



U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, THAILAND
REGIONAL SUPPORT MISSION FOR EAST ASIA

August 31, 1993

Ed Anderson
Area Director for Southeast Asia
The Asia Foundation
Sibunruang 2 Building
1/7 Convent Road, Bangkok 10500
Thailand

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Subject: Grant No. 493-2750-G-00-3455-00
Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region

Pursuant to the authority contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, the Agency for International Development (hereinafter referred to as "A.I.D" or "Grantor") grants to The Asia Foundation (hereinafter referred to as "TAF" or "Grantee"), the sum of \$523,972 which is estimated to be sufficient for program expenses during the period from the effective date of this Grant Agreement through the grant completion date for the project entitled "Promoting Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region" as described in the Schedule and the Project Proposal.

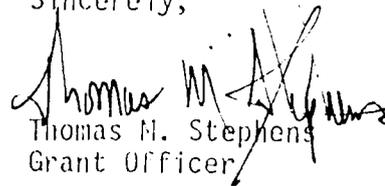
This Grant is effective and obligation is made as of the date of this letter and shall apply to commitments made by the Grantee in furtherance of program objectives during the effective date and ending approximately September 30, 1994.

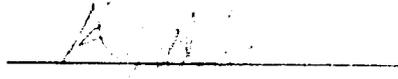
This grant is made to the TAF on the condition that the funds will be administered in accordance with the terms and conditions as set forth in Attachment 1 entitled "Schedule," Attachment 2 "Project Proposal," and Attachment 3 "Mandatory and Optional Standard Provisions," which have been agreed to by your organization.

In the event that there is a discrepancy or disagreement between the Standard Provisions and the Project Proposal or the Grant Agreement Schedule, the Grant Agreement Schedule shall prevail.

Please sign the original and five copies of this letter to acknowledge your acceptance of the Grant Agreement, and return the original and four copies to this office. Keep one copy for your records.

Sincerely,


Thomas M. Stephens
Grant Officer

Acknowledged: BY : 

TITLE: Acting Representative DATE: 30 September 1993
The Asia Foundation

Attachments:

1. Schedule
2. Project Proposal
3. ~~Mandatory and Optional Standard Provisions~~
4. Reporting Requirement
5. Restrictions on Lobbying

Fiscal Data

PIO/T No.:	499-0002-3-3672540	936-2750-3692665
	Amendment 1	(STATE 261897)
Project No.:	499-0002	936-2750
Appropriation:	72-1131021.1	72-1131021.1
Budget Plan Code:	HDVA-93-37499-KG12	DDVA-93-16966-1G11
	\$261,986	\$261,986
Total Estimated Amount:	\$523,972	
Total Obligated Amount:	\$523,972	
Cost Sharing:	\$129,000	
DUNS Number:	07-463-2001	
Letter of Credit No.	72001307	
Funding Source:	AID/W, FA/FM/CMPD/DCB	

SCHEDULE

A. PURPOSE OF GRANT AGREEMENT

The purpose of this grant is to provide support for the Promoting Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region Project as more fully described in Attachment 2.

B. PERIOD OF GRANT AGREEMENT

This Grant Agreement effective date is the date of the grant letter. The expiration date of this Grant is as indicated on the grant letter.

C. GRANT AMOUNT AND METHOD OF PAYMENT

1. The total estimated amount of this Grant Agreement is \$523,791 which is hereby obligated. In addition, the Grantee shall contribute \$129,000 to this project with non-USAID funds.

2. Payment shall be made to the Grantee in accordance with procedures set forth in Attachment 3, Optional Standard Provision 2, "Payment - Letter of Credit."

D. FINANCIAL PLAN

The estimated budget as shown below represents the total contribution of A.I.D. for this Grant. And revisions to this budget shall be in accordance with the Standard Provision of this Grant, entitled "Revision of Grant Budget."

<u>Line Item</u>	<u>AID Funds</u> US\$	<u>Non-AID Resources</u> US\$
Salaries & Benefits	62,079	62,079
Other Administrative Costs	45,850	66,921
Regional Program Costs*	282,922	0
Regional Meeting & Evaluation	25,000	0
Total Direct Program Costs	415,851	129,000
Indirect Costs (26%)	<u>108,121</u>	<u>0</u>
Total Budget	523,972	129,000

* TAF shall provide the Project Officer with a detailed work plan and budget 60 days after the grant agreement is signed for review and approval.

E. REPORTING AND EVALUATION

1. Financial Reporting

a. Financial reporting requirements shall be in accordance with Optional Standard Provision 1 entitled "Payment - Letter of Credit", as shown in Attachment 3.

b. The original and two copies of all financial reports shall be submitted to the Office of Financial Management, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. 20523.

2. Program Reporting and Evaluation

a. TAF will provide progress reports on a quarterly basis.

b. Two copies each of detailed progress reports in English shall be submitted to ASIA/DR/TR and R&D/WID. Such reports shall become due within 30 days following the last day of each quarter of the project. Reports shall describe the progress and problems related to those project activities set forth in the project proposal, following the recommended reporting format (Attachment 4). The reporting of gender-segregated data on beneficiaries of project activities is also required.

c. An external evaluation of the program will be undertaken at the end of the Grant period to assess the progress of the program and plan strategically for the future. TAF will be responsible for drafting the scope of work, contracting required external expertise, and coordinating the evaluation. ASIA/DR/TR and R&D/WID will review and concur with the scope of work and may, if desired, assign a USAID representative as part of the evaluation team.

d. Following completion of the sixth month of the Grant period, and at six-month intervals, the Grantee will submit an accounting of expenditures for the non-USAID portion of the budget.

F. STANDARD PROVISIONS

This Grant Agreement includes, as Attachment No. 3, the Mandatory Standard Provisions numbered 1 through 13 and the Optional Standard Provisions that are shown on the index as applying to this Grant Agreement.

G. AUDIT

In the event that the independent audit reports on the Grantee or any sub-grantee or contractor, as provided for, and/or program reports, do not satisfy AID's requirements as determined by the A.I.D. Inspector General (Audit), and the A.I.D. Inspector General chooses to make an on-site fiscal or program audit, the Grantee agrees to USAID taking reasonable steps to coordinate the scheduling and conduct of such audit with the Grantee in advance, and to providing unrestricted access to its books and records, as further described in Mandatory Standard Provision No. 2. Note annual internal audits are now required for grants and sub-grants over \$25,000. A copy of the audits shall be submitted to the USAID Project Officer.

H. AUTHORIZED GEOGRAPHIC CODE

Order of preference in Optional Standard Provision 7(b)(1) shall apply. Local procurement is authorized for respective activities in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the Pacific Islands.

I. INDIRECT COST RATE

Pursuant to the provisions of the Optional Standard Provision clause of this grant agreement entitled "Negotiated Indirect Cost Rate - Provisional," a rate is established for the Grantee's accounting period as described below. Payments on account of allowable indirect costs shall be made on the basis of the following negotiated fixed rate applied to the base and for the period which are set forth below:

Rate	Base	Period
26%	Total Direct Costs excluding equipment and capital expenditures	From grant effective date until rate is amended.

J. TITLE TO PROPERTY

Optional Standard Provision No. 21 "Title to and Use of Property (Grantee Title)" is applicable to this grant.

K. CLOSE-OUT PROCEDURES

The following uniform close-out procedures shall apply to this Grant:

1. The following definitions shall apply:

a. Close-out. The close-out of this grant is the process by which A.I.D. determines that all applicable administrative actions and all required program activities have been completed by the Grantee and A.I.D.

b. Date of Completion. The date of completion is the date on which all activities under this grant are completed, or the date given in the Grant document, or any supplements of amendments thereto, on which A.I.D. funding ends.

c. Disallowed Costs. Disallowed costs are those charges to the Grant that A.I.D. or its representative determines to be unallowable in accordance with the applicable Federal cost principles, as outlined in OMB Circular A-122 and supplements and amendments thereto, or other conditions contained in the Grant.

2. A.I.D. close-out procedures include the following requirements:

a. Upon request, A.I.D. shall make prompt payments to the Grantee for allowable reimbursable costs under the grant being closed out.

b. The Grantee shall immediately refund any balance or unobligated or unencumbered cash that A.I.D. has advanced or paid and that is not authorized to be retained by the Grantee for use in other grants or agreements.

c. A.I.D. shall obtain from the Grantee within 90 calendar days after completion of activities under the Grant Agreement all financial, performance, and other reports required as a condition of the Grant. Extensions of this time may be granted by A.I.D. upon request of the Grantees.

d. The Grantee shall account for any property acquired with A.I.D. funds or received from the Government in accordance with provisions of OMB Circular 110, "Property Management Standards".

e. In the event a final audit has not been performed prior to the close-out of the Grant, A.I.D. shall retain the right to recover an appropriate amount fully, considering the recommendations on questioned costs resulting from the final audit when such audit is conducted.

L. SPECIAL GRANT PROVISIONS

1. Air travel and transportation clause in Optional Standard Provisions requires prior AID approval on all international travel. Grantee shall notify the AID Project Officer of the destination country of final travel plans. Notification will identify travelers, dates and times of travel and must be submitted at least one week prior to commencement of approved international travel. Note U.S. flag carrier requirements.

2. Ocean shipment of goods per Optional Standard Provision requires 50% freight shipment on or paid to U.S. flag commercial ocean vessels to the extent such vessels are available at fair and reasonable rates for such vessels.

