creating change is not just about ensuring that women are capable and willing to engage in political life. Effective programming must also increase the demand for women's political empowerment by targeting political institutions, the rules that govern them and their gatekeepers. Approximately 30 percent of reviewed programs engaged in several types of activities designed to do just this. Insights and select best practices from demand-side activities are summarized below.

Foster Women's Inclusion in Legal and Institutional Development During Transitions. In the wake of conflict or during democratic transitions, countries often remake their institutions. They sign peace accords, write new constitutions and choose new electoral systems. In essence, this is often an opportunity for the rules of the country to be rewritten. Women's inclusion in these processes offers an unparalleled opportunity to create political institutions that are more favorable to women's political representation and leadership (Hughes 2009; Tripp 2015). At a time when visions for a country's future often differ, USAID best practices draw attention to and promote inclusion of women's perspectives.

- Include women's perspectives during constitution development. Inclusion of women political and civic leaders in constitution development processes can enable women's voices to be heard and their interests to be taken seriously by transitional regimes drafting constitutions. For example, in South Sudan, USAID partners IRI and NDI, together with UN Women, sponsored South Sudan's first Women's Constitutional Conference to engage women in developing South Sudan's permanent constitution. Similarly, in Nepal, USAID partner NDI helped a cross-party women's alliance advocate for women's rights during constitution drafting.

- Enable women to participate in peacebuilding processes. In countries emerging from conflict, women are often excluded from peace negotiations, which are a critical juncture in a nation's development that frequently sets political priorities for future generations. USAID activities can enable women to develop strategic skills to navigate and leverage influence during these processes and can assist women in overcoming common barriers to participation, such as childcare and the costs of travel or lodging. In Yemen, USAID partner NDI supported female delegates to Yemen's National Dialogue Conference and women's participation in peacebuilding and national reconciliation efforts between the North and South of Yemen. In Burma, USAID partner IFES implemented peacebuilding activities geared toward incorporating gender-integrated practices into electoral systems and processes, working with female members of parliament (MPs) and civil society leaders to understand opportunities within the electoral reform agenda in advance of the 2015 elections.

Promote Effective Gender Quotas. The spread of gender quotas in politics is arguably one of the most significant political developments of the last 30 years (Hughes, Krook and Paxton 2015). Quotas are not a silver bullet, but they are a powerful tool for enhancing women's political access. The WiP project identified several strategies to contribute to the spread and effective implementation of quotas.

- Support adoption and implementation of quotas as part of political transitions and in more established systems. Transitions out of conflict and into democracy create opportunities for USAID programs to support gender quota adoption, as in Tunisia. Programs in countries consolidating democratic institutions — as in Colombia, Guinea, Lebanon and Mexico — have encouraged the adoption and/or effective implementation of existing gender quotas. In Colombia, USAID partner NDI helped local actors pass national legislation and worked with parties to implement new requirements. In Lebanon, USAID partner NDI assisted a major civil society coalition with strategic planning for a gender quota campaign that engaged with high-ranking government and municipal officials. In Mexico, USAID partner NDI also worked with parties to implement existing quotas more effectively.

- Collaborate with local CSOs to strengthen existing quotas at the national level. Quota reform is an iterative process. Many countries have improved quota design over time by increasing targets, implementing

placement mandates or adding mechanisms to ensure compliance (Paxton and Hughes 2015). For example, USAID partner NDI collaborated with women's groups in Serbia to amend the existing quota law to require that, at a minimum, every third candidate on a party list is a woman.

- Pressure monitoring bodies to ensure quota enforcement. Courts and other institutions have become important sites of contestation over gender quotas (Piscopo 2015). Local and international organizations can take part in this process by pressuring monitoring bodies to enforce quotas. For example, in Mexico, USAID partner NDI was part of a broader coalition of domestic and international actors that exerted pressure on the electoral courts to enforce the 40 percent quota law, as well as to end parties' practice of replacing elected females with male substitutes.

Work with Political Parties. Political parties are key gatekeepers in politics; they can actively recruit women to run or can resist their inclusion. Parties can also have a great deal of influence over how legislators act once in office. Working with and inside political parties can be particularly challenging, but the insights and best practices described here offer a place to start.

- Help parties identify potential women candidates. When faced with pressure to recruit women candidates, party leaders often claim that they were simply unable to find qualified women candidates who were willing to run. In Guinea, Sierra Leone and Tunisia, USAID programs worked with parties to identify potential women candidates among political actors, civil society leaders and the business community.

- Increase public demand for women party candidates and leaders. Some programs evaluated the extent to which political parties were failing to promote women in politics. When party performance is poor, programs can encourage parties to make public commitments to change. For example, in Niger, USAID partner NDI and six parties worked on a public declaration calling for the increased participation of women in politics and party leadership positions, as well as greater support for female candidates.

- Build alliances with men to support gender equality. Because men tend to be at the helm of political parties, implementing partners should seek out male allies and champions within the parties to ensure that efforts to promote women's political leadership will succeed. Efforts to involve men in supporting women's legislative initiatives and co-sponsoring gender equality legislation can empower men as champions, as USAID programs did in Sierra Leone with MPs, in Kazakhstan with party leaders, in Cambodia with election commissioners and in Georgia with a deputy minister of justice.