3. Procurement of Goods and Services (refer to Optional Standard Provision for details) should be followed and procedures documented in the files. Eligibility rules (Optional Standard Provision) should be reviewed for ineligible goods, services, suppliers and restricted goods. Note order of preference for purchase of services and goods in same Provision and documentation required.

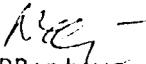
4. The names of all technical assistance personnel funded under this Grant and undertaking activities in furtherance of program purposes should be submitted to ASIA/DR/TR for concurrence prior to contracts being executed, or other contractually binding arrangement being made with such persons. Such concurrence will be obtained in writing from the Project Officer during the course of project implementation.

5. USAID concurrence is required for all training or technical assistance activities undertaken using grant funds prior to such training or technical assistance activities being conducted. USAID concurrence with participants of all grant-funded training programs is also required. Such concurrence will be obtained from the USAID Project Officer in writing during the course of project implementation. If participant training is done outside of the country, the Optional Standard Provision on training shall apply.

6. All TAF program implementation subgrants shall require approval in advance by ASIA/DR/TR and in accordance with OSP#9 (Subagreements).

7. The A.I.D. Project Officer on this Grant is Mr. Richard Whitaker. All correspondence should be mailed to him the address below:

ASIA/DR/TR/DAPVC, Room 3214 NS
Agency for International Development
320 Twenty-First Street, NW
Washington, DC 20523-0067


O/RP:nt:wc
#7675C

Grant # 493-2750-G-00-3455-00

Attachment 2

PROMOTING WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN
THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

A Proposal to

The United States Agency for International Development

by

The Asia Foundation

June, 1993

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Democratic transitions are underway in many countries in the Asia-Pacific region. One of the greatest challenges of the new democracies is to broaden the scope and mandate of elected leadership. The legitimacy and long-term viability of these democracies will ultimately be largely determined by their progress in building a broad base of popular support among the citizens of the country. The efforts and success of elected governments in bringing the female half of their population into the political arena--to participate in and benefit from democratic institutions and processes--is fundamental to establishing a legitimate base from which to govern.

In Asia women face both formal and informal barriers to full and equal political and economic participation in their countries at the national and local levels. Political structures are dominated by the traditional elites--mainly rich and powerful men. Women are seriously under-represented in positions of political leadership and decisionmaking bodies. In the few countries in Asia that have had women leaders--such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka--their power has come from their association with powerful men and families of the political elite, not as much from their own legitimate political base or a national commitment to female participation. In most countries women now have the right to vote, and make up at least half of most electorates. However, the vote is a powerful tool that is not yet adequately recognized or fully utilized by women and other marginalized populations.

Building on its longstanding work with formal democratic institutions and hundreds of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) across the Asia-Pacific region, The Asia Foundation proposes to launch a program to increase women's political participation at the national, provincial, and local levels and to build effective national and regional networks for information sharing. The program seeks to increase women's representation in decisionmaking bodies, promote accessibility and influence on the policymaking process and foster greater responsiveness to their concerns. The proposed program will:

- * Develop women's political leadership by enhancing the skills of existing and potential women leaders to enable them to effectively seek elective and appointive office at the national, provincial, and local levels.
- * Reduce formal and informal barriers to women's political participation by strengthening organizations working to eliminate barriers that deter or prohibit women's participation as voters and activists and increase women's access to elective and appointive office, and increasing their participation as voters and activists.
- * Make the policymaking process more responsive to the concerns of women by enhancing the ability of advocacy groups to influence and monitor policymakers, decisionmaking bodies, and the laws, policies, and decisions they make so that they more closely and consistently reflect women's concerns.

- Create networks between individuals and organizations working to increase women's political participation by providing opportunities for Asian women to develop contacts with their peers in the region to encourage cross-fertilization and promote the sharing of knowledge and resources.

The Asia Foundation seeks support from AID to launch a program in seven countries representing a range of levels of women's political participation: Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nepal, the Pacific Islands, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. The program will combine well-targeted in-country activities with regional networking activities. The Asia Foundation invites AID to join as a partner in furthering women's political participation in Asia by providing a one-year grant of \$523,971.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

BACKGROUND

In the last few years, profound political and economic changes have taken place in Asia and the Pacific that are as important as those sweeping Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Robert A. Scalapino, distinguished Asia scholar and Asia Foundation Trustee, states: "The changes underway in Asia are more rapid in tempo, more diverse in scope, and more massive in scale than any experienced in the long history of these ancient societies." Democratic transitions are underway in many countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including in many developing countries such as Bangladesh, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the Philippines. Other countries are emerging from varying degrees of isolation, motivated in part by desire to participate in the tremendous economic growth taking place in the region.

One of the primary objectives of The Asia Foundation's programming in 31 Asian and Pacific Island nations is to encourage and strengthen democratic institutions and processes and to foster the trend toward greater pluralism that is emerging across the region. As part of this broad democratization effort, the Foundation is committed to helping disadvantaged and disenfranchised groups to participate and to have a voice in the decisions that affect their lives, their communities, and their nations. The current trend in Asia toward more open, pluralistic, democratic societies is creating new opportunities for the Foundation to promote the participation of historically disenfranchised groups and help make democratic institutions and processes that have been newly established or restored more responsive and accountable to them.

In Asia, as in other regions, women constitute by far the largest disenfranchised group. The U.N. Report on The World's Women: Trends and Statistics 1970-1990 documents that:

- * women are the majority of the poor and the number of women living in poverty has increased by 50 percent since 1975.
- * women are the majority of the world's illiterate and the number increased between 1970 and 1985.
- * women earn 30-40 percent less than men for doing equal work.
- * women in Asia work an average of 13 hours a week more than men and are mostly unpaid.
- * women make up less than 5 percent of the world's heads of state.
- * women hold only 10 to 20 percent of managerial and administrative jobs worldwide and less than 20 percent of manufacturing jobs.

As these statistics indicate, women shoulder a disproportionate burden. Furthermore, the U.N. report unequivocally demonstrates that worldwide economic and social disparities between women and men are widening, not narrowing, with women continuing to lose ground. This trend is evident in much of Asia, which contains 55% of the world's women.

Women face both formal and informal barriers to full and equal political and economic participation in their countries at the national and local levels. Historical, cultural, and religious factors have established and perpetuate barriers to their participation. These problems vary from country to country. There are differing combinations of structural and/or legal impediments that prohibit or limit women's participation. Social customs such as restrictions on how far from her home a woman can travel, taboos on meeting with men outside the family, and attitudes toward women's proper roles prevent or restrict women's participation. Laws as well as custom deny equal rights and equal access in a whole range of areas that preclude women's participation.

Political structures are dominated by the traditional elites--mainly rich and powerful men. Opportunities for women are blocked by the prevailing power structure, and by a vicious circle of poverty, limited education, and low status in the societies in which they live. As a result, they are often powerless to influence decisions that affect their lives. In some countries women are denied basic human rights and are treated as property to be sold and/or abused.

This is a global problem shared by rich and poor, developed and developing nations alike. While some progress has been made, albeit at differing paces and degrees in the United States, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and in Asia, most countries are far from achieving systems that adequately represent and respond to the needs of the halves of their populations who are female.

Across the globe, women are seriously under-represented in positions of political leadership and decisionmaking bodies. In 1990, only 6 of the 159 United Nations member states were headed by women, and only 3.5 percent of the world's cabinet ministers were women. Ninety-three countries had no women at all in cabinet positions. In Asia, only in Bhutan and the Philippines have women achieved at least 10 percent of ministerial-level positions.

In the few countries in Asia that have had women leaders--such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India, and Pakistan--their power has come from their association with powerful men and families of the political elite, not as much from their own legitimate political base or a national commitment to female participation. Nonetheless, these few women have served as important role models and established new precedents for women as political leaders in Asia.

In most countries around the globe women now have the right to vote, and make up at least half of most electorates. However, the vote is a powerful tool that is not yet adequately recognized or fully utilized by women and other marginalized populations. While an increasing number of women hold jobs in the public sector, their representation decreases rapidly as pay and status levels increase. Rarely do they achieve elective office or senior-level positions, nor do they understand how to organize effectively to advance their interests.

According to the U.N report:

Women are shut out of all the decisionmaking jobs at the 4 highest levels of government in 49 countries [including] 16 in Asia and the Pacific...Only 3.5 percent of the world's cabinet ministers are women, and women hold no ministerial positions in 93 countries of the world...In only 3 countries do women hold more than 20 percent of ministerial-level government positions...They are blocked from top positions in trade unions, political parties, government, interest associations, and business.

Major gaps in policy, investment, and earnings prevent women from performing to their full potential in social, economic, and political life. One of the largest gaps is that governments seldom integrate the concerns and interests of women into mainstream policies. Much of this gap is embodied in laws that deny women equality with men in their rights to own land, borrow money, and enter into contracts. Even where women have *de jure* equality, failures to carry out the law deny equality *de facto*.

Equal partnership between men and women is critical to national development and to global survival. The current unequal power balance--rooted in patriarchal systems--severely limits the ability of half the population to fully contribute to economic development and undervalues their contributions. Women's work in domestic activities as well as in critical sectors such as agriculture is fundamental to the functioning of most economies, even though it is significantly restricted, undervalued, and exploited. This impedes national development and has serious repercussions on other areas, such as population growth rates and the environment, which affect the society as a whole and increasingly spill over national borders, with implications for regional peace and stability.

Men as well as women stand to benefit from women's increased participation in national development. Both will gain if opportunities for women can be expanded, and their contributions can become properly valued. However, women cannot participate as effective partners in economic development until they have equal voice in decisions that determine the policies and directions of the countries in which they live. The Asia Foundation proposes to take advantage of the trend toward more democratic societies occurring across the Asia-Pacific region to strengthen the real roots of democracy by

encouraging and broadening the participation of women, thereby making a significant contribution to the development of democracy in the region.

WOMEN AND DEMOCRATIZATION

With some notable exceptions, most of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region are making progress in moving toward more democratic systems of government. The trend toward greater political freedom has come to formerly staunch Leninist societies such as Mongolia, former autocracies such as Nepal, and restored democracies such as the Philippines, largely as a result of popular demand. However, history has shown that popular enthusiasm for democracy is rarely sufficient in itself to guarantee it will take root; unseating authoritarianism is only a preliminary step in democracy-building. The democratization process must go far beyond the formal institutions of the state.

Indeed, Asia's experience with democratization suggests that electoral politics *per se* should not be automatically equated with democracy. On the contrary, elected politicians or parties can obstruct, or even reverse, democratic progress if traditional political practices are simply transposed onto an electoral system. For example, traditional patron-client relations, particularly at the grassroots level, have been preserved in several new democracies, inviting corrupt campaign practices, vote fraud, and even intimidation at election time.

Across the region, several major challenges in Asia's democratizing societies remain. Expectations have been raised for women as well as men. Both expect to participate in the dramatic economic growth taking place in the region and have access to new opportunities to improve the living standards of their families. New Asian leaders are finding that they must move quickly from the role of politician to policymaker in order to satisfy popular demands for economic prosperity and more equitable distribution of the benefits of growth. New democracies are fragile creatures, and in countries without longstanding democratic traditions and political cultures, popular commitment to democracy may last only as long as government performance is sufficiently in accord with popular expectations, and a broad spectrum of the people begin to benefit from the changes that are taking place.

One of the greatest challenges of the new democracies is to broaden the scope and mandate of elected leadership. The legitimacy and long-term viability of these democracies will ultimately be largely determined by their progress in building a broad base of popular support among the citizens of the country. The efforts and success of elected governments in bringing the female half of their population into the political arena--to participate in and benefit from democratic institutions and processes--is fundamental to establishing a legitimate base from which to govern. Increasing women's political participation is thus considered by The Asia Foundation to be an essential part of its overall efforts to support democratization in Asia. It is not enough to support

development of democratic institutions and processes without also working to make them responsive and accountable to women as well as to men.

THE NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Women's awareness of how decisions and policies affect their lives and those of their families needs to be increased, particularly in countries in which women's movements are at an early stage. Women need to be made aware of the ways in which policies affect their options to participate as equal citizens in their societies. They need to understand how to make use of the options and potential power available to them to elect leaders who will represent their interests, become leaders themselves, and learn to organize politically to encourage responsive and accountable leaders and institutions that will advance their interests.

Women need encouragement and the opportunity to develop specific sets of skills and knowledge in order to be able to assume positions of leadership in their societies. Otherwise half of the population of each country will remain excluded from or bypassed by the institutions and processes that are evolving as countries move toward more democratic systems. "The extraordinary pace of international events in 1991 and the absence of women in positions with power to influence the direction of change, has raised the alarming prospect that women's best interests could be lost in the shuffle to remake policies for the 1990s and beyond" (Unifem Annual Report 1991). It is essential that women be given opportunities to advance their knowledge in substantive areas such as entrepreneurship, trade and investment, foreign policy, and sustainable development so that they will bring a high level of knowledge and expertise to their jobs that will enhance their performance, and increase their leadership capacity.

Helping women gain the skills they need to achieve elective office and appointments to decisionmaking bodies is an important, necessary, and positive step. It is also important to promote linkages among candidates, political organizations, women's groups, and women voters to educate leaders of both sexes on the specific concerns of and problems facing women that need to be addressed explicitly and directly by the political process. Mechanisms need to be created to make leaders accountable to their female constituents. Women need to understand how their numerical advantage can be translated into political influence to protect and promote their own welfare.

To increase women's success in attaining elective and appointive office, organizations need to share strategies and techniques for reducing formal and informal historical, religious, and cultural impediments. Such institutions as the League of Women Voters in Korea and the Awakening Foundation in Taiwan have achieved some significant results in promoting women candidates and mobilizing women as voters to support women candidates who will represent their interests. The experiences and

techniques utilized in an organization in one country can be useful to less developed organizations in other countries.

The concerns of women need to be considered as a regular part of the policymaking process. Legislators who propose and vote on legislation and judges who make decisions that become binding legal precedents need to take into account how laws and regulations will affect women as a part of the policymaking process. There needs to be both an educational process at work and a strong set of accountability mechanisms in place so that policymakers are informed about women's issues and answerable to their constituents on the basis of their positions on those issues. Such organizations as Congressional Research and Training Service in the Philippines and Gender Watch in Thailand are playing an important role in monitoring and reporting on the performance of national leaders on women's issues.

Women's organizations can be strengthened to enable them to become influential constituent blocs that are taken seriously by policymakers. Women's organizations must work together within countries and across borders to build on successes and create networks that will increase their impact and call attention to issues affecting women, such as access to credit, legal discrimination, marriage and divorce law, property rights, and trafficking in and violence against women. With well-targeted support, these organizations can become the basis for effective political action.

If the network of individuals and organizations supporting women in positions of leadership and working on issues of vital importance to women can be strengthened and expanded, important skills and lessons can be conveyed to encourage women's political participation. The importance of facilitating networking between individuals and among organizations working to empower women and encourage their participation, both within individual countries and between countries in the region, cannot be overstated. Opportunities to compare problems, share experiences, develop strategies, build on each other's progress, and develop contacts and relationships with their peers within and across borders need to be arranged.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The Asia Foundation has identified four overarching issues in women's political participation that will provide the framework for the proposed program. Specific country activities will be targeted on one or more of these objectives depending on the needs, opportunities, and resources available within each country.

- and
- I * Developing Women's Political Leadership: enhance the skills of existing potential women leaders to enable them to effectively seek elective and appointive office at the national, provincial, and local levels.
 - II * Reducing Formal and Informal Barriers to Women's Political Participation: strengthen organizations working to eliminate barriers to women's political participation and promoting women's access to elective and appointive office, and increase women's participation as voters and activists.
 - III * Making the Policymaking Process More Responsive to the Concerns of Women: enhance the ability of advocacy groups to influence and monitor policymakers, decisionmaking bodies, and the laws, policies, and decisions they make so that they more closely and consistently reflect women's concerns.
 - IV * Creating Networks Between Individuals and Organizations Working to Increase Women's Political Participation: provide opportunities for Asian women to develop contacts with their peers in the region to encourage cross-fertilization and promote the sharing of knowledge and resources.

Building on its longstanding work with formal democratic institutions and hundreds of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) across the Asia-Pacific region, the Foundation proposes to launch a program to increase women's political participation at the national, provincial, and local levels and to build effective national and regional networks for information sharing. The program seeks to increase women's representation in decisionmaking bodies to promote accessibility of political systems to women and foster greater responsiveness to their concerns.

The Asia Foundation will utilize its extensive network of contacts with institutions and individuals on both sides of the Pacific, developed over almost four decades, to implement a range of activities designed to improve women's leadership capabilities, increase women's political access, encourage more responsive and accountable leaders and institutions--especially in those Asian countries moving toward more democratic systems--and facilitate networking within the region to leverage resources for maximum impact. The Asia Foundation's years of experience in promoting pluralism and its extensive programming in democratization makes it well suited to implement a major

program focused exclusively and explicitly on getting more women involved at all levels in the political processes that shape their lives and will determine their futures. This program is envisioned as a five-year multicountry program, however, this proposal to AID covers only the implementation of activities in six countries over the first year.

PROGRAM PLAN

Survey and Database

The Foundation will utilize its own funds to undertake a needs assessment survey in each participating country under the supervision of the Foundation's Representatives as soon as a grant agreement is signed. The Foundation will support appropriate local institutions in each country included in the program that have interest in and capacity to update and consolidate country-specific information (and where needed carry out new research and analysis) on the major barriers to women's political participation. This information will be used not only to inform the program, but also to highlight the problems within each country and help to focus attention on them. The findings of the survey will be made available to AID.

The Foundation will identify organizations across the region that could serve as resources for the program and begin to assemble a comprehensive database as a resource for this program using its own funds. The Foundation will also expand and update its inventory of information on individuals and institutions throughout the region--including in the United States--that are working to advance women's leadership and political access that could serve as resources to be drawn upon in the program. The Foundation will utilize information and studies already collected by other organizations and collaborate with many of the organizations working to increase women's political participation in the United States and in Asia. Not only will the survey and database enhance the Foundation's capacity to carry out this program, they will ensure rapid implementation of the proposed program. The database will facilitate Asia-to-Asia networking and serve as a permanent resource for programming in the region. Information relevant to this program will be available to AID/W.