Encourage Gender Integration in Election Management Bodies (EMBs) and Observer Groups.
EMBs are key to ensuring the enforcement of existing electoral laws and gender quotas and, with election observer groups, ensuring that electoral processes are transparent, inclusive and credible. (Bibler, Mohan and Ryan, IFES 2014). Twelve USAID programs in 11 countries (Benin, Mali, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Niger, Senegal, Cambodia, Bosnia, Colombia and Honduras) worked to recruit and train election observers. Programs in Haiti, Senegal and Cambodia worked with EMBs to gender-sensitize internal rules and procedures, make internal recruitment processes truly accessible to women applicants and identify and address barriers to women's voting prior to elections.

- Recruit female EMB officials and observers. Women should engage on an equal basis in every stage of the electoral process, including as election officials, observers and monitors. Increasing the number of women EMB officials and observers can promote trust and integrity in the electoral process; reduce intimidation of women voters; and identify obstacles at the polling stations that specifically disenfranchise women voters or candidates. Programs in Cambodia and Senegal successfully increased the number of women election observers through affirmative action and training approaches, while an activity in Haiti specifically targeted the recruitment of women election workers.

- Integrate gender issues in training programs. Integrating gender issues into training for election observers and EMB staff can help ensure that both women's and men's concerns and experiences are taken into

account in all election-related activities. Election monitors and election management bodies must be aware of issues that affect both supply and demand of women candidates. These include violence, harassment and intimidation targeting women candidates or voters and how election procedures might disenfranchise women candidates. In Kenya and Mali, USAID supported training programs that invited local women leaders to inform participants about gender-based barriers and to develop gender-integrated electoral monitoring checklists. In Kenya, local election monitors used short messaging service (SMS) to inform authorities of violence and other malpractices targeting women.

Create and Strengthen Women's Caucuses. The formal and informal rules that govern legislatures and other political institutions often favor men, hindering women's ability to affect legislation and rise through the ranks (Chappell and Waylen 2013; Kenny 2006). Key insights and best practices from USAID programs include:

- Help women establish formal or informal caucuses. Women's caucuses can provide support inside the legislature and spaces where women can meet and strategize together. USAID activities supported the launch of formal or informal parliamentary caucuses in six programs (Bosnia, Colombia, Cote d'Ivoire, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan and South Asia). Where parliamentary caucuses are not permitted, convening informal groups can serve similar purposes. For instance, in Cote d'Ivoire, USAID partner NDI helped women leaders establish an informal group of women that was pivotal in the subsequent appointment of nine women to key decision-making positions in the National Assembly.

- Involve a broad range of actors to provide support to caucuses. Women's caucuses face resource constraints, coordination problems and, in some cases, resistance to their very being. It is especially important that caucuses draw support from a multitude of actors. In Bosnia, sustained support from a broad range of international actors helped the women's caucus stay motivated and continue its work. With USAID support, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Gender Partnership developed guidelines on the establishment and functioning of women's caucuses and provided capacity-building support for women's caucuses in several African countries. Perhaps counterintuitively, the IPU recommended that women's caucuses should also involve men and ensure their participation in the planning of caucus priorities and initiatives.

Dual Strategies to Transform Attitudes and Curb Violence Against Women in Politics

The factors discussed above are classified as either supply or demand, but some overarching factors affect both supply *and* demand, as shown in Figure 2 on page 6. Cultural attitudes and gender norms are extremely important factors affecting women's participation in politics and may disproportionately impact women from traditionally marginalized groups, such as ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous communities and persons with disabilities. Prevailing values about gender roles affect whether women will run, if parties and voters will support them and their effectiveness as policymakers. Violence also impacts both supply and demand. About 40 percent of the programs targeted these cultural attitudes and gender norms.

Mainstream Gender in Civic and Voter Education. USAID programs to enhance participation in and accountability of electoral processes frequently include civic and voter education, especially in transitional and partly free contexts. To transform prevailing gender norms, these activities must include women in educational activities and ensure that gender issues are included in all curricula. Along with typical voter education information, citizens must be educated about women's rights to vote and to run for office. In the short term, these activities can increase the number of women who go to the polls. In the longer term, civic and voter education can build the pool of future female leaders.

- Provide civic and voter education to women citizens. USAID partners in 11 countries provided civic and voter education to groups of women citizens, tailoring messages specifically to address their interests and concerns and, in some instances, helping them register to vote. Three of the programs that specifically targeted groups of marginalized women increased their rates of participating in elections, e.g., with Roma women in Serbia, rural women in Kenya and blind and other disadvantaged women in Sierra Leone.

- Design gender-sensitive civic and voter education. USAID partners in 10 countries included gender in their civic and voter education activities. In Bosnia, a USAID-funded Council of Europe program organized workshops for women, youth and a small number of men to discuss their thoughts on topics such as: reasons to vote for women, why women and youth can be involved in politics and how family support for household and child care responsibilities can help women be active in politics.

Use the Media as a Force for Change. The media can play a powerful role in politics by shaping what citizens know, what they think is important and how they think about women in politics (Burns, Eberhardt and Merolla 2013). USAID activities sensitize the media to gender issues and use public service announcements (PSAs), television programs and radio call-in shows to spur public dialogue about women's empowerment; train women to effectively manage the media; encourage women's involvement in elections; and promote positive images of women leaders.