In-Country Programs

Once the needs assessment surveys have been completed, program priorities and objectives will be adjusted where needed. The Asia Foundation's resident Representatives, working in close consultation with the local AID Missions, will refine a one-year program plan. Once the country plans are agreed to by the Missions, The Asia Foundation will consolidate them into a regional program plan for concurrence by the Asia and R&D Bureaus. Program funds will be obligated and made available by AID/W through the Foundation's Federal Letter of Credit for disbursement by the Foundation according to the agreed upon plan. This portion of the project will be

managed by The Asia Foundation's field offices and WIP unit which will report quarterly to AID/W.

The program will be designed throughout to combine well-targeted, in-country activities with regional networking activities. Working in these seven countries will allow the Foundation to employ a phased-in approach and enable it to evaluate which activities are most effective. While the activities in this program are focused exclusively on increasing women's political participation, the Foundation carries out many other projects to empower women in Asia in the 31 countries in which it operates. Every effort will be made to coordinate and combine activities within the region in order to increase the impact of the AID supported activities and leverage the resources of both AID and The Asia Foundation.

Group 1: Bangladesh, Nepal, and The Pacific Islands

Bangladesh Nepal and the Pacific Islands are characterized by relatively low levels of income and economic growth, low literacy rates among women, and a low level of women's political participation. While formal democratic institutions and processes have been established or newly restored in these two countries, opportunities for women to participate in these processes are still very limited. Even though some of the formal legal constraints may have been removed as part of the movement toward democratization, cultural, traditional, and religious factors that are particularly stifling and intractable in these countries continue to largely exclude women from the political arena. In general, in these countries, women's status is very low and women suffer from a lack of basic educational opportunities and are deprived of many rights as citizens on the basis of gender. Violence against and trafficking in women are particularly serious problems for these countries.

Bangladesh

The issue of women's political participation in Bangladesh must be viewed in the broader context of the marginal status of women in society as a whole. The patriarchal organization of the family unit and the subordination of women under Islamic law diminish the social and legal independence of women. Beginning with the traditional preference for male children at birth, women face inequities in almost every sphere of life. Even the caloric intake for women is lower than for men because males are given preference when there is a scarcity of food.

Female educational levels are 70 percent lower than male levels, with a female literacy rate of only 23 percent compared with a male rate of 43 percent. Due to economic and cultural pressures, women are entering the workplace outside of the home in greater numbers than ever before. However, lower educational levels mean fewer and lower-level employment opportunities for them. Men overwhelmingly control the means of production, including land.

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According to the constitution, men and women in Bangladesh enjoy political equality, but in practice women participate in politics much less than men. A study supported by the Foundation in 1991 showed that women vote in fewer numbers than men. In the 1991 parliamentary election, only 1.5 percent of the contesting candidates were women. Of the 35 women members in the current Parliament, only five were elected, while the other 30 hold appointive seats that are viewed as less influential than the elective ones. And although both Prime Minister Khaleda Zia and Leader of the Opposition Sheikh Hasina, are women, their entrance into politics can be attributed to their relationship to slain political leaders, one a husband and one a father.

The Government of Bangladesh has advanced women's issues in successive five-year plans, and in 1978 established the Ministry of Women's Affairs, but the Ministry has maintained a low political profile. Despite favorable trends, governmental progress on women's issues has been slow due to the depth of the social, political, and economic constraints that must be overcome.

Women's participation in economic development and public policy formulation in Bangladesh has been bolstered in recent years by the emergence of a large number of NGOs. These groups focus on income generation, consciousness raising, legal rights, and other areas of concern to women members. A smaller number are engaged in publicly advocating specific interests of female constituencies. The NGOs serve not only as channels for influencing policy, but as training grounds for future women leaders.

Prospects for greater political participation by women in Bangladesh are tied closely to the more fundamental issue of improving the general status of women in social and economic affairs. Given the rudimentary state of women's participation in formal politics, attention must also be given to informal mechanisms to raise consciousness on women's issues and provide greater voice for women in decisionmaking processes at all levels.

The Asia Foundation proposes to support activities in Bangladesh that will address Objectives I, III and IV. The Foundation proposes to provide training and exchange opportunities for elected women officials, increase awareness among male leaders on women's issues, and develop the capacity of selected NGOs to train prospective women leaders. At the informal level, the Foundation plans to support a variety of NGOs to train prospective women leaders. The Foundation would plan to support such organizations and activities as:

- * Centre for Analysis and Choice (\$6,000) - information seminars on women's policy issues for Members of Parliament (MPs);
- * Parliament of Bangladesh (\$22,000) - training and observation programs on the policymaking process in Asia for women Members of Parliament; and

- * Various women's advocacy NGOs (\$22,000) - leadership training in the U.S. and Asia.

Subtotal Bangladesh Projects (\$50,000)

Indicators of Progress: The success of this project will be measured in terms of increased leadership capacity of current and prospective women politicians, improved awareness of women's issues among elected officials, and strengthened local NGOs, which will serve as informal mechanisms for bringing women more fully into the political process. Education for women MPs is expected to result in their participating more frequently in parliamentary debates as evidenced through the minutes of parliamentary sessions and press coverage. Greater awareness of women's issues among male MPs should lead to an increased number of bills with an impact on women being submitted to and passed by Parliament.

Foundation assistance for networking among NGOs is expected to lead to cooperative initiatives with counterpart organizations in other Asian countries. This will strengthen the women's NGO movement in Bangladesh, and lead to more effective advocacy of women's issues in the policymaking process.

Nepal

Nepal is taking steps to consolidate the dramatic move from autocracy to democracy. In April 1990, under pressure from the Nepali people, King Birendra ended 30 years of absolute monarchy. This people's revolution was the culmination of long simmering discontent with an autocratic and repressive government that was not responsive to the Nepalis' most basic needs and aspirations. In May 1991, Nepal held its first free elections, thereby establishing itself as a multi-party democracy.

Nepal's new democratic constitution guarantees equality to all citizens without discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, or tribe. In addition, it requires political parties to file women as at least 5 percent of their candidates in the elections for the House of Representatives. In the upper House, at least 5 percent of its members must be women.

However, despite these constitutional rights, women remain a severely disenfranchised group in Nepal. Many traditionally entrenched cultural factors work to the detriment of women. Nepal's patrilineal inheritance systems puts girls at a disadvantage right from birth. Women have no inheritance rights to parental property and enjoy only limited inheritance and disposal rights to their husband's property. The restricted mobility of women and their exclusive responsibility for household activities limits their ability to participate in politics and other activities outside the house.

The status of women in Nepal has not progressed much since the 1930s, when slavery was made illegal. One region in Nepal is the source of 30 percent of the women and young girls trafficked for prostitution in Bombay and Calcutta. In another region, the word for marriage is translated as "to sell one's daughter." Polygamy is not uncommon. In spite of the rise of the legal age of marriage -- 16 for girls and 18 for boys -- early marriage remains common. Nepali women have an average of six children and work at least ten hours a day. Girls 10 to 14 years old have a work load about double that of boys in the same age group.

Despite these inhibiting factors, Nepali women are becoming politically active. Women played a crucial role in the Nepali mass movement for democracy. Today, Nepali women's groups are raising such issues as equal property rights and quotas in education and jobs, and are demanding a voice in political parties and the government. However, to be effective policy advocates, these women's organizations need to develop their capacity to monitor and influence policymaking and policymakers on a broad range of issues.

The Foundation proposes to focus on Objective III in Nepal--opening up access to and influencing the policymaking process to a broad range of issues that are of concern to and affect women--focusing not just on such traditional "women's issues" as trafficking in women and equitable property rights, but moving beyond these to other issues that directly affect them. It may be easier for women leaders to come to a consensus on non-traditional issues rather than specific "women's issues" where contention currently exists.

The Foundation proposes to develop the capacity of several women's organizations that have the potential to acquire advocacy skills. A study/observation tour will be arranged for leaders of Nepali women's NGOs to visit advocacy organizations in other countries in the region that are effective in monitoring legislation and the performance of elected officials. Representatives from several women's organizations would visit such organizations as Gender Watch in Thailand and the Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS) and in the Philippines. This activity will also address Objective IV by creating linkages between Nepali organizations and advocacy organizations in other countries in the region.

The participants will become familiar with monitoring techniques used in other countries and work to develop strategies and methodologies appropriate for Nepal. In-country workshops will be conducted in order to: assist these groups in acquiring skills in monitoring legislation, policy decisions, government projects, regulations and enabling acts for women; develop their capability to brief policymakers and elected officials on how various issues affect women; and teach them how to deal with the media to bring greater attention to specific issues of concern to women. These organizations will also hold briefings or hearings in districts outside Kathmandu in an effort to further open the policymaking process and influence policy decisions. These groups will be taught the

processes and procedures needed to initiate and pass legislation with the expectation that they will be able to promote and support legislation on specific issues.

The Foundation expects to work with such organizations as:

- Center for Women in Development - a research organization that does action-oriented research on women's issues to develop its advocacy and monitoring capabilities and link it with other advocacy organizations in the region;
- Shri Shakti - a women's research organization that organized a large women's voter education program and has compiled a survey on the status of women; and
- Asimita Publishing House - a feminist publishing house that is expected to publish the Nepali equivalent of Ms. Magazine reporting on women's activism and issues of importance to women.

Subtotal Nepal Projects (\$50,000)

Indicators of Progress: The success of this project will be measured in terms of monitoring tools established for legislation, policy, projects, and regulations; briefing materials prepared and briefings held for policymakers; and new legislation drafted by women and women's NGOs. The program will work to document indications of increased responsiveness by policymakers to the concerns of women.