- Educate the media to be gender-sensitive. Programs to promote the fair treatment of women candidates and politicians are particularly important. In Mongolia, Georgia and Kenya, partners trained television, radio and print journalists to raise awareness of gender equality and broadcast positive images of women candidates and leaders.

- Tailor media messages and channels. Because attitudes toward gender roles vary widely across the population, media messages should target specific audiences, whether the audience is the general public or specific age or ethnic groups. In Cambodia, women's media CSOs developed specific PSAs for the general public, youth, women and persons with disabilities. In Georgia, PSAs asserting "We Need Women in Politics" coincided with the placement of vibrant posters with the same message on public buses.

- Engage via social media. Social media is changing politics and advocacy. USAID can help women politicians and CSOs use social media to politically empower women. In Mexico, USAID implementing partner NDI worked with a coalition that sought to improve political party compliance with a law mandating that two percent of public funding for political parties be earmarked for the training and political development of women. NDI provided technical assistance to the coalition, helping members use social media to pressure government officials to enforce the spending provisions. Social media can also be a powerful tool for engaging young women, who may be less interested in or knowledgeable about politics.

Combat Violence Against Women in Politics. Violence and the threat of violence affect supply by preventing women from participating fully as candidates and as elected leaders. Political violence against women politicians can also deter their supporters from showing up at the polls (Bardall 2011). The impact of violence, whether perpetrated in person or online, on women's political empowerment is strong and widespread. In fact, the Kenya case study concluded that extensive violence and threat of violence experienced by women political aspirants as well as leaders was one of the strongest factors hindering women's political leadership.

- Support legal efforts to combat violence against women. Legal reforms are one means of curbing violence against women in politics. The IPU Gender Partnership helped women's caucuses in African countries develop legislation to address violence against women throughout the electoral process — as candidates, voters, poll workers and eventually as elected officials. For example, the women's caucus in Burundi collaborated with the parliamentary committee developing the draft law on violence against women.

- Train women and men poll workers and observers to monitor and report on violence. Where violence does occur, women and men election monitors can document what happened, a first step toward accountability and protecting women in the future. USAID programs in Kenya and Mali trained participants on dealing with violence against women at the polls. In Haiti, working closely with the electoral commission, USAID partner IFES established an emergency telephone system for women candidates and voters to call if they experienced threats of violence. A tracking system was also put in place to monitor police response to the calls.

In summary, the WiP review of global women's political empowerment programming suggested a wide range of insights and best practices to inform future programs. However, these findings focus largely on increasing the supply of and demand for women's participation, representation and leadership in (national) legislatures. The next section turns to findings from the Diamond Leadership Model study, which researched women's political leadership across multiple sectors (legislative, executive, judicial and security) and position levels (high, middle and low).

The Diamond Leadership Model and the Women's Power Score

The WiP project sought to advance the measurement of women's political leadership through creation of a new tool called the Diamond Leadership Model (DLM). This section makes the case for why a broader measure of women's leadership and political empowerment is needed and presents findings from the DLM pilot study.

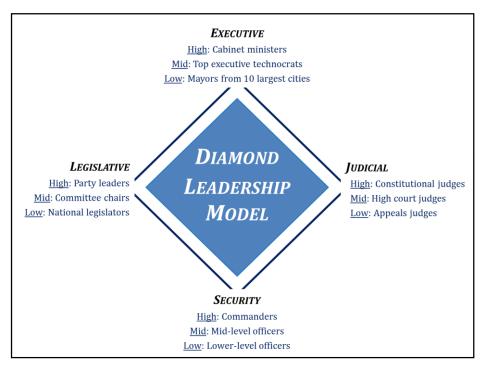## The Need for New Measures of Women's Political Leadership

Researchers and advocates interested in gender equality make use of numerous global indexes. Examples include the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index (GII), Social Watch's Gender Equity Index (GEI) and the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI). Major databanks collectively house hundreds of indicators of women's health, education and workforce outcomes (e.g., ILO 2015; UN Women 2015; World Bank 2015; WHO 2015). Indexes and indicators of women's *political* empowerment, however, are comparatively rare. Overwhelmingly, the international community measures women's representation in national legislatures, and recently their numbers in executive ministries, as a proxy measure for empowerment (Hughes, Duncan and Pournik 2014). Academics and practitioners alike have identified the limitations of boiling down women's political empowerment to just head counts (Alexander, Bolzendahl and Jalalzai forthcoming; UNDP 2014). Many organizations are working to collect information to close this data gap. Still, a complete set of consistent and comparable cross-national women's political empowerment indicators is not available.

Solely adding women members to parliaments will not achieve women's political empowerment. Creating, implementing and enforcing any policy involves all branches of government working in collaboration and counterbalancing one another. If women are concentrated in just one or two government sectors — if they are horizontally segregated — their ability to effect change may be limited. For example, if women legislators successfully introduce a bill on sexual harassment and achieve its passage into law, inadequate implementation and enforcement by executive agencies, police and courts could undermine the law's effectiveness. When women are channeled into only certain sectors or subsectors of government, *glass walls* exist as barriers to their inclusion.