Pacific Islands

Although it does not share the cultural traditions of South Asia and although conditions within the Pacific Island nations (the eleven countries in which the Foundation implements programs) vary widely, The Pacific Islands is included in Group I, because it shares common problems with Bangladesh and Nepal regarding the low status of women and acute problems with violence against women.

Women play a key and central role in traditional Pacific Island society. They raise children, do much of the labor for subsistence agriculture, and act as unpaid health and social workers. They have a disproportionately onerous role in the maintenance and improvement of living standards and receive a relatively small share of the benefits. Although numerically equal to men, they are underrepresented in the higher echelons of various professions, commerce, and government, and are restrained from participating in public life at all levels. In trying to throw off the shackles of tradition, women are often the victims of discrimination and physical abuse.

In most Pacific countries, women formally have the same political rights as men, in that they can vote and stand for office without legal impediment. However, the fact

that there are so few women in elected office throughout the region illustrates the reality that women have more difficulty than men in exercising their political rights. Women are further handicapped by the fact that parliaments, congresses, town councils, and other elected bodies become repositories of male bias. This is not necessarily because of any desire to discriminate, but purely through the absence of a female point of view. Though there are a number of MPs in the Pacific, in most cases there is only one woman in each legislature. Women's failure to get elected to positions in the legislature often result from pressure their families put on voters not to vote for them. Thus it is easy for male rivals to mobilize conservative anti-female sentiment at election time. Another factor is that voters, including other women, will often look to traditional tribal and hereditary leaders for some indication of whom they should vote for.

The past year has seen much rhetoric about the importance of national women's councils, but these umbrella organizations have not had as much impact as individual NGOs. Despite the headway made by NGOs, especially in Fiji and Papua New Guinea, women's representation in regional parliaments has not shown a similar trend. Several women contested the elections in Papua New Guinea, but none made it to parliament. Fiji's one successful woman candidate, Ms. Taufu Vakatale, is now the Minister for Education. Three women who did not run for office were appointed to the Senate. Since a man, Ratu Joe Nacola, became Fiji's Minister for Women in April 1992, there has been a dramatic change in the Ministry's attitude. The Ministry now works closely with Fijian and Indian women's NGOs on projects, and has launched an impressive five year women's improvement program.

Since opening a regional office in Suva in 1990, the Foundation, expanding on contacts built over the previous decade, has come to know most of the regional women's organizations and their leaders. These valuable contacts allow the Foundation to gauge more effectively the programming environment of this diverse region.

To advance the status, role, and participation of women in public life, the Foundation has been working with the new Ministries for Women in Fiji and Western Samoa. Leadership training, scholarships and workshops for women have been provided to the Charlton Trust in Fiji. The Foundation has supported WOMEN MAGAZINE through a regional workshop for women journalists to sharpen their skills and to share ideas and information on women's issues that need to be brought to the attention of the public. Support has also been provided to the Solomon Islands Development Trust for the publication of MERE SAVE magazine, which is written in pidgin English and disseminates information on women's issues throughout the country.

Domestic violence is becoming an increasingly serious social problem in the Pacific. Despite the growing evidence that domestic violence is increasing, there are few programs and few public awareness campaigns focused on the issue and little public attention is being given to the matter. The Foundation has supported a number of projects focussed on women and violence including local workshops, regional

conferences, study/observation tours in the region and to the U.S., and programs with journalists to bring greater attention in the media to the problem. This will continue to be an area of programming activity for the Foundation.

Some of the projects that the Foundation plans to support in the coming year include a national conference on women's issues, a workshop on reporting on women's issues, a regional study/observation tour of women's programs, and a regional conference on women and the environment. Because the Pacific Islands has just been added to the Women in Politics Program, a detailed program plan is just being worked out in coordination with the Mission, and will be available to AID/W by June 21, 1993 or sooner.

Group 2: Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand

These four countries are all experiencing relatively rapid rates of economic growth, although Indonesia and Thailand are of course growing more rapidly than Sri Lanka and the Philippines. All four have medium to high rates of women's literacy and participation, despite the wide range of political freedom among the four, with the Philippines being the most open and democratic, and Indonesia the least. These countries have well-developed NGO sectors, which in some cases have significant capacity for influencing the policymaking process. With well targeted support, advocacy organizations in these countries can increase public accountability and responsiveness on women's issues and act as important catalysts for change, and women can be assisted in developing leadership skills.

Indonesia

The Indonesian general elections--the only electoral opportunity through which the populace may express its political will--are held once every five years, and serve to form the representative bodies of the National Parliament (the DPR), the provincial parliaments, and the district-level parliaments. On June 9, 1992 approximately 98 million voters, or roughly 91 percent of the electorate, cast their ballots. Though the elections did not produce a significant change in the overall composition of the parliamentary bodies, a vocal minority party's significant gains sent a clear signal that a growing number of Indonesians favor more political participation and change in the tightly-controlled political system.

Following the June general elections, on October 1, 1992, all members of the new legislative body were sworn in; on October 3, 1992, Mr. H. Wahono was installed as the new Speaker of the DPR, along with four new deputy speakers, thus formalizing the creation of a new National Parliament. On the whole, the new DPR is better educated and more professionally experienced than previous parliamentary bodies. This is significant because the Indonesian Parliament's ability to further strengthen its human

resources and systematically prepare for an expected change in national leadership before the end of the decade is critical to the challenge of building a true system of representative government in Indonesia.

Though there is reason to be cautiously optimistic about the Parliament's potential for development, it remains dominated by traditional elites--mainly wealthy and powerful men. Only 63 of the total 500 elected and appointed Members of Parliament are women. Opportunities for women are frequently limited because of this prevailing power structure. As a result, women are often powerless to influence decisions that affect their lives.

The Foundation will respond to this situation by supporting the establishment of a new parliamentary association for women legislators (based on non-partisanship and a balanced system of party/faction membership), along with related programming activities. Initially, for organizational purposes, support will be provided for the association's secretariat. The Foundation will support the publication of a Women's Who's Who in Parliament with its own funds. The Foundation will then help organize more substantive projects, such as workshops and seminars, that promote linkages among parliamentarians (at the national and provincial levels), women's groups, NGOs, and women voters to educate leaders of both sexes on the specific concerns and problems facing women. Women's political participation will also be encouraged through commissioned, in-depth studies on pertinent domestic issues of direct relevance to Indonesian women, and through comparative regional studies that are linked to observation missions to Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand. Especially important will be opportunities for young women leaders in Indonesia to learn from the experience of organizations like the League of Women Voters in Korea and the Awakening Foundation in Taiwan.

Related to these efforts--though completely separate from the parliamentary association for women--are the Foundation's plans to support efforts to lay the groundwork for the potential establishment of a nonpartisan body for the advancement of effective political action, along the lines of the Korean League of Women Voters. Like the Korean League, an Indonesian League of Women Voters would attempt to: 1) advance the general public's understanding of the election process and system; 2) promote the status of women in Indonesia through publications, public campaigns, workshops, and training programs designed to draw attention to women's issues and encourage women to become more active in the political process; and 3) educate leaders on the specific concerns of and problems facing women that need to be addressed by the political process.

A number of factors, taken together, present an unprecedented opportunity for effective and timely Foundation assistance to strengthen women's political participation in Indonesia. These include: a new DPR leadership committed to strengthening the institution and expanding the role of the legislative branch; a new DPR membership,

including several well-educated, dynamic female members; increasingly vocal minority political parties and factions; a maturing national consensus on the need to develop a more representational system of government; the success of the Foundation's legislative programs to date; the close working relationship and high level of trust the Foundation has developed with the DPR; and the window of opportunity for democratization that a change in Indonesia's leadership may bring.

These programs will build upon the Foundation's established contacts and extensive programming experience in the field of legislative development, and will involve the active participation of both selected NGOs and government agencies in their implementation. The project will capitalize on a political environment that is increasingly receptive to programming in this area, and will encourage further progress toward the emergence of a more open and democratic Indonesia.

The Foundation expects to support:

- Establishment of an Association of Women Legislators (\$32,000) - studies on women's role in government, open forums with NGOs and women groups, observation tour; and
- Indonesian League of Women Voters (\$18,000) - provision of a consultant and observation/exchange programs to Leagues in other countries in the region.

Subtotal Indonesia Projects (\$50,000)

Indicators of Progress: The Foundation expects this program to have a number of specific outputs, including the establishment of an association of women legislators; two workshops and seminars promoting linkages among parliamentarians (at the national and provincial levels), women's groups, NGOs, and women voters; and two in-depth studies on pertinent domestic issues and two regional comparative studies of direct relevance to Indonesian women that will be produced, reported on, discussed in open fora, and distributed to women leaders and government officials. Other outputs will be: better awareness on the parts of leaders of both sexes concerning the specific concerns and problems facing Indonesian women; enhanced capacity of Indonesia's provincial assembly members' understanding of important policy issues pertaining to women; more cooperative relationships on women's issues between Indonesia's national and provincial assemblies; the expansion of women Members of Parliament and other young women leaders to achieve effective political action groups abroad; and the groundwork laid for the potential establishment of a central nonpartisan body for the advancement of effective political action.