Women's political empowerment may also be limited by uneven levels of incorporation within a government sector. Political institutions are hierarchical structures, and women may be vertically segregated. That is, women may be concentrated in lower-level positions with less authority, bumping up against *glass ceilings*. For example, women may be relatively well represented in a legislative body, but men may lead political parties and head committees, making it more difficult for women to translate their policy preferences into legislative action. If women are unable to advance to the highest levels of leadership within an institution, their political influence may be severely curtailed. Together, horizontal and vertical segregation can combine to put women in *glass boxes*, restricting their political empowerment.

Introducing the Diamond Leadership Model and the Women's Power Score

Researchers and practitioners alike require ways of measuring women's access to political leadership across sectors and levels of government. The WiP project developed one such tool — the DLM — and then collected and analyzed new data on women's political leadership using this tool. The DLM captures variation in women's representation horizontally (legislative, executive, judicial and security sectors) and vertically (leadership positions at high, middle and low levels) using 12 distinct measures, listed in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3. THE DIAMOND LEADERSHIP MODEL AND THE WOMEN'S POWER SCORE

These 12 measures combine to create a country's Women's Power Score (WPS). To account for women's representation at different levels, or tiers, of all four sectors of governance, the DLM calculates weighted scores for each sector. Women's share of positions in the top tier is weighted three times as much as women's share of positions in the bottom tier, and women's share of positions in the middle tier is weighted twice as much as the bottom tier. The weighted score for each sector ranges from 0 to 100. The sum of the weighted values for each sector yields a single country score: the WPS. A country with women in all positions (100 percent) would score 400; gender parity (women in 50 percent of all positions) would produce a total score of 200. For more information on how the WPS is calculated, please see Annex 2 on page 27.
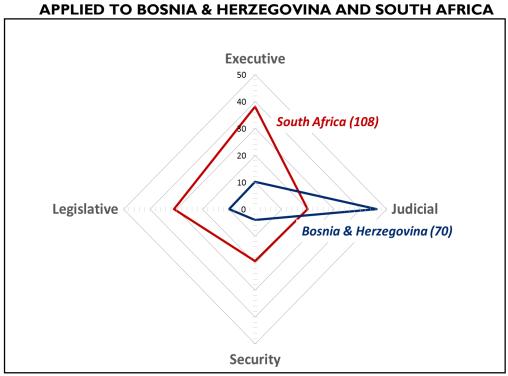
Women's representation in political leadership positions does not capture the whole of women's political empowerment. Similar to other types of descriptive representation (e.g., the percentage of women in the legislature), women's mere presence in senior positions in other government sectors does not guarantee their authority or power to effect change. However, the DLM offers progress toward filling the data gap on measures of women's political representation and leadership, which is a key component of women's political empowerment.

Findings from the Diamond Leadership Model Pilot Study

The WiP project tested the Diamond Leadership Model with a pilot study of 40 economically developing countries, representing all five geographic regions where USAID works. The DLM pilot study yielded the following preliminary findings:

● Women's political leadership is often highly uneven across government sectors. In some countries, women were well represented in one government sector, but not in others. Consider the case of Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH), illustrated in Figure 4 on the next page. In the judiciary, BiH women are represented in top leadership positions nearly at parity with men, earning a judicial score of 46. In contrast, BiH women are poorly represented elsewhere in political leadership — scoring 10 in both the legislative and executive sectors and just 4 in the security sector. BiH provides an example of unbalanced representation of women

in political leadership across government sectors. In analyzing data from the 40 pilot study countries, only rarely was women's progress toward political leadership equality distributed fairly evenly across government sectors. South Africa provides an example of more balanced representation. With a combined score of 108, South Africa has among the highest scores in the pilot study. Women are best represented in the legislative (scoring a 38) and executive (31) sectors, and are represented at slightly lower levels in the judiciary (20) and security (19) sectors.

FIGURE 4. THE DIAMOND LEADERSHIP MODEL APPLIED TO BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA AND SOUTH AFRICA

- <u>Women appear to be better represented in appointed positions compared to elected positions.</u> Of all four sectors, women were best represented in judicial leadership, with executive leadership lagging slightly behind. In many countries, both judicial and executive positions are appointed. Many possibilities exist to explain why appointments may offer a favorable route to leadership for women. For example, it may be easier to appoint women than to convince them to run for office. Leaders who make appointments may be more willing to include women than are leaders and party members who select candidates to run in elections. Appointments also bypass voters and their biases against women. One exception is in the security sector, where women's representation was consistently the lowest of the four government sectors.

- <u>Women are less likely to occupy solo leadership positions than collective positions.</u> Of the 12 positions measured by the Diamond Leadership Model, women were most poorly represented among party leaders and mayors, both positions where a single person leads. In contrast, women were well represented as legislators, ministers and judges — where they were members of collective bodies.

- <u>A broad range of data on women's political leadership is relatively easy to acquire.</u> The pilot study demonstrated that measuring women's political leadership beyond their representation in parliaments and cabinets is feasible. Data on women's share of party leadership, legislative committee headship, sub-ministerial positions and positions on the country's highest courts were relatively easy to collect from government websites and news reports.

- <u>Data on women in the security sector are particularly challenging to acquire.</u> Across all 12 indicators in the DLM, the most challenging data to collect were those in the security sector. Even spending time in the country of focus and tapping professional networks does not ensure access to rank-disaggregated data on the military and police. Some countries reported that this data could not be publicly released because it was tied to national security.

In sum, the DLM pilot study showed that a multi-sector, multi-level model of women's leadership is possible to execute and can offer new insights into women's political empowerment. The next sections of the report move from WiP research findings to offer informed recommendations to USAID and its external partners.

RECOMMENDATIONS

USAID and its partners are working to contribute to women's political empowerment. The Agency is well-positioned to build on the best of its current program approaches and incorporate the WiP lessons learned. Yet applying the WiP project's lessons to future programming is not without challenges. This section provides recommendations for steps that USAID and its external partners could take to more effectively contribute to women's leadership and political empowerment around the world.

These recommendations suggest an approach to future women's political empowerment programming that is holistic, longer-term, context-specific and innovative. The following recommendations address three main audiences: 1) USAID Democracy, Human Rights and Governance officers (DRG officers), program officers and gender advisors in Washington and the missions, and others who design programs; 2) USAID senior leadership, and others who develop Agency-wide and broad U.S. Government-wide policies; and 3) partners, such as bilateral and multilateral donors, USAID implementing partners and academic researchers.

Overall Recommendations for USAID and Its Partners

Define What Women's Political Empowerment Means

The WiP project revealed that both within and outside of USAID, "women's political empowerment" means different things to different actors. Therefore, a key recommendation is that USAID adopt a single broad definition of women's political empowerment to go beyond the physical representation of women in government and include their ability to influence public policy debates and implementation. USAID's 2013 DRG Strategy supports the establishment and consolidation of inclusive and accountable democracies. Integrating women's leadership and political empowerment throughout USAID's DRG programming — including civil society, media, governance, human rights and rule of law activities — can create powerful synergies and most effectively use limited resources. Effective integration first requires shared understanding and objectives.

To advance this goal, the WiP project provides a working definition to inform conversations within USAID and among its partners about how to define — and therefore approach — women's political empowerment:

<u>Women's Political Empowerment: A Working Definition</u>

Women's political empowerment includes:

❖ The equal participation, representation and leadership of women within government institutions, political parties and civically engaged organizations;

❖ Women's free exercise of the authority inherent in those positions; and

❖ The regular creation, implementation and enforcement of laws and policies that address women's rights, positions and priorities.

Advance a Holistic Approach to Women's Empowerment Programming

Women's political empowerment programs will be even more effective to the extent that they are guided by a holistic approach that addresses: the supply of women candidates/leaders and the demand for their inclusion and access; all phases of the electoral and governance cycle (before, during and after elections); and all sectors and levels (national and local) of government. Best practices for USAID and implementing partners identified above should be replicated and adapted wherever relevant. The following recommendations encourage all actors to advance and strengthen women's political empowerment programming:

● Address supply, demand and dual-sided factors. Women's political empowerment requires both a pool of interested and capable women and a favorable environment that facilitates their representation, leadership and agency. However, less than 20 percent of the USAID programs reviewed used strategies to influence all three sets of factors: supply, demand and dual-sided (i.e., factors that impact both supply and demand). Programs in other DRG subsectors could take advantage of the WiP lessons learned and adapt its best practices. (See the section "Insights and Best Practices" that starts on page 7 for supply and demand strategies.) For example, any efforts to increase women's representation and influence in public administration, the judiciary or the security sector require attention to supply-side factors, demand-side factors and dual-sided factors. Combining training and skills-based programs with activities focused on demand-side factors, cultural attitudes and norms that limit women's participation would strengthen programming while enhancing women's political empowerment.

● Program across the electoral and governance cycle. Whenever possible, programs should be designed to cover all phases of the electoral cycle to maximize impact. Comprehensive programs generally yield better results than programs that focus only on the immediate period of elections. Longer-term projects should follow women through pre-election, election and post-election phases to better facilitate women's electoral success, promotion within political ranks and political influence once elected or appointed to office. Given the extensive barriers to women's political empowerment in most countries, longer program timeframes are also needed to support significant and lasting results.

● Analyze barriers and opportunities within all government sectors and choose appropriate levels for intervention. Women's political empowerment is about more than women's share of seats in national legislatures. Creating, implementing and enforcing laws that benefit women involves all branches of government, working in collaboration, as well as civil society partners. Thus, empowering women requires attention not just to legislatures, but also to executives, judiciaries, security forces and civil society. In addition, barriers to women vary at different levels of government. A multi-level approach — one that evaluates openings for women at national, regional and local levels — can target institutional environments most favorable to women and allow for different, context-specific models of change across countries (building up from the local, trickling down from the national or spreading horizontally across government institutions).

● Ensure that strategies are context-specific and locally owned. No one-size-fits-all model exists for women's political empowerment. When setting priorities and planning strategies, whether for a five-year Country Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS) or for projects and individual activities, programs must consider gender gaps and disparities in women's political status, achievements and challenges. Used alongside other indices of women's empowerment, such as those from the World Economic Forum or UNDP, which quantify gaps in women's education, health and employment, the Women's Power Score can help identify gaps in women's political representation and inform strategies for increasing women's political empowerment. (See Annex 2 on page 27 for an explanation on how to apply the model.) Program goals and objectives are most achievable when they address gender equality priorities that the government and other local stakeholders share. Increasing the involvement of women leaders in programs and the use of direct partnerships with local organizations will also strengthen local voice, ownership and sustainability.