The Philippines

On February 12, 1992 the Philippines approved Republic Act 7192, better known as the Women in Development and National Building Act. It outlines "the integration of women as full and equal partners of men in development and nation building and for other purposes."

When Fidel V. Ramos became President in mid-1992, he endorsed the Act plus a ten-point women's agenda. In addition, he made his own pledge to increase the participation of women leaders in the national and local governments and to support legislation that seeks to provide women equal rights.

By many measures, including this legislation and the number of women currently in the Philippine Congress, women in the Philippines seem to have won great political victories. Filipinas are politically aware. They claim a proud history of political activism beginning as early as the 1760s when Gabriela Silang continued her husband's patriotic struggle against Spanish colonial injustice. Filipinas have voted since suffrage was granted in 1937. And in the 1992 presidential election, Miriam Defensor-Santiago, the first woman Commissioner of the Commission on Immigration and Deportation and the first woman Secretary of the Department of Agrarian Reform, narrowly lost to Fidel Ramos.

And yet, the more than 30 million Filipinas have made less progress in the elimination of gender bias and in workplace, economic, and social/political advancement than one might expect. The reasons are many. The most obvious is that so many elected women are inexperienced in politics and in the issues that affect the majority of women in the Philippines. Many women are elected because of their influential families. (There are no ceilings on campaign funds, so wealthier candidates have the advantage and also the incentive, since as politicians they can protect family interests.) Many of these women know little about the needs of the women who are among the 70 percent of Filipinos living in rural areas. This pattern means that women leaders are not particularly accountable to other women. While there are constituencies that rally around women's issues, few have political power or the organizational strength to effectively push for reform.

In the past, Filipinas have exercised little political independence from the patronage system that dominates Philippine politics. Their families and their husbands bring them into politics. The Philippines' first woman president, Corazon Aquino, came reluctantly to power with the help of a powerful clan and the sympathy of the Philippine nation following the assassination of her husband.

In the Philippines it is not unusual for women to come into politics in partnership with their husbands. This tradition has roots in pre-Hispanic Philippine folklore, which says that the first man and woman emerged when a huge bamboo split into two equal

parts. This traditional notion of equality opened up political opportunities for women, who in pre-colonial times were expected to succeed their husbands as rulers in barangays (local government units). Women might have taken full advantage of this equality if the Spanish had not changed the rules, creating the Maria Clara image of the submissive home-bound wife and mother.

However, the political climate for women is changing. In 1986 the Aquino administration came to power and with it came greater demand for "people power." A renewed enthusiasm for democracy led to the passage of the Local Government Code (LGC), which devolved some national powers to the provinces, cities, and to the smallest local governing units, the barangays. Decisionmaking is now within the reach of a greater number of the Philippines' 67 million people. And since the LGC encourages citizen participation in government, there are greater opportunities for all Filipinos to take part.

At the same time, hundreds of NGOs, also encouraged by the Aquino administration, became involved in issues affecting governance and the accountability of government. The combination of the LGC and the development of NGOs changes the dynamics of politics in the Philippines, especially for women. Since many NGOs are headed by women, these organizations not only offer women an opportunity to develop management and organization skills, but also provide a vehicle to build constituencies, influence the policymaking process, and press for the implementation of policies responsive to women's concerns.

In the Philippines, women campaign, women vote, women are elected, and women serve throughout government. But women have not been particularly sensitive to issues affecting women, nor have women distinguished themselves as policymakers. Despite the numbers of women in Philippine politics, few are seasoned politicians. According to a study by Professor Carmencita T. Aguilar, ninety percent of women politicians in the national and local governments since 1987 had no previous career in politics. The result is that many elected women are not particularly well-prepared. The record is particularly dismal with regard to legislation on women's issues. Between July, 1987 and December, 1988, 152 bills on women's issues were introduced in the lower house of the Philippine Congress, and of that number 126 were sponsored by women. On average, however, less than 5 percent of bills dealing with women's issues become law.

Education is needed at each level where women are politically active, organizing and mobilizing for political empowerment, campaigning and voting for particular candidates for public offices, joining political parties and political movements, becoming politicians, winning seats for national and local offices, and accepting positions in the Cabinet and the bureaucracy.

The Foundation's program in the Philippines proposes to focus on making political leaders more accountable to women and more responsive on a range of issues

of particular concern to women. Activities will seek to increase accountability to women through a variety of techniques to help women have a more effective and powerful political voice in the policies and directions of the country.

Women in the Philippines have played an important role in the struggle for democratic freedoms. They can speak eloquently about women's rights and about changes needed in social and cultural patterns. But with few exceptions, women have not focused on strategies for addressing the accountability of political systems to women or the need for political action plans to support the election of women. Women in the Philippines have few links to the organizations that promote women's issues and have not depended on these groups. Women did not need to address women's issues or to be educated in the impact of policies on women in order to win women's votes. However, the Local Government Code and the growing strength of NGOs are expected to lead to increased pressure on public officials to be accountable to the people who elect them.

The Foundation proposes to work on Objective I to enhance the leadership skills of existing and potential women leaders to enable them to effectively seek elective and appointive office at the national, provincial, and local levels. The Foundation will support activities focused on Objective III designed to increase the knowledge and capabilities of NGOs as well as members, committees, and legislative staffs in accountable policymaking. Finally, the Philippines program proposes to focus on Objective IV to build networks among women leaders in women's NGOs.

The Foundation proposes to support a wide range of nonpartisan legislative and constituency support services, including training and policy seminars for Congressional staff and newly elected public officials on women's issues. For NGOs engaged in promoting women's issues, research will be commissioned and reports produced on policies affecting women. Workshops will also be conducted to improve the ability of NGOs to understand the importance of the budget process and the relationship between the legislative and executive branches in policymaking and to teach skills that will enable NGOs to monitor the implementation of legislation.

The Foundation would plan to support such organizations as:

- * Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS) (\$28,000) - provide a range of non-partisan legislative and constituency support services, conduct research on policies affecting women, and conduct workshops to improve NGO understanding of the importance of the budget and policymaking processes and enhance their ability to monitor implementation of legislation and the performance of elected officials;
- * Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (CIJ) (\$10,000) - commission research and encourage reporting on policies and laws affecting women, and monitor implementation of policy; and

- Women in Nation-Building (\$12,000) - convene meetings of women politicians and women activists to develop strategies and techniques for addressing needs of women to facilitate grassroots political participation and develop an agenda for implementation of legislation affecting women.

Subtotal Philippines Projects (\$50,000)

Indicators of Progress: Progress will be indicated by action on the implementation of measures supporting the Women in Development and National Building Act and public discussion on legislative responsiveness to women's issues. The Foundation expects to see production of a report on grassroots political strategies and indications of collaboration and cooperation between women's NGOs and women leaders, and evidence of increased efforts by political action groups to increase the accountability of local political officials and institutions.

Sri Lanka

In the past two decades, Sri Lankan women as a group have made important political, legislative, and economic progress. More women than men are attending universities, women have access to civil service jobs, women have risen to leadership/managerial levels in the professions, and rural women are becoming more aware of their legal and economic rights. A number of women's advocacy groups are well developed and the government has a Ministry of Women's Affairs. Professional groups such as the Women's Chamber of Commerce, Agromart Outreach Foundation, and the Sri Lanka Federation of University Women actively support the professional and economic development of women and women entrepreneurs. Women's support and research groups such as Women in Need, the Center for Women's Research (CENWOR), Women and the Environment, and INFORM focus on women's issues and the development of relevant law and legislation.

In many ways Sri Lankan women enjoy rights equivalent to their western counterparts, albeit in an entirely different political, socio-economic, and cultural context. But just as in the West, important gender issues relating to equal status, equal pay, equal rights, and equal opportunities remain. Violence against women is of great concern in Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan women continue to work toward a political, social, and economic climate that ensures greater educational opportunity, greater employment opportunity, access to managerial level jobs, equal protection under the law, and enhanced female participation and standing in politics, public affairs, and the development of public policy.

Unlike in the professions and government service, Sri Lankan women are not active participants in the political process. In isolated instances, women have played prominent roles in Sri Lankan politics. Mrs. Bandaranaike was the world's first woman prime minister, but she inherited the reins of the SLFP from her assassinated husband

and had the support of the powerful Bandaranaike family. Currently only 12 of 212 MPs are women and only 1 of the 23 Cabinet Ministers is a woman. Of the thousands of candidates running for provincial council seats in next month's election, only a handful will be women.

The recent development of a Women's Charter that defines targets, guidelines, and policy prescriptions intended to guarantee and promote the political, civil, and family rights of women provides a potential framework and focus for increasing active participation of women in the political life of the country and for strengthening the potential advocacy role of women's NGOs. The Charter ensures gender equity in all realms of Sri Lankan life and calls for greater female political participation.

A fifteen member National Committee on Women will soon be set up to monitor progress in achieving the goals of the Charter. Appointed by the president, the membership of the committee will determine how active the committee will be in pressing the Charter's agenda. But even if the National Committee proves to be a weak body or if the Charter is not implemented in a timely way, the Women's Charter as written provides a blueprint for advancing the role of women in the political, economic, and social life of the country.