Prioritize Dedicated Funding and Budget Requirements

USAID and its partners can carry out the following funding and budget recommendations voluntarily, working with interested colleagues in missions and other Washington offices. However, at the Agency level, USAID could provide a much stronger enabling environment for these efforts by increasing the strategic focus on women's political empowerment and to improve overall funding levels and specific budget requirements.

- Increase dedicated funding for women's political empowerment. USAID's Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy and DRG Strategy create a strong framework for strengthening efforts to significantly impact gender equality outcomes like women's political empowerment. However, based on the WiP project, USAID spends relatively small amounts on gender-primary programs while allocating relatively large amounts to broader, longer-term programs that do not contain clear (and enforced) gender integration requirements. In the absence of dedicated funding sources, women's political empowerment programs and program objectives may not be prioritized and thus may be reduced or cut when programs face competing budget or time demands. Dedicated USAID funding streams would enable implementing partners to prioritize women's political empowerment interventions within their broader activities and budgets. To do this, USAID could mandate a minimum percentage for gender in all award budgets and require implementing partners receiving awards to allocate a minimum percentage of funds to gender equality and women's empowerment outcomes or activities established in the program description or scope of work.

- Introduce requirements to improve tracking and reporting of the gender portions of gender-integrated program budgets. Improved gender budget-tracking requirements would enable USAID and partners to better track spending, evaluate programs and report this information to relevant constituencies. Notably, this recommendation aligns with the recently adopted United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 2242) that specifically calls on aid providers to track the gender focus of aid contributions. Renewed attention to tracking gender resources would signal the importance that USAID places on strategic gender integration and would also help facilitate partner reporting.

Recommendations for DRG Officers, Program Officers and Gender Advisors

USAID DRG officers, program officers and gender advisors can enhance women's political empowerment by strengthening gender integration into program design and management. Activities to advance women's political empowerment across the Agency are most often integrated into broader programs. Thus, continuing to improve gender integration to align Agency practices with the 2012 Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy and ADS 205 guidelines is a key recommendation.

- Support both gender-primary and gender-integrated programs. Gender-primary and gender-integrated programs have different strengths. In addition to historically larger budgets, *gender-integrated* programs result in stronger democratic institutions and processes, characterized by improved representation, accountability, transparency and resilience for women, men and all citizens. *Gender-primary* programs are well-suited to create incentives for gender programming, pilot innovative approaches and capitalize on windows of opportunity such as women's leadership in peacebuilding or political transitions. USAID should continue to design and implement both types of programs, with increased attention to capturing the lessons learned from gender-primary programs and ensuring that short-term activities are integrated into longer, well-funded programs to maximize impacts.

- Integrate women's political empowerment from the start of programs and build in realistic timeframes for success. Longer timeframes more typical of USAID development programming are necessary to develop women's capabilities and strengthen gender equality in public policies, institutions and social norms. Many of the stand-alone women's empowerment activities were much shorter in duration (one to three years) than typical USAID DRG programs. These stand-alone activities often reported challenges to quality and/or sustainability, such as being limited to focus on only one phase of the electoral cycle or implement

one round of training. Activities targeting women's political empowerment should be built in from the start of programs and continue for the life of the program to maximize impact.

- Ensure that women's political empowerment is clearly visible — and manageable. At each stage of project design and implementation — by USAID and by implementing partners — women's political empowerment must be visible. Moreover, the interventions and results should be achievable in the time period with the available resources. This includes the following design elements:

  - ❖ Explicit objectives. Women's political empowerment objectives should be clearly stated and included from the start, alongside other program objectives.

  - ❖ Best-practice interventions. Based on a gender analysis of the country and the best practices, such as those identified in this report, develop interventions that can realistically meet objectives and intermediate results.

  - ❖ Meaningful output and outcome indicators. Results and achievements should be monitored with a meaningful combination of output and outcome indicators. These indicators should capture significant changes in women's political empowerment in host country political processes and governance. Table 1 provides illustrative output and outcome indicators for select women's political empowerment objectives.

TABLE 1. ILLUSTRATIVE OBJECTIVES AND MEANINGFUL INDICATORS

Objective	Indicator
Support political parties to empower women	Number of parties conducting assessments on internal support for women candidates
	Number of parties that generate substantive proposals on issues affecting women
	Number of women who attain key roles in operational and administrative structures within parties
Raise awareness and educate people about women's political empowerment	Number of men and women educated about women's rights and issues important to women
	Number of members of parliament demonstrating improved knowledge of gender issues
	Number of women safely and effectively providing awareness sessions on electoral process and participation
Increase women in elected positions	Percentage of trained candidates elected to office
Improve women's policymaking	Number of bills based on constituent issues proposed by women parliamentarians as a result of constituent outreach or events
	Number of issue-based policy solutions adopted by policymaking leadership designed by women and youth
	Number of candidates who collaborate with women and youth committees to address issues of community concern

- Ensure complete and consistent program reporting. The WiP project revealed wide gaps in reporting on and tracking activities with women's political empowerment objectives, such as incomplete program documentation by USAID and implementing partners and inconsistent gender integration in program design, monitoring and reporting practices. Systematic assessments and reporting of program success are

impossible if USAID and its implementing partners do not rigorously and accurately report and document their work.

- Conduct desk reviews of women's empowerment activities across USAID. The WiP project successfully identified a range of Election and Political Transition-specific activities related to women's political empowerment. Much less is known about women's empowerment activities being undertaken in other DRG subsectors or other development sectors. Internal and recurring desk reviews of women's empowerment activities in different sectors and subsectors would facilitate exchange and collaboration and encourage innovative programming to politically empower women.

Recommendations for USAID Collaboration with External Partners

The WiP project created an opportunity for researchers and practitioners to jointly reflect on established procedures, revise understandings of women's political empowerment and chart new directions for programs and research. One clear lesson from the WiP project was that many actors are working toward women's political empowerment, but they are not always aware of other efforts. Taking the time to coordinate with other parties will improve both program design and resource allocation.

- Develop innovative programming to address emerging priorities. The WiP research and the multi-stakeholder workshop drew attention to key challenges to women's political empowerment that could benefit from further research and innovative program approaches. Donors, implementing partners and academics should work together to deepen our collective understanding of the following challenges and devise new approaches to address them:

  - ❖ Increasing women's leadership in political parties. The DLM shows that women's leadership of political parties, especially ruling parties and coalitions, remains rare. New strategies are needed to promote women's representation and access to leadership positions within these gatekeeping institutions.

  - ❖ Raising funds to finance women's campaigns. Although USAID and external partners both train women on how to raise campaign funds, the challenges women face raising money require innovative, context-appropriate solutions. This could be an area for cutting-edge private-sector partnerships.

  - ❖ Supporting women leaders to shape policy agendas. Research demonstrates that simply adding women to politics and political leadership does not guarantee changes. One reason is that women themselves are diverse with varied opinions, values and political priorities. Even if women legislators agree on a common agenda, they are still constrained by the institutions they enter — the formal structures and the informal rules, customs, traditions and norms that can operate differently for men and women. Additional research should consider not *if* women can make a difference, but *under what circumstances* they do. The efficacy and best practices of USAID and other donor programs working to increase women's substantive representation should be reviewed.

  - ❖ Curbing violence against women in politics. Practitioners and academics have just begun to understand the global pervasiveness of violence against women candidates, politicians and their supporters. This violence can be physical, sexual, economic and psychological. Creative and multi-pronged solutions that incorporate prevention, mitigation and rehabilitation for survivors are necessary to ensure that women's rights are guaranteed and their political participation is unobstructed.

- Expand collection and availability of data on women's political empowerment. USAID and partners should collaborate to enhance the availability of data on women's political empowerment. The DLM pilot suggested

that collecting cross-national data on women's representation in multiple sectors and levels of governance is possible. Partnering with like-minded organizations would stretch limited resources and facilitate access to complementary expertise and contacts. For example, UNDP is developing data on gender equality in public administration; UN Women is collecting data on women's representation in local government; and the Security and Defense Network of Latin America (RESDAL) is collecting sex-disaggregated data on the security sector in Latin America. USAID and partners should move beyond the 40 pilot countries to collect DLM data for all countries at regular intervals. Expanding and regularly updating DLM data would allow USAID and partners to use this new measure as part of gender analysis, strategy design and program development and evaluation. Additionally, future research should employ both quantitative and qualitative approaches to better understand country variation in the WPS and its component indicators.

- **Develop strategies to access data on the security sector.** Collecting data on the military and police is particularly challenging, but at least some data on the security sector can be collected in many countries. In Latin America, RESDAL has shown that focused efforts to gather data on women's integration into the police and military can yield success through developing relationships with agencies over time. Additional learning efforts should try to partner with, learn from and potentially replicate RESDAL's successes to gather security data for countries outside of Latin America.

CONCLUSION

In recent decades, the efforts of donors, implementing partners and academics have contributed to women's electoral success and political gains around the world, and they have learned key lessons along the way. One such lesson is that women's mere presence as elected or appointed officials does not guarantee gender equality. Indeed, a national legislative presence of at least 30 percent women — long touted by the international community as the critical mass that allows women to pursue their policy priorities and make a difference in politics (UNDP 1995) — does not automatically lead to laws that represent women's positions and priorities (Bratton 2005; Childs and Krook 2006). Furthermore, getting more gender-equitable policies passed is but one step in the process; implementation and enforcement are just as important. As the research and learning on USAID programs is also beginning to demonstrate, it is time to move beyond merely counting women and to focus more attention on enhancing women's efforts to make their voices count.

Empowering women politically starts with understanding the political and economic context in which they operate, as well as rigorous gender analysis. It also requires a comprehensive approach to programming that looks beyond the legislature to other government branches and institutions. Donors, implementing partners and national actors should consider targeting any and all levels of government — national, regional or local — that present the best chances for women to enter and influence politics. In conjunction with broader DRG and gender assessments, tools like the Diamond Leadership Model can help pinpoint gaps and areas of opportunity.

Greater gains in this area will require deeper, more substantive engagement, enhancing existing collaborations and building new partnerships. To more effectively empower women in politics, USAID must work with other donors, implementing partners and academics to bridge remaining data gaps, learn from the best of past efforts, more effectively monitor and evaluate programming and disseminate findings widely in support of data-driven and evidence-based approaches. USAID should also explore new partnerships — with male allies, the private sector, academia, local organizations and host-country governments — and find new points of entry across development sectors to advance this work.