The Foundation's interest and involvement in women's leadership and participation issues goes back to the 1950s when it was instrumental in the development of the Girl Guide movement in Sri Lanka. Guide activity provided an important early avenue for female participation and social action. Sarvodaya later developed a "women's forum" that now provides important services to women on a nation-wide scale. More recent Asia Foundation assistance in the 1990s helped initiate Sarvodaya's legal assistance program. The Foundation continues to provide support to Women in Need (WIN) and the Center for Women's Research (CENWOR), two important NGO women's rights advocates in Sri Lanka. In the last two years The Foundation has also supported such projects as a women entrepreneurs economic literacy project and a documentary film on "Tradition, Influence, and Change: Women and Work."

While there are some well-established women's NGOs operating in Sri Lanka focusing on equal status, equal pay, equal rights, and equal opportunity issues, there are a limited number of such groups and their ability to monitor and influence decisionmaking and policy is limited. If the policymaking process is to become more responsive to the concerns of women, such groups need to be more effective advocates of change.

The proposed Sri Lanka program will focus on Objectives I, III and IV to develop women's leadership capabilities, increase advocacy capability to make leaders and institutions more responsive and accountable to women and on women's issues, and to improve the networking linkages of Sri Lankan women.

The Sri Lanka program plans to support several projects with support from AID that include:

- * WIN, CENWOR, and/or INFORM (\$20,000) - strengthening the advocacy and monitoring capabilities of existing women's groups working on women's rights issues, possibly including development of an NGO national public opinion research capability;
- * Networking (\$15,000) - facilitating the development of new women's networks for women who are interested in becoming more active in the political life of the country; and
- * Women's Bureau, the Ministry of Women's Affairs, and the Sri Lanka Women's Lawyers Association (\$15,000) - evaluating government progress in implementing the policy goals of the Women's Charter.

Subtotal Sri Lanka Projects (\$50,000)

The Sri Lanka office would plan to match AID funds with its own funds to conduct a Women and Public Policy competitive grants program; conduct seminars, workshops, and observation programs on women in politics issues; provide institutional support for research, monitoring, and advocacy of women's issues identified by the Women's Charter; and strengthen professional women's groups that promote the Women's Charter agenda or parts of it.

Indicators of Progress: Progress will be measured by enhanced women's NGO advocacy capability, improved NGO monitoring capability of public policy affecting issues of concern to women, development of a women's NGO public opinion national survey and research capability, new and stronger women networks, new organizational linkages between urban and rural women's groups, new linkages between Sri Lankan and international women's groups, and a systematic on-going assessment of how and to what extent the proposed charter is being implemented.

Thailand

In May 1992, tens of thousands of demonstrators gathered in Bangkok to protest the selection of General Suchinda Kraprayoon as Prime Minister. On May 17, 1992, Thai army troops opened fire on the unarmed protesters, killing at least 60 and wounding hundreds. For several days, the country hovered on the brink of chaos, until his Majesty the King intervened on May 21, bringing an end to the conflict. General Suchinda resigned and respected former Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun returned to head an interim government.

The events of May catalyzed political awareness and public participation throughout the country. Widespread democratic coalitions led by advocacy groups, academics, businessmen, and professional organizations were formed to help educate and inform the public on issues concerning democracy. It was the first time in Thai history that there had been such collective action to pressure political leaders to be more accountable to the public.

The national election of September 1992 was the most pivotal election in recent Thai history. Voters rejected the military-influenced parties and brought to power a coalition of democratic parties, led by Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai's Democratic Party.

Throughout the events of 1992, women's groups played a significant role in developing political accountability in Thailand. Prior to the May incident, grassroots women's organizations from the northern, southern, and central regions of the country established a network. Through this, they held a series of public forums to educate local women's leaders on political issues, and present MP candidates' views on women's issues. This was the first time in Thai history that candidates for national office provided direct responses to a specific issue. The forums were covered on regional radio and national television broadcasts, reaching several million voters.

These programs helped to build political awareness among women at the grassroots level, which translated into national action. In the September 1992 elections, Thailand returned 15 women to Parliament, the largest number of women MPs in Thai history. Women's issues are also being translated into action at the local level. In February 1993, the government appointed the first woman provincial governor in Thai history. A major action still under discussion is the level of women's representation under the new village (tambon) council legislation.

The Asia Foundation proposes to build on proven centers of research and action to support several activities in Thailand. These would be a part of a larger program of Asia Foundation commitment to expanding and enhancing the role of women in Thailand's young democracy. The Foundation would use AID grant funds to support two main activities.

Focusing on Objective I, to develop women's leadership skills, The Asia Foundation plans to support the Chiang Mai University's Women Studies Center to conduct a program of three months training in government for local women leaders, primarily in the seven northern provinces. The purpose of this activity is to improve the governmental knowledge and skills of women leaders who aspire to greater responsibility in local government. The women selected will be community leaders and local elected (and appointed) Kamnan and Pu Tai Ban. Most have limited formal education, but all possess the political skills necessary to lead at the local level. What is lacking is experience in the more systematic aspects of government finance and administration.

Many of these women leaders have already joined together in a Women's Association, and have expressed the desire for further training in government, management of public finance, budgeting, and accountability systems. The training will be highly practical in content and experience, including internships in local, provincial, and national administration. About 100 women leaders will be trained through this activity in the first year.

A second project focusing on Objective III making the policy process more responsive to the concerns of women will provide support to the Thailand Gender Development Research Institute (GDRI) to conduct four national women's policy seminars and to expand the production of a magazine called Gender Watch. The overall purpose of both activities is to improve the accountability of elected politicians on issues of concern to Thai women. The policy seminars are based on a successful experiment in 1992, during which GDRI collaborated with local women's organizations by holding two three-day seminars. The seminars were attended by representatives of Thai political parties who responded to carefully prepared questions about their parties' positions on women's issues. The four proposed seminars will be "post election" follow-up meetings between women's groups and elected leaders to ensure that promises made in the campaign are not forgotten. Three major issues will be addressed: Thai government policies towards women in the workplace, the sex industry, and women's civil rights under the law. This activity will directly affect over 3,000 women leaders and activists at the local and national levels.

A third, related activity will be support for the continued publication and distribution of a Thai language monthly entitled Gender Watch. This is the first magazine of its kind in Thailand devoted exclusively to women's political participation and public policy issues affecting women. This useful publication is distributed nationally to over 2,000 women's groups and individuals. Articles cover gender-related political issues, reports on individual MPs, training programs for women in political life, and other governmental and political events of interest to women.

The Foundation will continue to support the participation of women governmental and political leaders in regional and international meetings and study tours. For example, the Director-General of the Office of the Auditor General, Ms. Rudee, and two of her mid-level Office Directors, both female, have been receiving training in performance auditing in the United States under Asia Foundation grants.

Funding under this program will also allow the Foundation to build, from a regional networking perspective, on The Asia Foundation program philosophy of supporting close collaboration between women's associations in the various Lower Mekong Basin States. For example, the Gender Development Research Institute has begun consultations with counterpart organizations in Cambodia supported by The Asia Foundation under a AID Cambodia Law and Democracy grant. Similar opportunities exist for network building and collaboration with Lao and Vietnamese groups.

The Asia Foundation's Thailand office is firmly committed to enhancing women's political participation in Thailand. Projects that would be supported under this proposal include:

- Chiang Mai University's Women Studies Center (\$20,000) - training in government finance and administration for local elected and appointed women leaders to enhance their political leadership skills; and
- Thailand Gender Development Research Institute (\$30,000) - women's national policy seminars to increase political accountability and increased production of Gender Watch magazine which monitors legislative developments of concern to women as well as the performance of elected officials on women's issues.

Subtotal Thailand Projects (\$50,000)

Indicators of Progress: 100 local women leaders will be educated in the processes of government finance and administration; four women's national policy seminars will be conducted on Thai government policies towards women in the workplace, the sex industry, and women's civil rights under the law, for reaching approximately 3,000 women leaders and activists; the publication and distribution of Gender Watch will be increased, and material will be broadcast on national radio and TV programs.

Networking within the Asia-Pacific Region

Regional networking activities, including conferences, workshops, and exchanges, are a central part of the design of this program. Barriers to women's participation in politics are not always country-specific, nor are strategies for surmounting these obstacles. Much has been learned about what works and what doesn't work in promoting women's political participation. There is great potential to learn from each other's experiences in order to save valuable time, effort, and money. Regional programs are thus a central part of the design of this program, adding an important dimension that goes beyond country-specific activities to leverage funds and reaches beyond national borders for greater impact.

Networking enables new ideas, strategies, and techniques to be generated through a brainstorming process that is often more successful than working on a problem individually. At the same time it enables proven ideas, strategies, and techniques to be shared, and lessons to be conveyed that can save vast amounts of time and effort. Benefits of networking go beyond the transfer of specific knowledge or skills. Through direct exposure to colleagues from other Asian countries, participants in networking activities are likely to come away with a more realistic sense of strategies that would transfer effectively to their own countries. It also provokes fresh thinking about practices in their own countries.

It is important that the resources, energy, and commitment of individuals and organizations working to increase women's political participation be periodically renewed and bolstered by having them come together with their peers. This can be a regenerating process as well as an opportunity to establish and strengthen networks for mutual reinforcement. At the same time networking activities can raise the visibility of the organizations involved and their causes by providing opportunities for media coverage to highlight the issues. Networking activities will be used to bring national and international attention to problems of critical importance to women whenever possible.