For USAID, other donors and implementing partners, it is time to renew and expand efforts to promote women's political empowerment. Such efforts are not only the right thing to do, but are in keeping with international and national commitments. Women may have a long way to go to reach political parity with men, but working together more effectively will increase opportunities to achieve progress toward gender equality worldwide.

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ANNEX 1. MOST COMMON INTERVENTIONS IN EACH PHASE OF THE ELECTORAL CYCLE

MOST COMMON INTERVENTIONS		
Phase	Intervention	Number of programs w/ intervention
Transition	Constitution development	7
	Women's leadership in peace processes	2
Pre-Election	Targeting political parties to commit to gender equality in nominations	20
	Training prospective female candidates	16
	Civic and voter education targeting women voters	7
	Gender quotas: Pressuring parties to implement or strengthen	7
	Establishing and strengthening women's networks	5
Election	Training actual female candidates	17
	Civic and voter education targeting women voters	16
	Recruiting and training electoral observers (especially women)	11
	Gender quotas: Pressuring electoral authorities to ensure compliance	5
Post-Election/ Governance	Establishing and strengthening women's networks	16
	Capacity building for newly elected women	10
	Creating and strengthening women's caucuses	10
	Policy dialogues on women and gender issues	7
	Gender quotas: Pressuring elites to adopt quotas (if not yet in place)	4

Source: Women's Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment Desktop Study,
Produced by MSI for USAID, October 2014, p. 15.

ANNEX 2. CALCULATING THE WOMEN'S POWER SCORE

This Annex contains instructions on how to calculate the Women's Power Score. For more information on the Women's Power Score, including the scores of other countries, see the **Diamond Leadership Model** (DLM) report.

Indicators. The Women's Power Score (WPS) is calculated by combining the 12 indicators of the Diamond Leadership Model. Each indicator is expressed as a percentage — women's share of the total number of positions. For example, "% of party leaders" refers to the percentage of <u>women</u> party leaders in a given country, and so forth.

	Legislative	Executive	Judicial	Security
High	% Party Leaders	% Cabinet Ministers	% Constitutional Judges	% Commanders
Mid	% Committee Heads	% Top Executive Technocrats	% High Court Judges	% Mid-Level Officers
Low	% National Legislators	% Top 10 Mayors	% Appellate Judges	% Low-Level Officers

Calculating the weighted score. To account for women's representation at different levels or tiers, a weighted score is calculated for each sector. Women's share of positions in the top tier is weighted three times as much as women's share of positions in the bottom tier, and women's share of positions in the middle tier is weighted twice as much:

$$legislative\ score = \frac{(\%\ party\ leaders \times 3) + (\%\ committee\ heads \times 2) + (\%\ national\ legislators)}{6}$$

$$executive\ score = \frac{(\%\ cabinet\ ministers \times 3) + (\%\ top\ executive\ technocrats \times 2) + (\%\ top\ 10\ mayors)}{6}$$

$$judicial\ score = \frac{(\%\ constitutional\ judges \times 3) + (\%\ high\ court\ judges \times 2) + (\%\ appellate\ judges)}{6}$$

$$security\ score = \frac{(\%\ commanders \times 3) + (\%\ mid\text{-}level\ officers \times 2) + (\%\ low\text{-}level\ officers)}{6}$$

Because the security sector includes both the military and the police, there are two separate security scores — one for the military and one for the police. These scores averaged together form the security score.

Based on these calculations, the weighted scores for each sector range between 0 and 100. The sum of the legislative, executive, judicial and security scores yields a single score: the Women's Power Score.

$$Women's\ Power\ Score\ (WPS) = legislative\ score + executive\ score + judicial\ score + security\ score$$

Scores can range from 0 to 400, where 200 represents gender equality.

An example. Consider the case of Brazil. The data represent 2013-2014, the most recent figures available.

	Legislative	Executive	Judicial	Security
High	Party Leaders: 0% (0 W; 30 M)	Cabinet Ministers: 26% (10 W; 29 M)	Constitutional Judges: 18% (2 W; 9 M)	Commanders: 4% (1.0% army; 7.6% police)
Mid	Committee Heads: 5% (1 W; 19 M)	Top Executive Technocrats: 16% (13 W; 70 M)	High Court Judges: 16% (5 W; 26 M)	Mid-Level Officers: 22% (20.5% army; 23.6% police)
Low	National Legislators: 9% (44 W; 469 M)	Top 10 Mayors: 0% (0 W; 10 M)	Appellate Judges: 21% (25 W; 97 M)	Low-Level Officers: 13% (10.6% army; 15.0% police)

$$legislative\ score = \frac{(0 \times 3) + (5 \times 2) + (9)}{6} = 3 \qquad executive\ score = \frac{(26 \times 3) + (16 \times 2) + (0)}{6} = 18$$

$$judicial\ score = \frac{(18 \times 3) + (16 \times 2) + (21)}{6} = 18 \qquad security\ score = \frac{(4 \times 3) + (22 \times 2) + (13)}{6} = 12$$

$$Women's\ Power\ Score\ (WPS) = 3 + 18 + 18 + 12 = 51$$