The proposed program will encourage Asia-to-Asia exchanges. In addition to being more economical, these exchanges are also often more politically and culturally relevant than Asia-to-United States exchanges, and enable interaction to take place between organizations that are on a similar scale and often are addressing similar problems. The program's regional exchanges would promote a collegial, rather than patron-client, relationship. Asia-to-Asia exchanges enhance the institutional capabilities of both the direct grantee organizations and the organizations that serve as resources. The grantee organization benefits from observing and studying the methods of their counterparts, who may have more experience. In the process of mentoring grantee organizations, the host organizations are likely to evaluate their own performances and learn from the experience of teaching others. Both organizations gain from increased contact with others in the field and through the exchange of views and information that will occur. There is thus a double dividend in Asia-to-Asia exchanges when

organizations meet to share information and strategies and develop ties that enable them to work together to their mutual benefit.

The Foundation supports many other projects focused on empowering women, both in the countries included in this proposal and in the other countries in which it works. Asia-to-Asia exchange and regional conferences and workshops will take advantage of one of The Asia Foundation's greatest comparative advantages--its network of 14 field offices and its extensive array of contacts with both governmental and non-governmental organizations working to advance women's interests and participation throughout the region. The Director of the proposed AID program will be responsible for coordinating with other Foundation programs to take advantage of the many networking opportunities that will arise. This program will thus also enhance the institutional capabilities of the Foundation itself to better coordinate, strengthen, and expand its work to increase women's political participation.

This program will enhance the institutional capabilities of The Asia Foundation to better coordinate and leverage activities in all of the 31 Asian and Pacific Island nations in which it works. In fact, the Foundation sees this program as a test case for a substantial new programming vehicle--Asian-Regional Exchange (ARX) that would be promoted in all of the Foundation's programming areas. The Foundation ultimately envisions a regional computerized information system to facilitate ARX. It is expected that this program will serve as the first building block in this important new programming vehicle.

One planned project should be of particular interest to AID with respect to this proposed program in women's political participation. In the fall of 1993 The Asia Foundation, using its own funds, will bring upcoming women leaders from seven countries in the Asia-Pacific region to attend the Association of Women in Development (AWID) Conference in Washington DC. It is planned that four to six of these women will form a panel to lead a discussion on women's political participation in Asia. This will serve to promote discussion of women's roles and access to the policy process as an issue at the conference, and to highlight the particular problems facing Asian women regarding political participation in Asia. Following the AWID Conference these women will visit policy advocacy organizations in the United States such as the National Women's Political Caucus, the Congressional Women's Political Caucus, the National Organization of Women, and the League of Women Voters. This project is expected to serve as a model for a possible panel on women's political participation in the Asia-Pacific region at the 1995 Beijing UN Conference on Women.

At the end of the one-year program, The Asia Foundation in conjunction with AID/W and in consultation with the Missions will convene a meeting in Asia of women who have participated in the program as grantees and as resources to assess what has worked well, areas that should be explored further, make recommendations for follow-on activities, and plan ways to institutionalize and expand the networks that have been

created. Each participating country will plan to gather grantees together with the country advisory panel to review/evaluate the program from the country perspective. These in-country meetings will be followed by a regional meeting to which each country will send a designated participant to review/evaluate the program from a regional perspective. These meetings will be included as part of the evaluation of the program and is reflected in the budget.

ASIA FOUNDATION CAPABILITY

The Asia Foundation has worked extensively with government institutions and NGOs in Asia during the last four decades to encourage and strengthen democratic processes and institutions and increase pluralism. The Foundation has supported many of the major women's organizations in Asia, and has been a pioneer in this field over the years with some significant results, particularly in the area of law. However, much more needs to be done if real progress is going to be made in bringing women fully into the political process.

The Foundation's basic strategy is to address problems on as many levels and from as many directions as possible for maximum impact. The Foundation has worked to improve the rights and status of women in many ways including supporting programs that advance women's economic empowerment through microenterprise training, credit co-ops, and other avenues to entrepreneurship; legal literacy programs to increase women's knowledge and understanding of their rights under the law and provide women with access to legal counsel; stipend programs to enable girls to attend secondary school; support for advocacy groups that advance women's interests; nonpartisan political leadership training for women; citizen education programs to inform women of their rights as voters; and access to family planning information and services to give women control over their reproductive capacity.

Some of the women's organizations the Foundation has supported over the years have now developed to the stage where they can serve as effective models and resources for other, less-developed organizations. The Foundation will utilize more developed organizations as models and resources to strengthen leadership skills and political advocacy organizations working to develop women's access to and participation in politics. The Foundation will support these organizations in establishing mechanisms to link them across communities and nations, and work with them to find ways to become self-sustaining.

The trend toward more democratic political systems underway in many countries in the region, combined with the Foundation's years of experience in building democratic institutions, creates a positive programming environment for the Foundation to implement a major, multicountry program targeted on increasing women's political participation so that women can fully contribute to the policymaking processes that affect the course of national development.

PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

WIPP Unit

The Program will be managed by a Women in Politics Program (WIPP) unit based in the Foundation's San Francisco headquarters. The WIPP unit will work with the Foundation's field offices in each of the seven participating countries to coordinate in-country activities and implement regional activities. The creation of a unit dedicated specifically to a women's program is designed to contribute to the awareness of and highlight the importance of women's empowerment programs both within the Foundation itself and in relation to its grantees and contact organizations on both sides of the Pacific.

The Foundation's field offices will have primary responsibility for implementation of the in-country activities in coordination with the WIPP unit. The WIPP unit in San Francisco will utilize the information and expertise in The Foundation's San Francisco-based Asian-American Exchange unit (AAX), which collaborates with the field offices to develop training and observation programs that are part of larger, in-country projects.

WIPP staff supported under this grant agreement will consist of a half-time program Director and a half-time Assistant Program Officer. In conjunction with AAX and field offices, WIPP staff will identify appropriate American and Asian consultants and model organizations for study/observation tours, training, and internship placements. They will also create fora for interaction and development of linkages between individuals, government agencies, and NGOs working to increase women's representation in and influence in decisionmaking bodies.

The Asia Foundation will coordinate this program with other Asia Foundation women's projects both within the countries participating in the proposed program in partnership with AID and well as with other countries in which the Foundation implements programs to empower women. This will help to achieve maximum cohesion among the Foundation's women's programs, capitalize on networking opportunities for the region as a whole, and utilize the full range of resources within the region. The Director of the WIPP unit will visit each of the seven participating countries towards the end of the program to assess the progress of the activities carried out under this grant in meeting the defined objectives. Recommendations for follow-up activities will be made.

The WIPP unit will collaborate with other U.S. and international organizations working to advance women's leadership and access to the political process such as the Women's Leadership Institute at Rutgers University, the Center for Political Leadership and Participation at the University of Maryland, Unifem, the National Women's Political Caucus, and others. It will be the responsibility of the Director of the WIPP unit to seek additional funds from other international donors and private foundations to support

complementary activities that will expand the program beyond what is being proposed AID support.

Advisory Panels

To provide ongoing input and feedback on the program, raise its visibility, and monitor impact, each of the seven country offices will establish a local advisory panel made up of recognized women leaders as well as some dynamic young future leaders gain their perspectives as well as to give them experience working on a women-run board.

The local advisory panels will help to identify the formal and informal barriers women's participation as leaders, voters, and activists and make recommendations on ways to increase participation. The panels will review the progress of the program halfway through the year, make recommendations on modifications and changes, and assist in a final evaluation of the program and make recommendations for follow-up activities in subsequent years.

PROGRAM MONITORING AND EVALUATION

In implementing this program, The Asia Foundation will draw upon its established procedures for developing and administering grants to local institutions. Under these arrangements, each grant to a local institution is provided through a letter of agreement that clearly states the grant's objectives and budget, the Foundation's expectations, and the grantee's obligations. It also specifies the grant's duration and provides for regular financial reporting and substantive reporting by the grantee.

In addition, because this program represents a new initiative with projects in many path-breaking areas, and because the Foundation sees women's political participation as an area of long-term focus as part of its work to support democratization in Asia, the Foundation intends to give special attention to evaluation throughout the course of this project. The field of women and political participation has not received a great deal of attention from the donor community, and the Foundation, working in cooperation with AID and other donors, hopes that this project can serve not only to increase the Foundation's own capacity for evaluation in this area but also make a broader contribution in the identification of appropriate methodologies and benchmarks that will assist other projects in this emerging field.

The Foundation will also utilize funds for this program to help grantee organizations develop their own capacity for self-evaluation and work with them to draw up indicators of progress for each activity before signing grant agreements with them. Each grantee will be required to complete a thorough self-evaluation and impact assessment at the completion of each project activity.

The Foundation will engage an outside evaluator to work with the WIPP Director, The Asia Foundation's Representatives, grantee organizations, and the country advisory panels to form an evaluation team to assess the impact of the program in each country and overall. Toward the end of the one-year program the Foundation will draw together the grantees in each country to meet with the evaluation team to review which aspects of each sub-grant activity have been successful and which have not, as well as to assess the impact of the activity in terms of meeting the objective(s) that were set. This final evaluation will also include recommendations in the seven countries, and for the Foundation as a whole in this field.

In addition to the final evaluation, The Asia Foundation will provide a substantive project report to AID mid-way through the one-year program. This report will provide a complete update on each country program, as well as summaries and comments on individual grants. The Asia Foundation will provide AID with semi-annual financial reports on the program in accordance with established procedures.